Contextual studies of the dramatic records in the area around The Wash, c. 1350 - 1550

by

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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I dedicate this thesis to my parents Joyce and Larry Cummings
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Abstract:

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Abstract:

This thesis engages in a number of contextual studies of the records of dramatic activity in the area around The Wash during a period ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. In doing so, it does not limit itself strictly to mimetic drama, but engages in such examinations of the 'paradramatic' and other records as are necessary to highlight the socio-cultural history and also the documentary context of entertainment in this area. Although this is based on the Malone Society's edited collections of records for plays and players in Norfolk and in Lincolnshire, entirely new and carefully edited transcriptions of extracts from all the surviving documents that are discussed are provided in a series of appendices. From these transcriptions, the greater Wash area is seen to have records which evince a highly dramatic culture dependent on entertainment and social ritual. The surviving records of King's Lynn, Snettisham, the Lestrange household of Hunstanton, Tilney All Saints, Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton are studied in depth with reference to surrounding communities. The nature of the study in each town is determined not only by the type of primary documentary evidence which survives, but also the entertainment recorded within these sources. Many new records accidentally passed over by the Malone Society have been found and transcribed. In addition, those records not within the scope of the Malone Society's publication guidelines but which give a documentary context to records under consideration are also transcribed. The area around The Wash is seen to possess a wide range of entertainment deeply connected to its social and religious culture.

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Abbreviations

Bodleian:	Bodleian Library Manuscript
Close	Close Rolls
EETS	Early English Text Society
EDAM	Early Drama Art and Music (Monograph series, Medieval Institute Publications, Kalamazoo)
KL/	King's Lynn Borough Archives Manuscript
Lincs. Archive:	Lincolnshire Archives Manuscript
LRS	Lincoln Record Society
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Hans Kurath and Robert E. Lewis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-)
METh	*Medieval English Theatre*
Norf. Arch.	Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society
NRO:	Norfolk Record Office Manuscript
NRS	Norfolk Record Society
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, ed. by J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
Pat.	Patent Rolls
REED	Records of Early English Drama
RHMC	Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission: Henry Cordy Jeaffreson, *The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn*, RHMC: 11th Report, Appendix pt. 3 (London: HMSO, 1887)
RORD	Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama
VCH	*The Victoria history of the county of Norfolk*, ed. by H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page (Westminster: Constable 1901-6)
WFM:	Wisbech and Fenland Museum Manuscript

Introduction

This thesis set out, using as a starting point the Malone Society's published records for Norfolk and Lincolnshire, to examine the nature and context of entertainment in the communities surrounding The Wash, c. 1350-1550.[1] It attempts to do this through a more detailed contextual interpretation of the extant dramatic records than was possible in either of the published volumes whose intent was to gather and publish the records, not investigate them. These published extracts, which are often cryptic or seem of no immediate interest, can then be used to show a great deal about the nature of the activities in question. To this end the thesis is more exploratory than argumentative, but it does, in the course of the exploration, dispute certain issues concerning the types of entertainment. In general the thesis seeks to find a context for the entertainment in the greater area of The Wash through examination of the details of various aspects of the production of that entertainment. The published records are taken only as a starting point because, in order to understand them more fully, their documentary context must be examined. Hence, new transcriptions have been made of the Malone Society records discussed, together with many not included by it because of its limited focus, and these can be found in the Appendices.

Recontextualisation, Reselection and Reinterpretation

This thesis returns to those records edited by the Malone Society in the *Norfolk/Suffolk* and *Lincolnshire* volumes of its *Collections* series. This is done not only to examine those documents which were read through by the Malone Society but to re-read them with a different set of criteria. While the differences between this thesis and the Malone Society *Collections* are discussed later, the main three methodological benefits of its processes are those of recontextualisation, reselection and reinterpretation. The fragments edited by the Malone Society are re-examined in their original documentary context to discover if this can further illuminate the records. Do the surrounding non-dramatic records (and hence those not edited by the Malone Society) tell us more about the activity described in the dramatic record? In many

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[1] *Records of Plays and Players in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1330-1642*, ed. by David Galloway and John Wasson, Collections: XI (Oxford: For the Malone Society, Oxford University Press, 1981) hereafter "Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*" and *Records of Plays and Players in Lincolnshire, 1300-1585*, ed. by Stanley J. Kahrl, Collections: VIII (Oxford: For the Malone Society, Oxford University Press, 1975 for 1969) hereafter "Malone Society, *Collections VIII: Lincolnshire*".

cases, such as the descriptions of the repair work on the tabernacle carried in the King's Lynn Corpus Christi procession not edited by the Malone Society, these records give us a much greater understanding of the event than those which record the event itself. The return to the manuscripts from which extracts were originally chosen by the Malone Society gives the chance to reselect which records are helpful in understanding early entertainment. In doing so the rationale and objectives of the thesis and its methodological assumptions are exposed. The Malone Society editors were interested in many aspects of the social and cultural entertainments of the period, yet the series itself was only able to publish a strictly defined subset of records concerning these. That many less than mimetic activities are recorded is a testament to the arguments the editors must have had with the Malone Society itself. A much greater range of records is included by the modern successor of the Malone Society *Collections*, the Records of Early English Drama project.[2] The differences between the principles of selection of these projects and my own are discussed in detail later, but usually this thesis has taken a much more general view of the possible inclusions and transcribed most records concerning a very broad range of entertainments and spectacles of all sorts. Revisiting the documents covered by the Malone Society also allows a reinterpretation of its comments, deductions, and interpretations that it imposed upon the records. Hence, not only are transcriptions occasionally corrected, but also assumptions apparently made by the editors are investigated and reinterpreted in light of a broader range of material. This is not meant to imply that the decontextualisation of records by the Malone Society was unnecessary or unbeneficial — this thesis could not exist without it — but that the unfortunate task of selection and of decontextualisation is a necessary evil if the records are going to be published at all. This publication of records is useful because it makes the records available to a wider audience and so allows their incorporation in to scholarly discussions.

It is the return to the documents from which the records were originally extracted that allows this reinterpretation of their meaning. A good example of this is the reconsideration of the Malone Society's note that Radulph de Bedyngham was a minstrel.[3] The records — if read in their entirety — show clearly that what the Malone Society considered a payment to him is in reality a payment made to the Guild of

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[2] Hereafter "REED".

[3] Malone Society, *Collections VI: Norfolk*, p. 41.

Corpus Christi and was recorded in his receipts not because Radulph de Bedyngham was a minstrel, but because he was one of the two treasurers of the guild. The later discussion concerning this is used to show how editorial interpretations like this one, most likely made without the record's context, can be highly misleading.

The benefits of recontextualisation, reselection and reinterpretation are also illustrated by the discovery of a St Edmund's procession from Snettisham discussed in Chapter Four. By returning to the documents and recontextualising the extracts the Malone Society made of a century's worth of records concerning the annual procession, and reselecting those untranscribed records concerning other aspects of the procession, a more complete story could be brought into focus. Most significantly, the seemingly unimportant records concerning a lamb bought for the procession eventually make possible the reinterpretation that the procession went from Snettisham to Hunstanton rather than remaining inside the village. Furthermore, it was discovered that the chapel in Hunstanton to which they were processing, still surviving although in a very ruined state, was thought at the time to be a remnant of where St Edmund had built his royal residence. While the surviving ruins probably date from the thirteenth century, it is just as important that the villagers of Snettisham might have thought they were those of St Edmund's residence.[4] The chapel itself could have been built in remembrance of St Edmund, and so villagers' belief was not necessarily entirely misplaced. One of the objectives of this thesis is to recapture those narratives of the past, and also to discover new ones based on these documents. Not only is there the fiction by which the villagers lived and the story of St Edmund himself, but the narrative that this thesis creates concerning it. It does not matter, for the purposes of this thesis, whether the ruined chapel dates from the time of St Edmund or Edward I. That the villagers regularly participated in a spectacle — the procession to Hunstanton — exposes the nature of their devotion and the impetus of the procession.

The benefits of the opportunity to recontextualise, reselect and reinterpret, are important to the processes by which this thesis is constructed because they underline some of the assumptions made in its creation. The basis of this thesis is a return to those records edited by the Malone Society. This thesis does not primarily intend to seek out new entertainment-related records in documents that did not provide extracts

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[4] Bryan Houghton, *Saint Edmund — King and Martyr* (Lavenham, Suffolk: Terrence Dalton Ltd., 1970), pp. 16-20.

for the Malone Society volumes. Since there is no published record of which documents the Malone Society searched and found nothing in, there is no way of knowing for certain whether a particular document was searched or not. For this reason, documents which were available to the Malone Society and are of the type that it would have searched, have been re-examined. For example, the Malone Society transcribes from many of the surviving chamberlains' accounts of King's Lynn, so it is likely that it looked at all of them. As a result, all surviving King's Lynn chamberlains' accounts from the period of this thesis have been examined in detail.

In only one instance does this thesis transcribe from a document that is known to have been unavailable to the Malone Society. This is the surviving manuscript of the churchwarden's accounts of Tilney All Saints examined in Chapter Six. The Malone Society did have access to a set of antiquarian extracts from this document but this is in itself highly flawed. The surviving manuscript has since been rediscovered in the course of the research for this thesis, and a much better and much more complete set of transcriptions was also found. It can be assumed that the Malone Society would have used this manuscript or the more complete transcriptions had it known of their existence.

Part of the purpose of this thesis is to return to the original context from which the Malone Society extracted records, and then construct exploratory and explanatory narratives concerning the individuals and practices found. This does not mean that the exploits of the individuals discovered are made more important in themselves except where they constitute revisions to our existing knowledge and beliefs. Likewise this thesis and its research are not entangled intimately in the actions of these people, simply in what they can tell us about our own conceptions of their time.

> Surely there was overdramatization in imagining one's research to be implicated in the life-and-death struggles of even these unsung offenders.[5]

The starting point of having existing edited records is very similar to the idea of an art historian or literary historian examining a work to more fully understand the narratives it contains. Even more so, this thesis looks for those stories that were marginalised, excluded or misunderstood because of the nature of the Malone Society volumes themselves. These volumes were a construct of a particular conception and at times

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[5] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), p. 70.

have given a very false perception of completeness through their appearance of entirety. At times the Malone Society has chosen not to include records — or more alarmingly parts of individual records — because they introduce aspects which are not within its principles of selection, or because they confuse issues which the exclusion of these elements appears to simplify. In returning to the documents we attempt to uncover that information which was left out both accidentally and intentionally.

> We ask not only what stories were occluded, but also how they have been concealed from view in order to facilitate the elaboration of a closed system.[6]

This thesis re-examines the records with the assumption that there are indeed stories worth telling that are able to be discovered from the surviving records. In some cases this research has discovered much that is interesting and useful to our knowledge of early entertainment, and at other times little has been found to even illuminate the social context of the records. In highlighting the problems of extracting records from documents and how this removes the ability to see how the entry relates to the document as a whole, and as such the social setting within which the entertainment took place, Greg Walker argues the case for contextual studies using the REED volumes as a starting point in order to assist a return to documents.

> Such objections are, in small, a reflection of wider difficulties with REED volumes as historical source materials. In extracting material from the archives one is inevitably cutting it off from much of the collateral evidence which helps to place it in its cultural context. [...] Were, for example, visiting entertainers costing a nobleman more than visiting painters, clerics, or lawyers, or less? Was he spending more or less on his revels than on his hawks? Was a town more concerned with regulating its visiting players or its indigenous rats?[7]

While these comparisons, if undertaken, suffer from the inevitable flaws of basing one's assumptions on fragmentary evidence, they do suggest that the extracted record can only really be understood by returning to its own documentary and social context. This thesis does, of course, suffer from some of the same methodological assumptions as the Malone Society volumes, particularly those which are relevant to any archive based research. And yet, there are vast differences between those assumptions the Malone Society had and those which are the foundation of this thesis. While the Malone Society attempted to find everything within its purview contained within the

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[6] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, p. 83.
[7] Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?: Early Drama Records, Politics, and the Old Historicism', *METh*, 17 (1995), 42-51, p. 45.

documents, this thesis looks for connections between what the editors of the Malone Society have already found and records which either were of no interest to its publication, or only took on added value after the discovery of later records and so were overlooked. While the Malone Society approached the documents with a pseudo-objective stance to see what records they would contain, this thesis has been written with already a partial knowledge of what they do contain. While the Malone Society's interrogation of a document consisted of discovering its immediate dramatic contents, this thesis, through its recontextualisation of Malone Society extracts, seeks to uncover the connections between the extracts and documents, and to find non-dramatic records of individuals mentioned in later Malone Society extracts.

For example, in Chapter Two there is a discussion concerning the waits of King's Lynn which evinces a common 'problem with names'. That is, an editor might read through a document, and not make a note of individual names because the payments are essentially non-dramatic. Later, if one of these people is mentioned within a dramatic context, the original payment, which is now much more significant because of this relationship, has already been forgotten. There is a good example of this in relation to an early King's Lynn wait named William Wylde.

The only mentions of Wylde in the Malone Society volume are in the records of the Guild of St Giles and Julian. He first appears when, in 1394/5, John de Trumpington and he are both noted as minstrels and enter into the guild.[8] Instead of paying the thirteen shilling and four pence fee, they are given entrance in lieu of their wages for performing for that year. The Malone Society notes, but does not transcribe, this record.[9] It is because Wylde is recognised here as a minstrel that the Malone Society then edits payments to Wylde and "soc*iis* suis mynstrallis", "s*e*rvient*ibus* suis" and "pueris suis", throughout the next eight years.[10] Whatever Wylde's role with the guild he is firmly established as a performing minstrel.

The methodological problem arises because the numerous mentions of Wylde in the town's chamberlains' accounts are not transcribed by the Malone Society. Partly this is because they are not necessarily indicative of performance, but it is more probable that the editors read the chamberlains' accounts prior to those of the Guild of

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[8] KL/GD/37 fol. 5v.

[9] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 39.

[10] e.g. KL/GD/37 fols. 10, 12v, 13v, 14v, 17, 18, 19. Between fol. 12v and 13v, the Malone Society has misfoliated after that, and all foliations given here correct the single folio error introduced by it.

St Giles and Julian and so did not yet know that this city official was also a minstrel. The later record of the purchase of an expensive trumpet for Wylde makes the interpretation of other records about him difficult for those relying solely on the Malone Society volume. Part of the benefit of returning to documents from which extracts have already been taken is that since one is already aware of records which have come to light in later documents, one can search for earlier examples of related records that were overlooked, such as those records concerning William Wylde.

The recognition by this means of connections between records is a long and complicated process; noticing that the Malone Society suddenly or sporadically transcribed a certain type of record which it had previously ignored often alerted me to potential earlier omissions. For example, in the accounts of the Guild of Corpus Christi in King's Lynn for 1432/3, edited in the Malone Society volume, there are suddenly two isolated references to priests carrying the tabernacle and a canopy over it in the Corpus Christi procession.[11] These come from the nineteenth of about thirty five account rolls beginning in 1388/9 and covering almost a century. Nothing is then edited concerning the procession until the thirtieth roll, 1454/5, when again the payment for carrying the tabernacle is noted, this time along with the payment for ale for the priests who carried it.[12] Another four similar payments are published for 1460/1, 1461/2, 1497/8, and 1498/9.[13] The total of these edited references concerning the carrying of the tabernacle, or its canopy, do not represent even thirty percent of the actual number of references which begin on the very first roll.

These statistics are not necessarily relevant to deducing that the Malone Society had somehow 'missed' these payments, as a large number of the omitted payments are immediately next to the other payments, to minstrels, which are edited. Since the Malone Society includes payments for the carrying of the tabernacle later, it cannot be excluding them for reasons of its 'principles of selection'. Is it that the Malone Society thought the other payments were repetitive and thus did not include them except in certain cases to provide a representative sample? The editors do not note this if it is the case. It is understandable that, with a limited focus, it would not include the payments throughout the octave for masses and repairs that do not strictly involve the procession. Some of the unedited payments contain more detailed information

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[11] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 46.
[12] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 50.
[13] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 51 and p. 55.

concerning the carrying of the tabernacle than those it has included. By the later inclusion of this type of record in its edition, the Malone Society indicates that the procession is significantly 'dramatic' in nature and hence is of interest. This decision seems to have been made part of the way through the reading of the accounts. Another explanation could be that the accounts were not searched *in toto* by the same person.[14] In order to find out about the Corpus Christi processions in King's Lynn, with any reliability, one is forced to return to the original documents themselves, thus partially invalidating the intention of their initial publication.

Antiquarianism, Archives and Literary History

One of the possible arguments against any work that collects together a great number of extracts from historical documents is that it is mere antiquarianism. Such an accusation grows from the dislike of those antiquarian sources which are inaccurate, positivist, and which do not discriminate in the selection of their material. It is often true that nineteenth and early twentieth century sources do not always provide sufficient references and suffer from many other faults, but to ignore the useful references and basic scholarship which they do contain is as great a failure.

There are two brief arguments in defence of antiquarianism that should be put forth. Firstly, it is possible to deny that archive based research is indeed antiquarian if one is using a Nietzschian definition of 'antiquarian' as the indiscriminate preservation of everything just because it is old.[15] Archive based research, and specifically this thesis, depends on some relative principles of selection from that material -- not merely its age. Often these principles are oblique and not explicitly listed. (The limitations and ideas governing the selection of material for this thesis are discussed later.) The first defence against the accusation of antiquarianism is, then, one of semantics, that it is not a fetishistic collection of historical recollections, but an ordered and discriminating creation of a structured enquiry into the past. As defences go, this is fairly weak. Primarily, this is because the true concern is not that the antiquarian is indiscriminately preserving less than reliable sources, but that in doing so the narrative construct of the past is based on very unstable foundations. In addition, an inaccurate

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[14] It is known that a variety of individuals assisted with the checking of records and transcriptions, and so the editors may have relied on others for the examination of some sets of documents

[15] cf. Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life", *Untimely Meditations*, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 73-4.

narrative history, once created, is hard to remove from popular consciousness.

The second argument in defence of antiquarianism is to accept the label of indiscriminate preservation, and query whether this is such a terrible thing. To ask this in reality is to wonder whether literary history is able to justify itself as the history of everything. In answering this question, David Simpson defends antiquarianism through the idea that any piece of historical information can be seen as worthy of preservation "because nothing can be deemed, in an *a priori* way, irrelevant to some context or other for literature, whether in its mechanical production or in its referential aura".[16] This is especially true in studies of cultural materialism, which are often inherently interdisciplinary in conception. Simpson goes on to illustrate this with a carefully constructed example.

> It may, for example, be indisputable that the first edition of *Lyrical Ballads* was published in 1798 and cost 5 shillings. But what we make of this item of information is still motivated by an interest in making a certain sort of sense rather than another (the price of the book was, after all deemed uninteresting to generations of readers and critics). At the same time, we cannot claim that it actually cost 12 shillings, without indulging in perversity.[17]

Building on this, there are other supposedly indisputable facts of publication, "the size of the print run, of the advance, the nature of the contract, the format of the volume, and so forth."[18] That Simpson, or any other scholar would knowingly falsify their research is unlikely, but this raises the spectre of doubt that is always present in the relation of historical 'facts'.

> Following on from this, we might say that the credibility of a supposed historical fact increases in direct proportion to its perceived irrelevance, its standing outside any apparent field of motivation. ... Thus you believe me when I say that *Lyrical Ballads* cost 5 shillings, because you can find no motive for my not telling the simple truth. But I could be fooling you. Or I could have made a mistake, thus inadvertently repositioning the volume in its economic field.[19]

This is not to suggest that there are many more intentional falsehoods in the academic sphere of literary history than in any other, but that the innumerable inadvertent errors amassed over time cause many of the historical 'facts' of any field to be questionable. Since even the most basic historical information takes a great deal of effort to verify,

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[16] David Simpson, 'Is Literary History the History of Everything? The case for "Antiquarian" History', *SubStance*, 88 (1999), 5-16, p. 7.
[17] David Simpson, 'Is Literary History the History of Everything?', p. 8.
[18] David Simpson, 'Is Literary History the History of Everything?', p. 8.
[19] David Simpson, 'Is Literary History the History of Everything?', p. 8.

scholars are forced to trust each other.

> As soon as we realize this, then we have left the comforting rhetoric of indisputable information for a life of constant vigilance. And, again: the most secure knowledge may be the most useless, its security dependent on its uselessness.[20]

Nevertheless the information collected in antiquarian studies is not useless; simply it needs to be borne in mind that the more 'useless' information in any studies the less likely it is to be corrupted by the theoretical viewpoint, methodology and cultural context of any researcher. It is then the recontextualisation of records previously deemed useless or marginal that can give the most interesting and paradoxically the most 'useful' cultural studies.

In REED and much related archival research there is the continual frustration encountered in the gathering of individual records which in that very individuality have the appearance of irrelevance to the greater discussions in hand. While they might not have obvious practical value or application within the immediate context in which they are edited, they can be useful to a wider audience. However fragmentary, the records found in many archival sources are of interest to scholars in many different fields.

> That particular frustration, certainly, is balanced in positive ways: firstly the insights provided by the records into local history — social, political, economic — are often fascinating in themselves, and frequently tempting (I have found) to pursue, irrelevantly, for their own sakes. Of course the irrelevance is so only in strict REED terms, and materials collected by REED may well be starting points of real value to historians in other fields. Secondly, even in an area where the records have no practical application to a particular play text, work on those records may add to the drama-historian's picture both of that area and of Britain generally — and this is the ultimate aim of REED editing: each volume, whether or not its contents can aid a producer in creating a workable and authentic revival of a particular play, adds a piece to the jigsaw of performance history.[21]

These ideas help to underline one of the assumptions inherent to a great deal of archival research: that is, the unquestionable 'truth' of what is found in historical records. This data is not only assumed to be true, it is assumed that it is 'real' or 'raw' data and that no interpretation has taken place. This is as fallacious an argument as this access to 'raw' data is illusory, given the necessary interpretation that takes place in its mere presentation.

That we are using records written by real people, concerning everyday

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[20] David Simpson, 'Is Literary History the History of Everything?', p. 9.
[21] Diana Wyatt, 'Editing For REED' in *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 161-170, pp. 164-5

activities, and that these purport to be true accounts of what went on is a necessary assumption and illusion. And yet, the text of a fifteenth century account is no more 'real' than the text of a fifteenth century play. In reality, plays tell us more about social context and belief than a list of building materials: yet play texts are fantasy. While this fantasy is locked in its contemporary time period, and our understanding of it equally is filtered through our own cultural constructs, it often opens up more scope for interpretation than a basic accounting document.

One of the more recent theoretical developments in the last few decades has been the evolving set of theories sometimes known as new historicism. Many new historicists have realised that this data isn't more 'raw' or 'real' than any other, especially since it is conveyed to us through the perceptions of the academics studying it.

The new historicist love of the compressed anecdote as a starting point for cultural studies is often seen to arise from "their immersion in the empirical plenitude of antiquarian history, from which items are plucked, like rabbits from a hat, which turn out to illuminate a more traditionally 'major' text or topic"[22] such as the surviving texts of early East Anglian drama. This thesis does not, nor should it need to, apologise for not necessarily relating its positive and negative findings back to these major texts. Nothing in the study of these records necessarily illuminates any of these texts directly. What it does do is look at the entertainment culture with which those who wrote and performed these texts were familiar.

> The 'raw' excerpt from the field notes makes a stronger claim to reference — it points more directly to a world that has some solidity and resistance — than Ryle's invented example, but the former is no less a textual construction than the latter. The sheep-stealing anecdote has a quality of strangeness or opacity, but not because it is something mute and shapeless, dug up like a potato from an alien soil.[23]

Rather, this thesis is something I have created by extracting the records from their original context, just as the Malone Society has, and making connections between these different contexts (different documents, dates, times and places) and relating this sense of local knowledge about the entertainment culture of a single location to the other locations studied. The creation is mine and is necessarily plagued with a doubt of veracity. Is the William Wylde that appears in one document the same William

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[22] David Simpson, 'Is Literary History the History of Everything?', p. 12.
[23] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, p. 23.

Wylde that appears in another? What if his surname is spelt 'Wild' instead of 'Wylde'? The assumptions that one makes are based on the inductive probability that it is the same person. Wylde was an uncommon name at the period, and the various spellings of it are common divergences so it is quite probable that they are the same person. So much so, that most archival research does not dwell too much on a problem such as this, lest they never make any connections between such documents.

One of the things this thesis does is to create new perspectives on this material, new stories, new fictions and new anecdotes. But its purpose is twofold: not only are the new fictions — the explanations found for the entertainment content of the records — provided but also a transcription of the extracted records themselves, often with some degree of documentary context. The editing of extracted records necessitates the creation of a new document that is structured by myself. This newly created document structure, similar in some ways to the Malone Society volumes, but very different in other ways, could be used as source material in numerous different ways even if only drawing attention to previously marginalised events and acting as pointers back to the documents themselves. Our understanding of those events is a result of our own interpretation, and many differing narratives can be constructed. The cultural meanings found are in the interpretation, not in the narrative cultural fragments extracted from the documents themselves. In reviewing Geertzian thick description Gallagher and Greenblatt note that:

> Part of Geertz's power was his ability to suggest that the multilayered cultural meanings by which he was fascinated were present in the fragments themselves, just as the literary criticism of William Empson or Kenneth Burke managed to suggest that the dense ambiguities and ironies were present in the literary texts themselves and not only in the acts of interpretation.[24]

The 'multilayered cultural meanings' found in discussing the 'fragments' of the extracted Malone Society — and my own — edited records are present in the interpretation, not the fragments themselves. The connections between these fragments are seen as important because they help to illuminate a scene of my own construction. That William Wylde is seen as important to our understanding of early waits is dependent on the narrative constructed by this thesis. It should not be viewed as important that he is explicitly stated to be a watchman, wait and minstrel, except within the confines of this thesis. These connections also impact upon our

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[24] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, p. 26.

understanding of narratives constructed by others outside this thesis, for example, the definition of a 'wait' in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.[25] Geertzian thick description, while not a theoretical model for this thesis, is useful in ascertaining the apparent conflict between the notion of studying literary versus non-literary documents. Partly because of his argument that non-literary documents are often very useful in exposing the literary (and like the canon itself the notion of what makes documents 'literary' or not is an ethereal and changeable concept), thick description has greatly influenced later theoretical developments such as new historicism.

> Geertz's conjuring of the real seemed to us useful for literary studies not because it insisted upon the primacy of interpretation — that was already the norm in literary criticism — but because it helped to widen the range of imaginative constructions to be interpreted. His thick descriptions of cultural texts strengthened the insistence that the things that draw us to literature are often found in the nonliterary, that the concept of literariness is deeply unstable, that the boundaries between different types of narratives are subject to interrogation and revision.[26]

That non-literary texts can be used to reinforce interpretations of literary texts helps to validate the notion of archival research in general. If, as new historicists are often believed to claim, one should not prioritise the 'literary' text over 'non-literary' texts because both can be read and have their stories to tell, then the reading of the archival texts (whether the original documents or edited extracts) is just as worthy as the reading of literary texts in exposing the cultural performance being studied. This is extremely liberating for archival historians, and it is surprising that only a limited number have noticed, or at least chosen to exploit, this aspect of modern (and postmodern) critical theory. This notion places the archival text in the centre as much as the supposed literary text. It allows the analysis of supposedly non-literary texts with literary critical methods. The archival text is just as important as the canonical literary text because of the cultural 'text' which it helps — or in some cases even more importantly fails — to expose.

New Historicism, Anecdotes and Reading REED

New historicism is a primarily North American conception of the same

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[25] G. Richard Rastall. 'Wait' in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, Vol. 20 (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 154-5.
[26] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, p. 30.

theoretical standpoint which helped to spawn what in the United Kingdom is often termed cultural materialism. There are two reasons why it is the North American formulation of these theories that is used here. First, the most comparable project to the Malone Society *Collections*, the Records of Early English Drama project, while international, is primarily based in North America and the majority of its staff, editorial board, and editors are North American. Secondly, the best challenges to REED methodology and theoretical basis have come from a standpoint firmly rooted in North American new historicism. Scholars working in late medieval drama records research have often shied away from theoretical developments, but others, such as Peter Greenfield, have seen that in the end there is nothing to fear from new methodological constructs.

> With the advent of the new historicism in the eighties, however, came the sense that records research might escape the margins and move toward the center. After all, New Historicism asserted the centrality of history, and disciplinary boundaries were breaking down, as literature, history, anthropology, and the rest merged into 'cultural studies'. The lack of a literary text to study was not such a problem any more: the records themselves were texts which could be studied. Moreover the ways that dramatic performance — as a social practice, as cultural performance — functioned to maintain authority, or resist it, was a central concern of the New Historicism.[27]

It is just these theoretical benefits which this thesis exploits. No texts of performed drama have been found in the records looked at, but that should not be of consequence since the records themselves are a text to be studied. Of course, through editing these texts a third and very different text is created. There is the record in its original documentary context and then the editing of it by the Malone Society (if it included it) and its presentation in an appendix of this thesis. It is the conflict and tension between these three varying versions which more often than not provides the starting point for discussion. This discussion and interpretation of the final text, and its relation to the other two versions, is in itself a narrative construct based upon the document itself. The publishing of edited records is, as one REED editor commented, an invitation to storytelling, and this thesis exploits the connections between different narratives to produce stories of its own.[28]

As already mentioned one of the strategies used by those studying distant

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[27] Peter H. Greenfield, 'Using Dramatic Records: History, Theory, Southampton's Musicians', *METh*, 17 (1995), 76-95, p. 76.
[28] Peter H. Greenfield, 'Using Dramatic Records', p. 91.

cultures, not just geographically distant but also those ethnically, or temporally distant, is to give an anecdotal excerpt from recorded history, field notes, or some other condensed form. Through understanding this text, the greater picture of the society is explored and created. Whereas some might believe this to be a document centred approach, the same technique is used by many other fields. Some art historians start with a particular work, and in studying it bring out the history and culture of the society, or the development of a particular style, body of work, or artist. Likewise, archaeologists rarely excavate an entire site — to do so would be too costly, too damaging to the site, and take too much time — they put in a variety of excavation trenches in strategic places to determine much more about that site as a whole. That site in itself is then compared with many other sites and a greater understanding of the cultural background of the archaeology is achieved. The same processes are used in many other disciplines including anthropology and sociology, both of which are closely related to literary and other historical studies.

Does the use of a similar method in other fields argue that such research is not textual? The typical new historicist perspective that the text is historical and history is textual can be used as the basis for an argument for 'reading' each of these types of historical enquiry. An art historian 'reads' the details in the painting and relates them to other narratives, the archaeologist does the same in 'reading' the physical remnants of the society and helps to create new narratives of the past. One of the possible arguments against an archive based thesis such as this is that it is simply constructing these anecdotes through the creation of a document of extracts and then expanding these selectively chosen records into newly formed narratives based on one's own cultural context. At the root of this complaint is the mistaken perception that the original documents themselves are somehow unconstructed or naturally occurring.

Whatever forms of 'raw' documents are used, whether these are archaeological, artistic, or historical texts, they are just as 'constructed' as any other narrative. Not only were they constructed, painted, created and written with distinct agenda, but scholars viewing them in their own cultural contexts give us access to them through their selection and discussion. The art historian discusses those aspects of the painting that are important to the argument being put forth. The archaeologist puts excavation trenches in strategic locations because the testing of a hypothesis is being undertaken. Similarly the documents selected in this thesis, as well as the perspectives generated,

are as equally constructed. None of these narratives is strictly determined by what is present in the artefact or document. The art historian might discuss what is there in relation to what is not there in comparative paintings, the archaeologist will form new hypotheses based on negative evidence, or develop possible explanations for the lack of some data. This thesis constructs the results of its enquiry but has found both positive and negative evidence for the entertainment with which it is concerned. That no major new cycle plays were found — while not terribly surprising given the type of documents studied — is not a disappointment, instead this negative evidence helps to ascertain what is not in the documents.

The study of the records themselves is a form of using this compressed narrative, they do not need to have a fully blown literary structure to accomplish the same result. "Thus there is no need for anecdotes that take the form of miniature narratives, with beginning, middle and end; the description of a chair, a pair of slippers, or a tablecloth will do."[29] In this thesis there is no need for each record to present in itself a complete narrative, but each individual record, and the connections made between them, are themselves possible starting points for discussion. They are all "clues to the true nature of the whole to which they are structurally bound"[30] which in this case is the nature of entertainment within its local social milieu. One of the products of this thesis is a form of access to the source material for such fictions. By seeking to join together records concerning individual events, individuals, and practices it highlights areas of late medieval life that are sometimes either overlooked or are purposefully marginalised by some historians because their political content is less obvious. The importance of these performative aspects of social history is just as valuable, and their political nature is often simply less obvious.

The typical new historicist anecdote is a compressed narrative that is explicated through its decompression. From the small fragment that is found, an entire vista of the world, or more reasonably the place of literature in western society, is depicted. The idea of seeing the whole from the part is quite a common way for scholars with limited time and resources to draw a larger overall picture. The more common variation upon this is the creation of a fictitious whole from the chiasmatic comparison of many small parts. This relates intimately to the nature of Geertzian thick

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[29] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, p. 39.
[30] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, p. 39.

description mentioned earlier. If a small part (or series of relationships between small parts) is seen to reflect an entire aspect of a culture this is problematic to the topic under consideration and undermines the theoretical assumptions of its own methodology. Brook Thomas summarises:

> The question of how to relate one scene of thick description to another brings us back to the question of how to relate parts to the whole. As we have seen, the new historicist use of chiasmus seems to offer an alternative to the organic strategy of letting the part speak for the whole. Chiasmus relates not part to whole, but one particular part to another. Nonetheless, insofar as the goal of a new historicism is to produce a cultural poetics, new historicists find it difficult to break with the Aristotelian desire to come up with significant details that serve as concrete universals. Very often the chiasmatic relation established is itself employed as a form of synecdoche. This common practice of letting a particular chiasmatic relation speak for an entire culture is double-edged.[31]

Similarly, the individual fragments that record the nature of entertainment in the area around The Wash, are recorded textually in the surviving documents from those communities.[32] Textual records are not the only surviving records which provide evidence of cultural history since art and architecture could also be used for that purpose. The documents chosen are only a subset of those possible. Literary sources, the drama itself, the *Book of Margery Kempe* are all eschewed in favour of less literary but in many ways more helpful texts.[33] These tell us what was going on in that local community, from which we can gain an understanding of the context of entertainment in the area, and from there England and the western Middle Ages as a whole. The problem in pulling back to the greater picture of the western Middle Ages as a whole, of course, is that entertainment is very different in different countries at the same time, so to understand the whole from one small part is highly flawed. Similarly, the richness and variety of entertainment in England is unable to be seen or determined from a small selection in one area. Its value lies not only in being a resource for scholars undertaking comparative studies of drama in a slightly greater context, but in its highlighting of some of the most useful narratives for early drama scholars contained within these texts.

The idea that a scholar studying a particular time and place does so through a

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[31] Brook Thomas, *The New Historicism and Other Old-Fashioned Topics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 12-13.

[32] While some late medieval dramatic texts from East Anglia survive they are not usually thought to come from any of the communities studied.

[33] Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe, 1436*, ed by S.B. Meech and H.E. Allen, EETS OS CCXII (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

filter of his own cultural condition is now viewed as theoretical commonplace. That critical objectivity is an impossibility is hardly a barrier to undertaking historical research. In acknowledging our own cultural historicity and accepting that our reading of the past (in whatever form one studies it) is a creation of our own interpretation and imagination is liberating rather than confining.

Theresa Coletti has used a new historicist approach as the basis of scathing reviews of the REED project. One of her primary objections to archive based projects like REED is the perception that the project believes that the evidence is collected objectively, ignoring its own historicity.

> Taking the evidence 'on its own terms', a rhetorical gesture which encodes REED's historical method, is neither possible nor desirable. The evidence and the researcher confronting it are already historicized. REED has been shaped by the history of scholarly methods, the habits of literary canonization, assumptions about historical periods, and perhaps even by a desire to promote early drama that has striven to accomplish by the myth of inclusiveness the ideal state that formalist analysis failed to provide in more patently evaluative terms.[34]

That one does filter the 'evidence' of the past through a lens tinted by one's own cultural experience is generally recognised by the REED project. The evidence itself is historicised, the selection of extracts and the fundamental nature of the researcher are also differently historicised. This should not necessarily be a problematising aspect of historical enquiry, since it is true for all forms of history. It is the differential between a later perception of the same evidence and the presentation of it by current scholars that provides greater insight to future research. It is, one could argue, exactly this which allows work such as this thesis. It is the differences between the Malone Society's initial perception of the 'evidence' with which it was confronted and the slightly later perception of revisiting the documents which enables the arguments of this thesis. REED has come to realise that it is not enough to be clear about the practical necessities of its methodology, but that it needs to be explicitly stated.

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34 Theresa Coletti 'Reading REED: History and the Records of Early English Drama', in *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380-1530*, ed. Lee Patterson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 248-84, p. 282.

> Our theory is implicit in our practice, and in the best of all possible worlds that would be enough. But in a professional world dominated by theory we risk the criticism that has, in fact, been levelled at us: that we demonstrate a naive, unexamined positivism, believing we can engage in historical investigation and interpretation that is entirely objective and theory-free. This criticism concerns me, because I believe that those of us who work with documentary records do have something to say to literary critics and cultural historians.[35]

Greenfield continues, throughout his application of new historicism to the records concerning Southampton's musicians, to demonstrate how REED and other archival work is not unexamined positivism, nor does it implicitly contain some mythic belief of complete objectivity. More and more, REED has been recognising its own historicity and the effect upon its sources that it causes even through its own selection and editing. This thesis is all too aware that history "does not reside in archival phenomena; rather, it is created by historians constructing and selecting the object of their work."[36]

In my own case this thesis is inevitably shaped by my background not solely of literary criticism but also of the interdisciplinarity of both undergraduate and postgraduate study in Medieval Studies. This covered the disciplines of Art History, English, History, Latin, Philosophy and Theology, amongst others. The cultural experience which influences my understanding of any text is not limited solely to the form and disciplines of my education, but also to the social factors of my birth and life experiences — many that are not in our own control. The point being not only that the self-reflexivity of any historical enquiry is undeniable, but that the life experiences that form its guiding perception are also uncontrollable. The obsession of much new criticism to highlight the lack of objectivity inherent to historical enquiry has led to its own problems.

> Everything is now described as storytelling, as local knowledge, as conversational, and as reflexive and even autobiographical. Sometimes the project of attending to the past is completely supplanted by the literary critic's urge to tell us about him or herself: hence the current spate of autobiographies by academics who lead, for the most part, alas, not very interesting lives.[37]

A lot of what this thesis is concerned with is the elusive act of entertainment and the experience of those involved with it. In attempting to speak with the dead, there is the

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[35] Peter H. Greenfield, 'Using Dramatic Records', p. 78.
[36] Theresa Coletti 'Reading REED' pp. 282-3.
[37] David Simpson, 'Is Literary History the History of Everything?', pp. 5-6.

inevitable problem that this ethereal experience is just what is unable to be captured in any archival source, but it is only these documentary remnants that stand in lonely testament even for its very existence.

> 'Experience,' in other words, seems to be defined by its unavailibility to language. Hence it cannot be 'found' in documentary evidence. Only traces or symptoms appear at the superficial level of 'articulation,' and these can only be read as evidence of the clash between ideology and its opposite by generalizing from one's own experience.[38]

It is because of this necessity of experience that producing only transcriptions is not enough. While the Malone Society *Collections* and more recently the REED project's volumes are useful research tools, they are not enough in themselves — they become the source material for new narratives of entertainment history. One of the benefits this thesis, and edited volumes of records, is to point out where possible narratives of conflict and connection might exist in historical documents so that they can be used by others. The archive by itself is not enough.

> Of course, there has to be a medium through which the sound carries, and the archive itself is an insufficient echo chamber. The anecdotalist, in the attempt to wake the dead, must know where to find them and how to publicize them, and this knowledge, it turns out, is provided by the historical continuities between the sovereign power that overcame those lives and the discipline he or she practices. Here is yet another knot binding the desire to resurrect life and the power to end it. Anecdotalists are implicated, it seems, in the annihilating force, indebted to the 'lightening flash of power', because it makes the only illumination by which we can see what counterhistorians want to see: that which is thrown out of official history, the 'other' of power, and the means by which it was discarded.[39]

Similarly, the Malone Society and REED principles of selection simply set up another version of official history, another set of judgements concerning what can and cannot be counted as a record of early English drama. Looking at the marginalised records in these collections (and those omitted from them) can unearth new subversive histories. This thesis mostly includes topics that would be sanctioned by the REED principles, these are more far reaching and flexible than the Malone Society's, but there are some which would not be. While discussions in the body of the thesis justify their inclusion, such material has only been included if it highlights existing (or an absence of) entertainment practices, or if they help to expose the ritual nature of entertainment and

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[38] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, p.63.
[39] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, pp. 69-70.

spectacle in the local area.

Rereading REED's Record

Although the Malone Society has stopped its *Collections* series, it has done so in favour of the continuation and reformulation of the concept behind this series as the Records of Early English Drama project. While the research for a REED volume covering Lincolnshire (to extend and revise Stanley Kahrl's Malone Society volume for the same area) is well underway, a Norfolk volume will be longer in appearing. Since this thesis has developed out of a culture in which many REED volumes already make dramatic records easily available to researchers, and there are many parallels between REED research and this thesis, it is logical to look at some of the criticisms directed at that project. By far the most notable challenge to REED research has been made by Theresa Coletti, mentioned above, who has launched a variety of critiques at the project from a new historicist stance.[40] In preparing to answer these critiques Greg Walker summarises Coletti's arguments (and those of most other opponents of archival history):

> There are two broad thrusts to Coletti's critical assessment of the REED project. First there is criticism of the strategic and tactical editorial decisions made by the REED editors, and of the consequences of those decisions for the value of the material gathered and published: criticism concerned largely with the problems suggested by the first term in the title of her review article: fragmentation. Then there is a wider critique of the whole archival-historical enterprise which REED represents, and an attempt to point out its alleged limitations in the light of the theoretical approaches to literary history practiced by the New Historicism and post-modern cultural studies.[41]

Although there have been many other answers to these criticisms, the REED editor Peter H. Greenfield, has been most successful in his responses, partly, it must be said, because in studying waits in Southampton, he turned his own "New Historical lens on the records of the city's musicians."[42] It is because his own use of new historicism has been so profitable in offering "new narratives, new stories that give meaning to our newly-found records"[43] that he finds some of the critiques to be naïve and misplaced.

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[40] Theresa Coletti 'Reading REED' pp. 248-84 and '"Fragmentation and Redemption": Dramatic Records, History and The Dream of Wholeness', *Envoi*, 3:1 (Spring 1991), 1-13.
[41] Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?', p. 42.
[42] Peter H. Greenfield, 'Using Dramatic Records', p. 80. See also J. Alan B. Somerset, *Re-Reading REED's Record*. A paper presented at the Association of Canadian College and University Teachers of English, May 1992, and also Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?'.
[43] Peter H. Greenfield, 'Using Dramatic Records', p. 91.

> But New Historicists have not run to embrace those of us who do records research, to use our discoveries to generate or bolster their interpretations. In fact, we may feel even more marginalised, for the few who do not continue to ignore us have instead attacked our work as Theresa Coletti has done in her reviews of the REED project.[44]

Coletti's criticisms begin with the idea that there is a 'dream of wholeness': that upon final completion of editing every surviving dramatic record a great new monumental history of early English drama will be able to be written. In her review of the REED Herefordshire/Worcestershire volume Coletti, partly quoting the editor David Klausner, suggests that since REED is:

> Committed to gathering every piece of "external evidence of dramatic, ceremonial, and minstrel activity in Great Britain before 1642" (Klausner vii), REED acknowledges the inevitably fragmentary nature of the knowledge to issue from such an effort while simultaneously reaching for the state of wholeness that will one day come into being when all the remaining thirty-one archival collections have been completed and when the *partes* have been united in the reconstructed *totum* of dramatic activity in Britain until 1642.[45]

The problem with this 'dream of wholeness' which Coletti sees in the project's work is that it is a dream that she has constructed and projected upon the project, not the project's own. The words 'every piece' are her own, not Klausner's. Her idea of the reconstruction of some mythic whole of dramatic history suggests the type of integration and recovery of impossible proportions.

> But unlike Shakespeare's Bottom, REED never dreamed any such dreams; in fact, finishing the project at all (given the financial resources now available) seems more and more a dream, and practical limitations have from the beginning been honestly announced.[46]

It is true that some scholars connected to the REED project did wonder whether the project would allow great rewritings of early English drama and its history. The project itself tends to express a reservation that this should not be attempted until all volumes have been published, but inherent to this is a doubt of whether it is possible or not.

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[44] Peter H. Greenfield, 'Using Dramatic Records', p. 76.
[45] Theresa Coletti 'Fragmentation and Redemption', pp. 1-2.
[46] J. Alan B. Somerset, *Re-Reading REED's Record*.

> Early in the life of the REED project, some speculated about 'rewriting' Chambers's *Medieval Stage*, reflecting a hope that the project's results would make possible large generalizations about the origins, development, and nature of early English drama. That hope even took the form of an unofficial but widely heard caution against interpreting any of the records until all the edited collections saw print. This 'dream of wholeness,' if it ever really existed, disappeared rapidly in the 1980s, due to the combined effects of editors' experience in the archives and the emerging approaches of cultural studies and the new historicism.[47]

The limitations imposed by the REED editorial committee forcing rigid adherence to the principles of selection by sometimes over zealous editors and the general decision to concentrate on secular drama, ceremony and music have been necessary. Otherwise, not only might they be accused of attempting to create Coletti's 'reconstructed *totum* of dramatic activity in Britain', but also it would have made its task that much more difficult to complete.

> In fact, the REED "Dream" was from the beginning not a naive dream of wholeness, but only a dream of completion, completion of an editorial project ambitious but realistic in scope.[48]

Other decisions, such as the exclusion of records from private household documents, originally conceived because of the difficulty of access, thankfully have been reversed in later volumes. "This decision did not reflect practical concern over reducing the project to a manageable size, but rather a choice that the social and cultural significance of records from households should take precedence over an artificial impression of wholeness gained through exclusion".[49] REED is then seen to be opting to reveal the necessarily fragmentary nature of its own work because of a desire for a clearer picture of the social function of entertainment in an area. Rather than give the appearance of absolute totality of edited extant records it has chosen to display the absence of completeness by including those private household documents it is are able to gain access to because it is conscious of the benefit this provides to the cultural narrative that it is helping to create. One of the biggest problems that Coletti has with REED research is that:

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[47] Peter H. Greenfield, '"But Herefordshire For a Morris-Daunce": Dramatic Records and the New Historicism', *Envoi*, 3:1 (Spring, 1991), 14-23, p. 15.
[48] Peter H. Greenfield, 'But Herefordshire For a Morris-Daunce', p. 15.
[49] Peter H. Greenfield, 'But Herefordshire For a Morris-Daunce', p. 16.

> REED needs to acknowledge that its editorial policies and procedures have profound implications both for its own historical scholarship and for the literary history to which it hopes to contribute.[50]

Coletti's belief that archive based projects pretend to some sort of fictitious objectivity is fallacious. This does not mean that it does not strive to be as non-interventionist as possible. Simultaneously expressing this straining towards objectivity and its necessary impossibility, Wyatt uses the translations REED provides of some documents as an example.

> A REED editor's duty is to intervene as little as possible between the original records and the reader, but even such a case as this suggests the extent to which not only transcription but translation may be bedevilled by possibly unconscious, but perhaps inevitable, editorial interpretation. The REED answer is generally to make translations as literal as possible, retaining rather than smoothing out any oddities, ambiguities or errors in the original.[51]

Even several years before Coletti claimed that the REED project was unaware of its own lack of objectivity, REED editors were saying as much while still holding it up as a virtue to be striven for in preparing editions. Understandably, Coletti's own construction of how the discipline of history works has been challenged.

> The model of the progress of historical scholarship which Coletti offers is, of course, a travesty. It surely has not taken 'post-modern theory' to prompt historians to an awareness of the provisional status of their knowledge of the past, the slipperiness of archival evidence, or the crucial role of the historian in both constructing and interpreting the archival evidence upon which their accounts are based. Medievalists of all people do not need help from 'theory' to understand the patchy, inconsistent, and anything but neutral nature of the fragmentary evidence they study.[52]

As reactionary and positivist as this rebuke is, it does highlight one of the central problems of Coletti's criticisms: they only reinvent the problems with which historians, especially those whose whole disciplines are built on fragmentary evidence, are already aware. The introduction to the Malone Society's *Norfolk/Suffolk* volumes fully recognises its own distorting influence, but attempts to produce the most accurate view possible within the problematic nature of such a venture.

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[50] Theresa Coletti 'Reading REED' p. 270.
[51] Diana Wyatt, 'Editing For REED', p. 169.
[52] Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?', p. 43.

> We are fully aware that the view of English drama thus presented is itself a distortion, being limited to the sources which happen to have survived; but at least it represents the clearest picture possible within this unavoidable limitation.[53]

While the Malone Society might be overstating the case to claim it is the 'clearest picture possible' it was at least aware of the influence that its own limitations have on the interpretative editing of its material. What provoked Walker into producing the reactionary rebuke above was not just the implication that historians are unaware of the distorting interpretation that the fragmentary nature of their source material forces upon them. It was also Coletti's own limited perspective on the nature of the study of history and its own evolution as a discipline.

> Despite her apparent assumptions to the contrary, history does not think of itself as a science, nor, I believe, has it done so (except in a few of its more statisical branches) for the better part of a century. So accusing REED of so doing seems an unlikely basis for a prenetrating critique of its practices.[54]

It is exactly this which concerned Walker; if one is to critique REED and by extension all similar archive based projects then to do so in such a poor manner does those projects and the study of history itself a disservice. Walker welcomes and encourages criticism, but only that which is worthwhile and provokes useful insight. It is Coletti's assumption that scholars are not aware of the provisional and interpretative status of their evidence and the conclusions drawn from it that is one of the most limiting factors of her critiques.

> That history is a tricky business, that evidence is never neutral, that the past can never be understood in its totality, that no historical account can offer the Truth, or even the last word on a subject, that all reports from the archives are necessarily provisional, and that historiography is as much persuasive advocacy as it is objective analysis: these are the bedrock of the historical discipline. Any student in the archives is made aware of them by the very nature of the enterprise they undertake. Such observations hardly render up the head of the Old Historicism on a plate to post-modern cultural theory.[55]

That REED volumes are unable to give the final word on entertainment in a specific area is a necessity that does not invalidate in any way the partial and subjectively gathered material they present. Within the limits the REED project has set and its methodological assumptions, the work is extremely valuable.

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[53] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. xi.
[54] Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?', p. 43.
[55] Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?', p. 44.

That the editorial decisions (by both the editor and the editorial board) affect the version of history which they present is something of which REED has always been acutely aware. This is at the root of most of the conflicts concerning the REED principles of selection. If one is trying to present records to illuminate a history of early performance, then surely those records which name performers, although non-dramatic in themselves, should be edited. In addition, the methodological assumptions of REED and scholars working in the field, have not remained static but evolved over time in response to both criticism and archival experience. Greenfield highlights the development of REED methodology and sees it as one of a number of ways in which the project's theoretical basis has grown and developed over time.

> If REED was founded on the principles of the old historicism, its findings — as Coletti admits — have yielded insights "fully compatible" with the new. This compatibility has certainly been "felicitous," but a good deal less "ironic" and "inadvertant" than Coletti would have it.[56]

That the REED project's methodological assumptions have been revised over time is understandable with such a long running project. The evolving of methodology is paralleled in the evolving of understanding concerning the nature of early entertainment. While it is true that some editors have viewed their work as crucial to understanding or revising the historical narratives we have created concerning early entertainment, it is not without some justification.

One of the critiques that Coletti levels at REED is the lack of acknowledged interpretation which takes place with respect to these records. Part of the reason for the lack of interpretative explication in the early volumes is the practical nature of publications. As new historicism shows us, there are many possible historical narratives to be constructed from the records, it would become impossible to publish even a few of them. In addition, interpretations and discoveries based on REED research have been published, not only in the various secondary publications and series which REED has been a catalyst in creating, but throughout the academic community.

One of the other reasons for REED's decision to present edited documents and to allow the interpretation to develop elsewhere was because — counter to Coletti's claims — it was very conscious of its own historicity. Throughout the 1970s there was a great deal of theoretical controversy concerning the feast of Corpus Christi and its

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[56] Peter H. Greenfield, 'But Herefordshire For a Morris-Daunce', p. 21. Quotations are from Coletti's review in the same volume.

relation to civic drama. V.A. Kolve in *The Play Called Corpus Christi* decided there was a more than semantic connection between the religious feast and the drama which was divided as it was because of theological reasons.[57] Glynne Wickham had suggested that the early summer was chosen because it was better for staging the plays outdoors.[58] Alan Nelson had attacked the formalist analysis of Kolve's hypothesis believing that the relationship in doctrine of the play "to the feast of Corpus Christi is almost entirely incidental".[59] Nelson also proposed that processional staging was impossible at York and that there was "a processional spectacle followed by a more or less independent dramatic production at a single location within the city."[60] As the REED editorial board was very conscious of this debate, and its first volume was indeed the one on York, it is not surprising that it did not want to alienate those whose positions were shown to be incorrect based on the records that the York editors had discovered. The work shows conclusively that the cycle was processionally performed. The rewriting of Kolve, Wickham and especially Nelson's historical narratives and their misunderstanding of this very important aspect of both textual drama and cultural ritual is entirely owing to REED research. This has not taken place within the REED volumes, but in the interpretative analyses published elsewhere. To consider the REED volumes as the full extent of REED research is not only incorrect but also highly limiting, Coletti greatly underestimates the amount of interpretative research published based on the REED volumes.

This is not to argue that her criticisms are not useful — they most certainly are. Many debates would not have surfaced had it not been for Coletti's criticism which has acted as a catalyst to a great deal of discussion. Scholars working on archive based projects, sometimes dismissed by theorists, are coming to realise more and more that methodology and the experience they have in the problems of analysis of historical documents can benefit theoretical enquiry as much as theory can benefit their own research.

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[57] V.A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (Stanford: Stanford Univeristy Press, 1966)
[58] Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300-1660*, 3 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959-81).
[59] Alan Nelson, *The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 9.
[60] Alan Nelson, *The Medieval English Stage*, p. 59.

> It is to be hoped, then, that in reacting to the criticisms voiced by Theresa Coletti and others, historians of drama do not simply retreat further into self-examination or mutually supportive seclusion within their own specialism, but seek to locate the questions that they ask and the issues which they address within the wider debates of historical studies generally, whether of the older or newer varieties, for our voices can have influence there.[61]

The challenges then posed by the theories of historical enquiry are not in themselves destructive of, or limiting for, the collection and study of records of early entertainment, but their application must be undertaken carefully. The problems of history, which many theorists are continually challenging, raise just those concerns that historians have about their own material and research. The interaction between the theoretical and practical nature of writing history (whether this is done by the collection of records or their re-examination) can only in the long term be of benefit to both. The criticisms some theorists bring concerning the methods by which these new narratives are constructed or new records found should not be avoided in a generalised resistance to theory, but should instead be welcomed and judged on their own merits. The final proof for any theoretical approach is the results that its application brings.

Context, Comparison and Organisation

My study is then useful in making some connections at a very local level and in seeing the comparisons possible, and the differences, within this context. Other comparative studies can use this to compare with records from other areas to notice more broadly reaching similarities and differences. It is not meant to imply that comparative study is not useful, as many of these larger more general studies have helped to explain many of the aspects of cultural significance encountered in the midst of researching this thesis. In addition, much comparative work has been undertaken within the local area of the study. Comparisons between documents, locations, and types of recorded entertainment are the basis for much of this thesis. The driving force behind this study has been the notion that only one predetermined geographic area was going to be its focus. The objective of this thesis is not to explain entertainment in the whole of East Anglia, and certainly not England as a whole. It does not attempt to pursue all the possible political connections that it raises because they are more far reaching than the thesis itself. For example, the relationships of certain noble families

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61 Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?', p. 49.

(particularly the Bardolf, Scales and Beaufort families) to entertainment in King's Lynn are raised, but the place of these families in the greater political context of the nation is left to other studies. Just as it is not my intent to compare this geographical area to others in late medieval England (although such comparisons are easily possible), neither is a complete explanation for this area or the place of its entertainment in the nation as a whole attempted. It is my purpose here to give an idea of the entertainment in the area based on the editing of the Malone Society, not to explain the entirety of entertainment in this or any greater comparative context.

One central editorial decision helps to explain both the differences between this thesis and Malone Society and REED volumes. Most REED volumes have organised the extracted records chronologically irrespective of which documents they originated from, and in volumes covering more than one location these are then further grouped by location. This has the effect of making it nearly impossible to come to an understanding of what was contained in a particular manuscript as a whole, and instead presents a chronological survey of the manuscripts as a whole relating to a single location. This was based on the approach adopted by the Malone Society in its *Collections* volumes. Since this thesis returns to the documentary context of the extracted records, it would be senseless for the appendices of transcriptions to further decontextualise these extracts by providing them in a chronological reconfiguration irrespective of their documentary origin. The extracted records provided in the appendices have, therefore, been grouped first by location (in respect to the chapters to which they relate), and then extracts from each manuscript are grouped with others in their current, usually chronological, foliation. This allows one to easily see which other records have been extracted from the same manuscript, even if many folios or years separate them. This is impossible to do easily with most REED volumes and Malone Society *Collections*. I am not the only one working in this field who has chosen to organise their extracts in such a manner. Diana Wyatt describes her own thesis:

> To take one broad and basic example of the divergence of the two editions, there was the question of organisation. At an early stage I decided to group the records in my thesis in sets according to the manuscripts; so all extracts from the Minute Books went together in folio order, then all those from the Account Rolls, in date and then in membrane order, and so on. I did so partly to allow the thesis to convey a sense of the overall variety and the individual nature and purpose, of the original documents; I was also uneasy about attempting a purely chronological arrangement because in the early stages of my research I found a relatively high proportion of undated documents. REED however does arrange all materials in strictly chronological order, with undated extracts grouped in an Appendix to each volume. It is a straightforward, sensible plan, allowing a sense of historical development and change to emerge as one works through a volume.[62]

This thesis only departs from this policy in regard to the Churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham.[63] While more complete justification for this exception is given in Chapter Four, these accounts have become so disfoliated before being rebound that they are no longer in an understandable chronological order. Since it is obvious upon examination of the manuscript that the arrangement of the folios is a chaotic one, the Malone Society practice for this manuscript was followed and the extracts were ordered chronologically irrespective of their divergent foliation. In doing so a number of mistaken datings by the Malone Society were corrected and a number of uncertain ones were more clearly established.

Field of Study

The field of early drama is divided into a variety of areas that complement and augment each other. The majority of the work is on textual drama with increasing emphasis on its sociocultural and especially political contexts. This has in itself helped to increase work on the theories of textual criticism and editorial policies within the field, some of which has been seen above. In addition this has crossfertilised the closely related field of performance history and performance theory.[64] The idea that 'pre-Shakespearean' performance (the term is even considered heretical by some) is somehow less worthy of study has long since been expunged from most scholarly discussions on the subject, but it still remains in many minds a backwater of history undeserving of study. As Greg Walker explains in seeking justification for entitling

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[62] Diana Wyatt, 'Editing For REED', p. 169.
[63] See Appendix Two.
[64] *From Page to Performance: Essays in Early English Drama*, ed. John A. Alford (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995).

his recent volume 'Medieval Drama':

> It is seen as an homogenous dark backward and abysm of time in which naiveté, superstition, and formulaic repetition replace insight and innovation, and the collective culture of the church obscures and devalues individual experience. Such prejudices are frequently encountered outside the privileged circle of the academic specialist (and not infrequently within it too), and are nowhere more prevalent than in discussions of the drama. Nowhere are they more inappropriate, either, but it is hard to counter such views in the absence of widely available and affordable editions of the plays which would refute them on every count. By making good the lack of readily accessible texts, this collection will, I hope contribute to the ongoing rehabilitation of medieval drama that has been spearheaded by scholars, directors and actors since the mid-1970s, and which has revealed how sophisticated, vital, and often extraordinarily idiosyncratic the plays of the period could be.[65]

Part of this rehabilitation has involved not only the study and revitalisation of textual drama, but also of the cultural and entertainment context within which this drama took place. Since taking over the collecting of records concerning early English drama from the Malone Society, no project has done more to bring the records of this entertainment to light than the REED project. Although the volumes are probably only rarely used outside academia, the information they contain has been incorporated by this community and published in numerous more mainstream studies. These in turn have been used for education, and aided the dissemination of revised narratives of performance and entertainment history. Early REED volumes like York, Coventry, Chester, and Newcastle, where the records were edited knowing that civic religious drama had been performed in these areas, were partly chosen for the illumination of surviving textual drama, but also because a great number of suitable records would certainly be uncovered. And yet, these volumes have given way to volumes like Cumbria and Devon where a great deal less was previously known to exist but where a rich and varied entertainment culture was found nonetheless. The REED project has concentrated mainly on the provinces partly in order to counteract the many years of neglect that a focus on drama in and around London has caused within the field.

Since it retraces the steps of the editors of the Norfolk/Suffolk and Lincolnshire volumes of the Malone Society *Collections*, the most interesting REED volume currently being researched is James Stokes' Lincolnshire volume. While not expected to be completed for several years Professor Stokes has been most helpful in sharing the

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[65] Greg Walker, *Medieval Drama: An Anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), p. viii.

already interesting revisions and re-evaluations that his research has uncovered.[66] While it is intended that a similar volume for Norfolk will be undertaken eventually, it is not currently being researched.

One of the inevitable by-products of making large volumes of records available is that the editors are only able to include the briefest amount of explication of the records in their introductions. In addition to the volumes of records, the newsletter (now journal) has been one of many forums for more analytical discussion. In addition the project has helped spawn a series 'Studies in Early English Drama' (SEED) whose monographs are often remarkable re-examinations of a topic exposed by REED records research. For example, in the fifth volume in the SEED series John Forrest has greatly revised the state of knowledge concerning the *History of Morris Dancing*.[67] In addition David Mills has altered our thinking of the nature of the Chester cycle with *Recycling the Cycle*, the fourth in the SEED series.[68] The very first in the SEED series was Ian Lancashire's *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558* which compiled known Malone Society, antiquarian and other references to surviving dramatic records into a single topographical reference work. [69] It is neither complete nor exhaustive, nor was it meant to be. Instead it is a useful reference tool to point the scholar towards some of the more obvious records and their sources. Its maps are partly responsible for my noticing the clustering of surviving dramatic records around The Wash, but as with the rest of the work these clusters are caused partially by geographic factors, partially by political and economic ones, but substantially by which records had been selected by previous scholars.

Many other theses have been based on early English dramatic records over many years. Most notably the work of Alexandra Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (née Dorrell) which led to (and resulted from) their collaboration on the REED York

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[66] In addition to many conference papers, see also, James Stokes and Stephen K. Wright, 'The Donington Cast List: Innovation and Tradition in Parish Guild Drama in Early Elizabethan Lincolnshire', *Early Theatre* 2 (1999), 63-95.

[67] John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing, 1458-1750*, Studies in Early English Drama: 5 (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1999).

[68] David Mills, *Recycling the Cycle: the city of Chester and its Whitsun plays*, Studies in Early English Drama: 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

[69] Lancashire, Ian, *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558*, Studies in Early English Drama: 1, ed. by J.A.B. Somerset (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

volume.[70] More recently there have been theses such as Patricia Badir's on the records of dramatic activity in York, Beverley and Hull.[71] But research into early drama records has not only benefited the field of early English drama itself, but also many tangential fields in the humanities. REED itself notes how valuable its resources are to the fields of social history, music history, costume history and the history of language.[72] Studies have even taken place on the benefit of REED research being used in education, and REED itself has created multimedia education resources.

Not surprisingly, those who write on late medieval ritual, religion, and folkloristic studies have often found the accessibility to the records that REED volumes provide to be of significant use. One example is the history of customs and beliefs chronicled in Ronald Hutton's *The Stations of the Sun*.[73] The availability of records of previously marginalised entertainment customs from diverse locations around Britain has helped Hutton because of the nature of his study which is a general, highly comparative one. Similarly, work such as Gail McMurray Gibson's *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* has benefited not only from the availability of records, but also from the research that they have in turn generated.[74] Concentrating even more on religious history, Miri Rubin's excellent work on *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* also uses REED research in conjunction with other early drama research as a valuable part of her study.[75]

Discoveries of the sort that REED has made, coupled with an interest in new perspectives on early English drama sparked by recent theoretical debates have spawned a number of revisionist histories of early English drama. By far the most

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[70] Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Dorrell, 'The Doomsday Pageant of the York Mercers, 1433', *LSE* 5 (1971), 29-34. See also their 'The York Mercers and their Pageant of Doomsday, 1433-1526', *LSE* 6 (1972), 10-35 and finally Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (neé Dorrell), eds., *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).

[71] Patricia Badir, *Playing Space: "commonwealth", "community", and dramatic activity in York, Beverley and Hull, 1500-1600*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Leeds: School of English, University of Leeds, 1994).

[72] See for example their web pages proclaiming this, available at "http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~reed/others.html" (at the time of submission of this thesis).

[73] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[74] Gail McMurray Gibson, *Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

[75] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

important of these is Cox and Kastan's *A New History of Early English Drama*.[76] With a foreword by Stephen Greenblatt, it clearly marks itself as a product of the theoretical debates of the past few decades, an idea which is emphasised in Cox and Kastan's own introduction to the work. Nevertheless, it draws heavily on the work of REED and both REED and SEED editors number amongst the scholars contributing to the volume and it is their articles which are most relevant to this thesis.

Placing this thesis into a category in order to situate it in the wider context of early English drama is difficult because, like many of the above works themselves, it crosses most rigidly defined disciplines. It concentrates mostly on the social and cultural explication of the re-edited records, but in choosing those records takes a broader and more contextual approach than the strict guidelines usually adhered to in published collections of extracted records. For example, this thesis often edits a greater documentary context around the records to provide a sense of where the originally edited record has been decontextualised.

Contributions of Method and Substance

This thesis makes distinctive contributions to its field in both its methodological approaches and the substance of the thesis itself. Its methods are based on the recontextualisation of Malone Society extracts and the reinterpretation and reselection of these extracts within that context. Within the main chapters this thesis exploits the differences between the sources used and the various communities examined in order to explore the nature of contextual studies and the variety of approaches this enables.

In Chapter Two the dramatic and musical activity of King's Lynn is studied, and this is followed by the study of paradramatic ritual and entertainment in Chapter Three. As one of the sites with the greatest number of extant documents, two different types of contextual studies are attempted. Firstly, single types of entertainment are examined through the varying sorts of records that the Malone Society examines such as guild accounts, chamberlains' accounts and hall books. This allows a comparative study of the information concerning certain thematic categories from the context of the local archive as a whole. In doing so, many documents and differing records are used

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[76] John D. Cox, and David Scott Kastan, eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

to illuminate a single topic. Secondly, a particular type of entertainment from a single location, King's Lynn, is studied through a single type of document. In this case, the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts are used to study the possible nature of the Corpus Christi procession in King's Lynn.

The inclusion of King's Lynn in this thesis allows the study of many and varied documents as it is the most prosperous, most politically active, and largest community studied. This facilitates the consideration of the interaction of King's Lynn with the communities around it and the effect that this city might have had on the hinterland surrounding it. That other towns depended on King's Lynn for consumer goods at its two markets is certain, but it is also noteworthy that civic entertainment in King's Lynn could attract the interest of nearby towns and noble families. King's Lynn was a large and prosperous port but as its economic fortunes changed so did its relationship with nearby towns. This is most concretely demonstrated by the case of a play put on by the town for Lord Scales, and the question of whether it was performed at his residence in nearby Middleton. It is the nature of entertainment within the context of the community, and the nature of the varying types of communities, which are studied.

The sheer number of documents which fortunately survive in the King's Lynn archive can also be used to demonstrate the importance and improbability of the survival of such a rich archive. Directly across The Wash from King's Lynn is the very similar port of Boston which was one of its nearest rivals for economic interchange. That this competition is of concern can be seen in the many documented cases of dredging operations in the waterways to and from King's Lynn. Boston has comparatively very few similar documents which survive, and certainly not the richness and variety of documents of the King's Lynn archive. This paucity of extant documents means that the initial intention of a comparison between these two economic rivals had to be abandoned.

In Chapter Four, the entertainment of the single small rural parish of Snettisham is studied through one of the few surviving documents concerning it -- a single volume of churchwardens' accounts. This introduces a type of document not available in King's Lynn (which has no surviving late medieval churchwardens' accounts) but is a more common survival in many small rural communities. Although guilds existed in these small towns, they either did not keep such intricate and bureaucratic accounts as the much larger guilds of cities like King's Lynn or these do

not survive. Although this chapter studies the records of a single location, it is not only the entertainment of Snettisham which is considered, but the context of those events in respect to their relationship with surrounding communities. The single volume of churchwardens' accounts records a high degree of interaction and intercommunal entertainment between these villages. While the individual communities did not have the wealth of a larger town, their frequent intercommunal fundraising efforts produce a cumulative amount of entertainment that is greater than their individual scope. While the study of the interaction between Snettisham and the nearby communities through a single document does not allow the type of cross-document comparisons that are seen in the chapters on King's Lynn, it still raises many interesting questions concerning the nature of the entertainment pursued.

Another difficulty is raised because the foliation of the Snettisham volume in its bound state is unchronological. While the context of the extracted records is those records surrounding them, the chronological context of the folio or folios for a particular year is often not easily determined. It is as much for this reason as for simple ease of use that my transcriptions of the document have been arranged chronologically.

In Chapter Five another variation upon the idea of studying a single community's entertainment is undertaken through the examination of a single set of documents. One of the differences between this site and the others is the extremely detailed nature of the household accounts of the Lestrange family of Hunstanton. That the accounts are not civic or ecclesiastical but from a private noble family requires different perspectives and forms of understanding from the reader of these texts. These perspectives are necessarily socio-economic within a familial context as the records detail expenses that household communities, as opposed to towns, churches or guilds, are more likely to incur. While the accounts are not devoid of entertainment, different forms of such activity are recorded because of the nature of the documents themselves. Just as with the rural setting of Snettisham, the geographical location of this noble family is a significant contributing factor to the forms and frequency of some entertainment.

These highly detailed household accounts for the Lestrange family highlight that a single document, or single set of documents, can contain several divergent perspectives on the same type of activity. These accounts originate from various

members of the family and their employees, enabling access to a significantly broad scope of information and detail concerning the activities of the household as a whole, especially when compared to the often single or double authored accounts of guilds, chamberlains and churchwardens studied elsewhere. That the accounts could be termed an uncompiled compilation seems contradictory. The individual accounts vary from being roughly chronological accounting notes, to condensed accounts for a whole year's expenses for a particular individual. These individual accounts from differing members of the household are then often anthologised chronologically, but occasionally a run of years by a single member of the household is bound continuously. This means that in some cases a chronological context of the individual accounts has been created, but the surrounding folios contain the accounts of different sections of the household. This raises the problem of documentary contexts which are simultaneously chronologically coherent but scribally (and often socially) divergent.

In Chapter Six the churchwardens' accounts of Tilney All Saints are examined in detail. This chapter raises interesting issues concerning the contextual studies in the rest of the thesis. The Malone Society did not discover the whereabouts of the manuscript or of Stallard's more complete transcription but relied instead on flawed antiquarian extracts from it.[77] As I rediscovered the manuscript in the Wisbech and Fenland Museum, it was necessary to make a decision either to study only the antiquarian extracts (available in the Norfolk Record Office) or to provide new extracts from the manuscript to which the Malone Society did not have access.[78] Strictly speaking, the documentary context of the Malone Society's extracted records is the body of antiquarian extracts which it used. As the Malone Society editors regretted not being able to discover the manuscript, in the interests of further research and to allow a tripartite contextual study, entirely new transcriptions from the manuscript itself were undertaken. This allows comparison between the document (in the form of my transcriptions) with the various antiquarian transcriptions and Malone Society extracts. It is significantly different from Chapter Four (on the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts), because the Malone Society extracts are not from the original document, and this is one of the very few cases where extracts from a manuscript not studied by

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[77] NRO: Bradfer-Lawrence (II e) and A.D. Stallard, *The Transcript of the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Tilney All Saints, Norfolk, 1443 to 1589*, transcribed 1914 (London: Mitchell, Hughes and Clarke, 1922).
[78] Wisbech and Fenland Museum: M/R 99/M.

the Malone Society are transcribed.[79]

The location of Tilney All Saints, a small fenland village, while not too distant from both King's Lynn and Wisbech, has a significant impact on the nature of the text and our perspectives of it. The economic interaction of Tilney All Saints with King's Lynn and Wisbech is similar to that of Snettisham with King's Lynn (on the other side) and nearby Hunstanton. That these documents are also churchwardens' accounts immediately associates them with those of Snettisham studied in Chapter Four. Simply because of the nature of the document type, there are many similarities in the types of ecclesiastical ritual and entertainment found in these two agrarian parishes. Comparisons between these two locations are drawn in respect to a number of activities which are not recorded in larger centres like King's Lynn. The significantly less intercommunal activity recorded in Tilney All Saints differentiates it from all other churchwardens' accounts studied in the thesis.

In Chapter Seven a different approach to a contextual study of early entertainment is undertaken. The extracts from the Malone Society's *Collections* for Lincolnshire are used as a starting point for a comparative study that recontextualises extracts from Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton. This approach allows the comparison not only of multiple documents, as in King's Lynn, but also multiple locations. While the locations are chosen for their similarities of size, economic nature and the chronology of the extant documents, the comparison of their records of entertainment shows great differences not only in their documentary practices, but also the variety of entertainment to which they had access. Another similarity between these parishes is that the fenland topography in which they are situated places them on well travelled land routes through the area to nearby Boston. As a result, their churchwardens' accounts record a significant amount of travelling entertainment. This differs greatly from the small amount of intercommunal activity found in Tilney All Saints in Chapter Six. The travelling entertainment recorded is also different from that found in the churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham in that a significant number of performers are found to be travelling in this area.

The nature of the recontextualisation of the Malone Society extracts in Lincolnshire is also given both a currency and validation by the recent research of

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[79] The other instances are both from King's Lynn, being a minstrel's letter of recommendation from the Book of William Asshebourne (KL/C 10/2, fol. 26v.) and the indenture for the provision of candles for the Guild of Corpus Christi (KL/GD/33A).

James Stokes who is undertaking the REED volume for Lincolnshire. That the REED project itself has reached the stage at which it is re-examining those areas for which Malone Society *Collections* already exist indicates not only the perceived difference in their principles of selection, but their methodology and tacit agenda. It is the differential between what will become new REED volumes for these areas and the Malone Society *Collections* used in this thesis which is the impetus for contextual studies. That the REED project is returning to the documents themselves -- and performing a very similar recontextualisation, reselection and reinterpretation to the one that this thesis undertakes, revalidates the assumptions from which this study originates.

Since the different motivations in production and the different types of documents in themselves are problematic as comparative sources, the one aspect of the varying types of documents and communities which can be compared is naturally exploited. The financial accounts relied upon are just that, financial accounts, and as such they often record the funding for the types of entertainment and spectacle discussed. Although different types of people produce them, and at different times, with different levels of detail and very different motivations, their one common relationship is that they record financial information. Funding for entertainment is best seen in the study of Snettisham, which has very active and vibrant aspects of fundraising traditions. This produces an interesting contrast to the comparative wealth of the elite of King's Lynn.

It is not only a contribution by way of methodology that this thesis makes, but one of substance and material discovered. Part of a by-product of this research, in its recontextualisation, reselection and reinterpretation of Malone Society extracts, is the inevitable discovery of items the Malone Society would have edited but missed. Not only does this re-emphasise the provisional nature of all archival work, but the reality of human error. Why the Malone Society chose to include something or not, and possible reasons for its mistakes in judgement are posited during the discussion of the records, since this also impacts on their interpretation.

While it is the express purpose of this thesis to re-examine the records edited by the Malone Society volumes, and to do so in greater depth than its guidelines allowed, it should be stated that it is not intended as a critique of the work of the editors themselves. In helpfully commenting on some of the work done for this thesis, John

Wasson has recalled the editorial battles which he had to fight in order to get many of the important but less than theatrical records included in the published edition.[80] The editors behind the *Collections* volumes, although sometimes collaborating with others, did not have access to the resources, support, checking and re-checking that are part of the REED process. In comparison Wasson finds that the greater scope that the REED volumes he has worked on produces a much more accurate and representational picture. Also, the work for the Norfolk/Suffolk Malone Society volume was completed a number of years before the Society was able to publish it, and so this affected some editorial decisions. For these reasons, and a desire not to ascribe blame to any of the individuals involved in the publications, the work is consistently referred to as being edited by an unspecific and singular 'Malone Society' throughout this thesis. As a respondent to a paper arising out of research for this thesis, one of Theresa Coletti's few (tacitly accepted) critiques of my approach was that she felt individual fault should be indicated where possible.[81] Since decisions on the editorial content of the volume were made by the individual editors as well as the general series editor this is not practicable nor do I believe it is desirable. When other work of Galloway, Kahrl or Wasson (the Malone Society editors responsible for the volumes used) is consulted, they are cited as individuals.

The return to the documents is also partially prompted by the desire to understand confusing or unclear records in the edited volumes. It is through this that a greater appreciation of their meaning and significance can be established. For example, in the editing of the Snettisham records, the Malone society casually dismisses the purchasing of a lamb for the St Edmund's procession as simply a curious feature. In re-examining the records and editing those for this regular purchase carefully, the crucial fact that the lamb was being bought in Hunstanton led to the discovery of the goal of the procession. Since the original editors had misunderstood this set of records, the specific nature of the procession also evaded them. It is this type of discovery that one naturally makes when re-examining the original context of

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[80] This was in response to questions during a session organised (by myself) at the International Medieval Congress, 1998, entitled *Finding Entertainment in The Wash Basin* at which Peter Meredith, Anne L. Brannen, John Marshall and I gave papers on the nature of entertainment in this area.

[81] As a respondent to a paper of mine entitled "Contexts, Questions and Confusions: Dramatic Activity in Norfolk" given at the Thirty-Second International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 8-11 May, 1997, she criticised primarily my use of 'the Malone Society' instead of specifying (in that case) John Wasson personally.

previously edited records.

Another aspect of a return to the archives is not only that new sources can be discovered, such as the churchwardens' accounts of Tilney All Saints but also that additional negative confirmation that the Malone Society and others have not missed other texts of significant interest to the field as a whole can be achieved. Since outside the major cycle plays the majority of surviving late medieval drama is linguistically from East Anglia, a focus on this area is very important. There is a very real need to confirm not only the absence of any other unknown plays, unlikely to be hidden in the now well catalogued archives, but also to retrieve possible information relevant to discussions concerning the surviving drama. It is a contribution to the field of early drama not only to know what is there but also what is not there. It is a great detriment to the study of these plays not to have a broader archive based knowledge of what other information may, or may not, survive concerning them and other entertainment.

Some of the most important of the extant plays are of course the so called 'N-Town Plays' (only relatively recently realised to be not a cycle of plays but an anthology), which have for some time been thought to have originated from Norfolk. Many arguments have recognised the well-known plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and E Museo 160 (including such canonical plays as *The Conversion of St Paul*, *Mary Magdalene* and *Wisdom*) as originating from East Anglia, and despite numerous arguments as to their possible origins none is completely conclusive. The need to have someone read over documents from the area that is conscious of these debates is important. While this is not the prime intention of this thesis, it remains a benefit of its research. While the possibility of the *Mary Magdalene* play originating from King's Lynn is discussed in Chapter Two, no startling evidence concerning the provenance of surviving textual drama is found nor are there any miraculous discoveries of previously unknown medieval plays.[82]

In addition, one of the reasons why the study of local areas such as that surrounding The Wash is important is to counteract previous academic concentration on London and drama of the court. The absence of the provinces from the study of much late medieval and Renaissance drama is regrettable and in the last three decades

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[82] The only claim that one of the major medieval plays comes from one of the specific communities studied (as opposed to many claims that they come from this general area) is a linguistic argument by Jacob Bennett for the provenence of the Mary Magdalene being Bishop's (later King's) Lynn. See 'The Mary Magdalene of Bishop's Lynn', *Studies in Philology*, 75:1 (1978), 1-9.

the REED project has gone a long way to correcting the numerous misconceptions that have been enshrined as canonical 'fact' through its own initial concentration on other areas.

This thesis contributes to that ever expanding knowledge of areas previously marginalised within the study of early dramatic records. Many of the implications of the material covered by this thesis necessarily are directed by the nature of its re-examination of the work of the Malone Society. Since the extracts are recontextualised they force a reconsideration of the Malone Society's motives for the manner of editing certain records and its understanding of those records.

An example of this, mentioned briefly earlier, are those records the Malone Society edit concerning Radulph Bedyngham. In this case, decisions made on how to edit individual records are both based on misleading assumptions about their content and create a misleading understanding of those records. A benefit in returning to the primary documents is that these extracts are seen in their original context and any assumptions made in editing them are revealed. There is evidence of an extreme misunderstanding of King's Lynn Guild of Corpus Christi account rolls. The accounts from 1402/3 (KL/GD/5) contains the following 'Dat*i* Ministrall*is*' section:

> Dat*i* Ministrall*is*
> Et sol*utis* div*er*sis Ministrall*is* op*us* su*um* in d*ic*to *fes*to ib*id*em facient*ibus* x^{s} [ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Ade Waryne sup*ra* d*ic*t*i* Et Will*el*mo Wylde vigilatori / ville p*ro* labore suo tam in d*ic*to *fes*to quam in Octab*o* eiusd*em* p*ro* ij Ann*o* vj^{s} viij^{d}][83] ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Rad*ulph*i supradi*ct*i Et al*iis* div*er*sis ministr*allis* / ib*id*em inter*essent*ibus vj^{s} viij^{d} ut in p*ar*ticul*a* eiusd*em* R*adulphi* [84]

The Malone Society does not edit the record to William Wylde and this will be considered during the section on waits in Chapter Two. In addition, that it does not edit the phrase 'ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Ade Waryne sup*ra* d*ic*t*i*' after the first payment to 'div*er*sis Ministrall*is*' puts a different emphasis on the final clause, which it does edit, 'ut in p*ar*ticul*a* eiusd*em* R*adulphi*'. The R. is expanded to R*adulphi* on the basis of the earlier 'ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Rad*ulph*i supradi*ct*i', and though it does edit this phrase, there are a number of instances in which the Malone Society casually ignores it. Aside from the decision to increase the fragmentary nature of the extracts by not editing part of the record, this causes the creation of an assumption which becomes 'fact' in an editorial

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[83] The Malone Society does not edit this.
[84] KL/GD/5.

note that the Malone Society provides as a footnote to this final record: "Radulph Bedyngham, a minstrel".[85]

The sudden decision to embark on interpretation of this sort, that Radulph Bedyngham is a minstrel, is based solely on the mention of his name in these records. A slightly earlier set of records from 1401/2 also contributed to this misunderstanding:

> Dati Ministrallis
> Et solutis iij Ministrallis facientibus ministrationem in dicto festo
> & in Octabo eiusdem ut in particula Radulphi de Bedyngham vij[s]
> Et Roberto / Trumper & sociis suis iij[s] Et cuidam ffydeler sicut pro
> labore suo ut in particula Ade Waryne supra dicti xij[d] [86]

Owing to these numerous mentions of Radulph Bedyngham in connection with minstrelsy the Malone Society assumes that he is a minstrel. The problem with making this assumption, which can only have been made some time after the manuscripts were examined, is that it is entirely unjustified. As will be shown below, Radulph Bedyngham was not a minstrel.

Not only is Bedyngham listed almost twenty times in the *Red Register of Lynn*, a civic hall book, as holding a variety of major civic posts, but he was a member of the council of the 'Twenty Four' *potenciores* in charge of most of the city's administration.[87] He is also recorded as representing the *potenciores* in making a declaration to abide by the decisions made concerning the disputes over the mayoralty and town finances in King's Lynn in the early 1400's. In doing so he was standing as a representative of the highest of their three social classes. He was a very important merchant in the town and is mentioned in numerous quitclaims and deeds. While it remains a possibility that he was also a performing minstrel by occupation, it is unlikely for someone of such social and political importance.

If there is so much evidence to suggest that Bedyngham was not a minstrel, the question should be asked what convinced the Malone Society that he was a minstrel? It must have been the phrase "ut *in* particula eiusdem Radulphi" which convinced them enough to write a footnote to this effect.[88] Bedyngham is not the only person who is noted as such: a similar phrase is used of Adam Waryne in both the passages

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[85] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 41.
[86] KL/GD/4.
[87] *The Red Register of King's Lynn, Transcribed by R. F. Isaacson.*, ed. by Holcombe Ingleby (King's Lynn: Thew and Son, 1919-1922)
[88] KL/GD/5.

quoted above.[89]

It is unlikely that this phrase exists solely in the King's Lynn archives, but one does not need to go outside of them, or this very account roll, in order to find other occurrences of it. To be specific, in the account roll KL/GD/5, the first of the quotations above, there are more than twenty uses of exactly this phrase. The same is true for KL/GD/4, also quoted above, and for most of the other Corpus Christi Guild accounts throughout the rest of the century. In every single instance this phrase refers back to one of the two treasurers of the guild listed in the incipit of that roll. It is more correctly understood as meaning 'as in the particulars [i.e. detailed accounts] of Radulph Bedyngham'. In the years for the examples quoted above, Waryne and Bedyngham were both treasurers for the Guild of Corpus Christi. Thus, Radulph de Bedyngham was not a minstrel.

One of the others reasons that this is important is that it highlights the dangers of making editorial decisions on the content of records based solely on the edited extracts. It would have been impossible for the Malone Society to have read through even a handful of the rolls, much less the thirty or so extant ones that it provides extracts from, without routinely encountering this phrase a least a few times per section. Thus, if it did indeed read through them carefully, then the decision to footnote Bedyngham as a minstrel must have taken place when one of the editors was far from the records, with only a partial transcript, or some other limited access to the remainder of the roll. While there is the possibility that a general editor made this interpretative decision, it is also possible that the editors were supplied unreliable transcriptions by assistants. Through the very presentation and editing of these records the editors are engaging in an interpretative research inquiry not sustainable through the extracts themselves. This also highlights why it would be dangerous, as Theresa Coletti wants, to place blame for the editions entirely on the shoulders of any one of the individual volume editors.

Political Contexts and Early Drama

In recent studies of the cultural and political context of early drama the theoretical challenges to archival work discussed above do not dissuade scholars from this type of research. Most have recognised the benefits of being aware of the

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[89] KL/GD/5 and KL/GD/4.

assumptions inherent in their methodology, and many have even embraced the new methods of constructing historical narratives that this has engendered. One of the prime examples of the benefits of new historicism in particular is the recognition of the ways in which power — especially royal power — is constructed and maintained through theatrical means. Such ideas, which foreground the concepts with which drama historians are already familiar, have been eagerly welcomed. Some have seen that these ideas have even further applications to the ways in which civic power is enshrined.

> In using record of entertainment in the provinces, I have found the most important insight of New Historicism to be its recognition of the theatricality of power in Early-Modern England. New Historicists like Stephen Greenblatt have argued that, in the absence of a standing army or national police force, royal power was maintained through theatrical means, such as Royal Entries, which visually and verbally represent royal authority, engendering coercive belief as support for the legal foundation of that authority. New Historicism has tended to focus on the authority of the Crown, but the situation was similar for urban élites in the provinces. The mayors and councils of provincial towns did have means of enforcing their authority: fines, stocking, imprisonment, and the like. Yet social historians like Natalie Zemon Davis, Charles Phythian-Adams and Mervyn James have demonstrated that the social structure of late-medieval towns was largely constituted by ceremonial display.[90]

Some scholars working in the field of early drama records are reluctant to venture out of their specialism to draw attention to the political significance of some of the records they uncover. In encouraging more drama historians to consider the political nature of some of the documents they read, Walker raises a call to arms:

> Since the pioneering work of David Bevington in the 1960s, it has been clear that there is a political dimension to early dramatic activity which is in need of exploration. But that fact is, in itself, of little interest to the mainstream political historian. The drama scholar is still left in the position of parasite in this relationship, the intellectual debtor, learning from the study of politics the information which can shed light upon dramatic texts or records, but offering little in return. The crucial step is to move from the demostration that drama might be *about* political activity to the demonstration that drama itself is, in many cases, a political activity, and that this observation has considerable consequences for the study and appreciation of both drama and politics, not just in the theorised generalities favoured by the literary New Historicism, but in terms which historians will recognise and find useful.[91]

This thesis, as mentioned above, does not pursue all the possibilities of political

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[90] Peter H. Greenfield, 'Using Dramatic Records', pp. 80-1.
[91] Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?', pp. 46-7.

conflict and interaction presented in its research, to do so is outside of its scope. That certain noble families such as those of Bardolf, Beaufort and Scales are connected with entertainment in King's Lynn is important. In the chapter concerning Hunstanton the intimate life of the Lestrange family is discussed. The political connections are raised, but not followed through, because that is not the point of this thesis. To re-examine the relationship between the Lord Scales and the political elite of King's Lynn, or Thomas Lestrange's highly political travels through East Anglia are two themes that should be considered separately from this thesis which concentrates on the entertainment itself. The works of the late Roger Virgoe as assembled in a posthumous collection on *East Anglian Society and the Political Community of Late Medieval England* are exactly the type of comparison from local to regional and regional to national political spheres that show the impact of national events to a very real local social context.[92] Virgoe's work is especially good in highlighting the relationships between the East Anglian social elite and the parliamentary history of England.

It is, of course, not just connections to the politics of the age which are evinced by the records surveyed but also the religious culture of both the area and the nation as a whole. This is clearly evident whether it is in the ritual use of plough lights in Tilney All Saints, or in the devotion of parishioners of Snettisham in their annual pilgrimage to a chapel they believed to be a remnant of St Edmund's royal palace.

The material being studied is continually being affected by the processes of socio-economic, political, and religious change in the communities themselves and the nation as a whole. One of the most obvious processes of change is the Reformation since it directly impacts upon a number of the sources used, specifically the churchwardens' accounts. As can be seen by records from Snettisham it had a very real effect on the churchwardens themselves. Thomas Banyard's accounts from 1579/80 have him submitting expenses for his own excommunication.

> Item my chardges at the courte — viij^{d}
>
> ...
>
> Item at ffakenham when I was excommunicated — vj^{d}
>
> ...
>
> Item at Lynne for one booke of Artycles — vj^{d}

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[92] *East Anglian Society and the Political Community of Late Medieval England: Selected Papers of Roger Virgoe*, Caroline Brow, Carole Rawcliffe and Joel T. Rosenthal, eds. (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1997).

Item my chardges there — vj[d] [93]

The possible narratives that can be constructed concerning the court, the excommunication and the subsequent purchase of a 'booke of Artycles' in King's Lynn are multifarious. This is misleading as these records were included partly for the circular purpose of demonstrating here the range of religious and social effect the greater changes in the communities and nation as a whole have on the source material being studied. That a churchwarden documents his own excommunication is, admittedly, an unusual occurrence even in Reformation accounts. These records are out of the approximate temporal range for this thesis, but were included because of their unusual nature and for the sake of documentary continuity. The Snettisham churchwardens' accounts date from 1467/8 to 1581/2. A decision was made on principle to examine the rest of the document to see if particular activities under discussion continued past the cut off date. Indeed, in the case of Snettisham it is found that the Ingoldisthorpe procession and other activities do continue past this point, and as such records from the remainder of the document were also transcribed.

The greater social and political context continually affects the communities which these sources document, and the very sources themselves. It must be stressed that any understanding of the effect upon these sources by national events is a dangerous mode of interpretation. Although no study of such sources is objective, a researcher takes the risk of projecting onto his source the meanings that they expect to find there. For example, there are also expenses for the destroying of altars in Snettisham in 1548/9.

[fol. 122v]
...
Item payed to Robe*r*te Grawnte for brekyn*g* up of yee altars — iiij[d]
Item payed to ye same Robe*r*te for x dayes worke / meate and
wage*s* — iij[s] iiij[d]
...

What appears first as casually documenting a destructive act by those whose responsibility it is to maintain and protect the parish church, might also be explained by the successive renovation work recorded in surrounding years to repair a church damaged by storms. These records include substantial building work which could play

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[93] NRO: PD 24/1, fol. 56r.

a part in the removing and later resanctification, or the replacement, of the altars. While it certainly remains a distinct possibility, if we were to assume that this breaking up of altars was indicative of the changes in religious practices taking place in the country as a whole, we would run the risk of projecting onto these records an interpretation that we already had in mind when we came to them. While the Reformation certainly had an effect on the parish of Snettisham, it is the records in their context which provide a clearer picture of what the individual records mean, and what effects the greater political and religious context might have had on them. Rarely are the records so tantalisingly indicative of this religious change. What is more frequent is the introduction of Reformation practices and the gradual cessation of other ritualistic practices that go unrecorded in any explicit manner, for example the use of lights in Tilney All Saints.[94]

Perspectives and the Changing Past

Hindsight is not the only distortion that our temporal and cultural distance from the records imposes on our view of the records. Even if we are aware of the biases and assumptions that we come to the records with and are naturally inherent in the questions we seek to ask these texts, we must admit the lack of neutrality of the texts themselves. As products of their own cultural environment they are created with a distorting perspective and agenda in themselves.

> Moreover, that is not the only lens that interposes itself between us and a clear view of the past. We can see the past only through the records, and as Coletti has argued, an important contribution of post-modern theory to medieval studies is the recognition that documentary evidence does not provide us with neutral, objective recordings of 'what actually happened'. Recognising the 'textualised nature of historical data' forces us to employ the same tools of textual analysis to interpret documentary records that we use on literary texts. For instance, Daryl Palmer has observed of the records of Norwich in David Galloway's REED edition: 'every textualisation of travelling performers by Norwich authorities produces documents of control and appropriation. The texts claim to simply report performance culture even as they produce it themselves, constructing the very possiblities of performance.'[95]

The use of literary analysis of documentary records helps to expose the unreliability of those textual details we often regard as 'fact'. Just as the Norwich authorities, in recording the arrival of travelling performers, believe that they simply report their

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[94] See Chapter Six.

[95] Peter H. Greenfield, 'Using Dramatic Records', p. 79. See also note 8, p. 92.

existence in relation to a very specific agenda, they are often creating the only extant textual fragment indicating that there was even the possibility of performance. Those who wrote the original accounts selected and removed all extraneous material concerning any entertainment being recorded — there is no need for the agents of any specific authority to record performance details which are not required for the usually financial basis of the documents being produced. While the political nature of such records of control and appropriation in this thesis is most obvious in those from King's Lynn (and the construction and maintenance of their power through theatrical means), politics are present in one form or another in most of the documents looked at in this thesis. Owing to the multifarious nature of these often divergent social and political motivations, it is impossible for us ever to understand the records except using such biased documents as a foundation. The most obvious of all of the distortions is that the records themselves, although written down for completely different reasons, were constructed not only by a literate minority, but often by people in a position of power and inherent interest in the status quo. In simply being the person it is necessary to be in order to be responsible for the accounts discussed, the motivations of the individuals involved are brought into question.

> In using dramatic records we thus have to deal with the fact that when we look at the past through the records we are looking through at least two lenses. One lens is shaped by our own experiences and beliefs. The other lens takes its shape from the nature of the records themselves, from the fact that almost all the evidence we have of early dramatic activity consists of records written down and preserved by agents of authority — town councils, civil and ecclesiastical courts, parish churchwardens, and the like. We cannot remove these lenses, nor can we hope to apply our own correcting lens to reverse the distortions and achieve a perfectly clear and unaltered view of what originally happened. Unlike the optical scientists who designed the lenses to 'fix' the Hubble Space Telescope (itself an instrument for seeing into the past), we have no means of precisely measuring the original distortion.[96]

That these distortions, both our own and those of the documents themselves, are unresolvable and impossible to overcome does not invalidate such historical enquiry. In the end it only makes it necessarily a product of our own cultural experience. If the point of such an enquiry is to understand the nature of the past, then that this understanding is only able to be done within our own postmodern culture and experience is not in the least bit problematic. Any contributions to the understanding

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[96] Peter H. Greenfield, 'Using Dramatic Records', p. 79.

of the past, and in this case its entertainment, simply becomes part of a continually evolving, re-examining and reselecting process of understanding our own history. Just as previous work has shown the assumptions and hypotheses of earlier scholars to have borne fruit or have needed to be re-evaluated, the work being done today will at some point be judged on the basis of its own assumptions. In many ways this continual evolution, reframing and reinterpretation that is an understood reality of the nature of historical enquiry is seen in the very nature of this thesis's own recontextualisation, reselection and reinterpretation of Malone Society extracts.

The distortion we face is not limited to that which our own cultural experience forces on us by accident of birth. It is undeniable that we also face changes to our sources in many forms of both historical and structural influence. At the outset the very survival of some sources in comparison with others is a product of the intervening time and cultural biases. The preservation of accounting records which serve no immediate benefit to civic or ecclesiastical authorities is in itself problematic. It is exactly those types of documents that are most likely to serve no use when they are twenty years out of date which provide the majority of the edited records of early English drama. Chamberlains' accounts, for example, are kept to resolve any later disagreements concerning the financial activities of the governing body for that year. Except for foundation charters or major political or legal agreements, there is little need to keep them even twenty years, never mind four to seven centuries. It is precisely because of this that the immense amount of survival in places like the King's Lynn archive are of such significance.

> They carefully preserved those records which might be useful in later years: tax rates, charters, title deeds, court decisions, and the like. But itemized expense accounts of mayors and chamberlains, when they were kept at all, very likely were preserved less by deliberate design than by accident, force of habit, or the unwillingness of some filing clerk to make a mistake.[97]

The examination of the documents dealt with in this thesis continually reminds us of the extremely fortunate and provisional nature of their survival. That no parish registers survive from medieval King's Lynn, when these would be extremely valuable in tracing familial connections between entertainers, is an unfortunate example. Likewise the state of binding, rebinding, cropping and misfoliation of the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts is a result of earlier misguided attempts at conservation. The

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[97] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. ix.

blemishing of many manuscripts in the King's Lynn archive by having a red inked seal of the corporation's arms impressed randomly throughout them was an unfortunate, but understandable, attempt by an early archivist Harrod to quell the tide of manuscripts that were going missing and appearing in private collections elsewhere.

There are also changes in the type of information recorded in a single source over time. The nature of what types of expenditure are viewed as important to record gradually evolves in relationship to the concerns and priorities of the culture documenting these expenses. The individual or social body that is responsible for recording certain types of expenses, such as those for entertainment, also are seen to shift over time. For example, in the records from King's Lynn the "payment of gratuities to entertainers was transferred from the chamberlains to the mayor at the beginning of the sixteenth century"[98] — and most of the mayor's accounts do not survive. Similarly, if the recording body or organisation that produces the documents is superseded or changed by those superiors from which they derive their authority, this has undeniable effects upon the nature of the documents. In King's Lynn, the decision of Henry VIII to dissolve the religious guilds not only brought an end to their accounting records but, as much property was handed over to the city, it changed the structure and nature of the political system in the town and the documents which it produced.

These contemporary changes of a social and political nature are not the only processes of historical and structural change to affect the sources studied. The numerous similar changes that have taken place since also influence our perception of and access to the sources themselves. For example, the churchwardens' accounts of Tilney All Saints are rediscovered and examined in Chapter Six. These had at one time been in the King's Lynn archive, but were undiscovered by the Malone Society. When the nineteenth century changes in policy concerning what documents should be stored in the archive were investigated, it was discovered that after the opening of the Wisbech and Fenland Museum many documents concerning fenland areas were moved to this new location. What the Malone Society could not find because of an early shift in policy was eventually rediscovered through a careful search of the museum's archive.

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[98] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. ix.

REED, the Malone Society and this thesis

Since the foundation of this work is a re-examination of the work of the Malone Society's *Collections* volumes — and on at least a theoretical basis the REED project which it helped to engender — the differences between these projects and this thesis should be examined.

As has already been stated a number of times the prime difference is that this thesis, while it does present appendices of transcriptions available nowhere else, is that it returns to extracts that have already been edited and recontextualises, reselects and reinterprets these records within their documentary context. As such, it is not the intent to produce a volume of edited records. Although the appendices are a necessary part of the thesis, they are not the thesis in themselves. While every care has been taken to produce reliable transcriptions, since after all that is what the discussion is based upon, they have not gone through the rigorous checking or had the support that preparation of a volume for REED would have.

That the prime methodological endeavour of this thesis is a return to documents based on already edited extracts, is also significantly different from the type of research (and end product) of similar Malone Society and REED research. While those projects desire to create editions of extracted entertainment records from searching the available manuscripts (and in some cases from antiquarian transcriptions and earlier dramatic and local histories) they are much more likely to discover new entertainment records which did not feature in these earlier works. Since much of the principles of selection of the Malone Society and this thesis overlap, the majority of types of entertainment which are of interest to this thesis were also of interest to the Malone Society editors. Owing to the common elements of interest there are only a few reasons why new records are edited for this thesis. Firstly, the documentary context of records is often edited to aid in discussion of the relationship between the record and the type of document as well as other nearby entries. This, by far the largest category, includes entries which are transcribed because they give corroborating detail or an expansion of understanding of another topic under discussion. Secondly, while a great deal of the principles of selection overlap, the Malone Society's primary focus was that of performed textual drama, rather than a more general interest in early entertainment history. While some records excluded in the Malone Society publications were of immense personal interest to the editors, they didn't always meet

the publication guidelines. Thirdly, records are included which the Malone Society simply missed through various human errors, or those which in light of further research it has been decided the Malone Society mistakenly excluded having misunderstood their significance in comparison with others.

This starting point is very different from that of the original Malone Society editors and has a number of methodological and theoretical implications. While most of the manuscripts studied contain at least one record both discovered and extracted for editing by the original editors, this thesis starts already knowing that certain manuscripts will most definitely contain specific records. The original editors must have been presented with many more instances of a sense of discovery, and although that has happened with the numerous discoveries made in this thesis, it is more often the case that one is faced with a recognition of someone else's footprints in the sand. That is, there is always an awareness that someone else interested in the same type of topics has certainly already looked at that manuscript. This means that sometimes a record of particular interest was located by skimming the manuscript to find the correction section and the record the Malone Society had already extracted so that the context could be immediately ascertained. Nonetheless in every case, the start of the manuscript was returned to and the entire document read through thoroughly. This does not mean that it was only the manuscripts that the Malone Society consulted which were examined since all those manuscripts reasonably thought to have been examined by the original editors have also been read. The best example is the King's Lynn chamberlains' accounts from which the Malone Society extracts numerous records concerning drama and music. If the editors extract records from all but one account roll for a set of five years then it is very likely that they looked at that account roll as well but simply found nothing. Thus, it was decided that all the extant chamberlains' accounts should be examined for this study. This is also true for any other type of document where the original editors discovered at least one record — all surviving documents of that type have also been closely read.

This has some methodological benefits as well as theoretical problems. The major benefit has been in being able to discover more about individual performers and a great deal more contextual information concerning the development of forms of entertainment. For example, if only the documents from which the Malone Society extracted records were to be re-examined, then the significant discoveries concerning

the early waits of King's Lynn discussed in Chapter Two would not be able to be made. The methodological drawbacks are based in the obviously incorrect notion that the contents of archives are static. That new (modern) documents are continually added to an archive is not an issue since they are outside our temporal limits, but that new period documents are reacquired or rediscovered, highlights that the Malone Society did not have access to all the documents that are available today. Similarly, some documents that the Malone Society had access to could now be missing or deemed too fragile for examination, (though thankfully this has only noticeably affected a handful of documents used in this thesis). Many archives now keep records of every document request that has been made by every individual requesting to see them. While this is primarily for security reasons, it also allows later researchers such as myself to see exactly which documents from an archive a particular editor consulted. Unfortunately, in none of the archives do the records extend reliably back to the time at which the Malone Society volumes were being compiled. For some of the Norfolk records the first hand personal recollections of Susan Maddock (both King's Lynn Archivist and now Assistant Head Archivist of the Norfolk Record Office) concerning the Malone Society editors and their research have been useful.

Another of the methodological advantages of the nature of this thesis is that more specific questions have been able to be asked of the sources than by those approaching them for the first time. While no source is consulted in complete objectivity, the main intention of the Malone Society editors is to discover what the manuscript contains by way of entertainment-related records. This is also a desire of this thesis, but having access to extracted records already from some of these documents means that a different type of question can be asked. One can set about to discover not only how accurate the original transcription is, but whether any records in other documents consulted help to illuminate the meaning of that record. It is also possible to see how the extracted record relates to its documentary context — not only the other records which surround it but also the nature of the document as a whole in comparison to other similar documents.

This differs significantly from the original editors' experience of the documents in which they primarily sought to discover what the manuscript could tell them. While this approach of pseudo-objectivity in seeing what questions the document itself raises is partly accepted for the close reading of an entire manuscript, it is self-deceptive.

Whatever questions the document raises through the information, inconsistencies or confusions it presents, they are in reality located in the mind of the researcher themselves. Reading a document to 'see what is there' is just as much a methodological construct as examining it to answer specific questions — it is simply that those questions are not always fully formulated and as such are more flexible in their application. This has both advantages and drawbacks in that it frees the nature of research to allow customisation based on the corpus of documents under study, but means that some initial, though not fundamentally necessary, questions can not be answered. This is not unusual in any case since the document itself is often unable to answer many questions whether formulated explicitly in advance or developed because of the nature of the information discovered in the document. This is a necessary reality in all archive based historical research, but is highlighted in the types of documents in which the Malone Society, REED and this thesis are most likely to find information recording details of early entertainment. They are in many senses already secondary texts in themselves:

> In an obvious sense the manuscripts REED deals with are secondary rather than primary — primary, of course, in being original manuscripts, but secondary in that from the REED viewpoint, that of the student and performer of early drama, music and ceremonial, the records' usefulness consists in their ability to shed light on surviving playtexts in particular and, in general, on methods and conditions of the original performance of plays, music, entertainments and ceremonials of all sorts — which includes areas like staging, casting, financing and management, properties and costumes.[99]

One of the fundamental concepts of this approach to REED editing is that the records being edited are perceived as useful. While the usual assumption is that they are primarily useful in explaining the nature of early drama, their explication of other forms of entertainment and their use by social historians, linguists and scholars in many other fields helps to show that the manuscripts REED extracts from are very much primary sources. Wyatt's point is not that these manuscripts are less important, but simply that REED editors are conscious of their mining of them for information concerning entertainment in the same way an undergraduate student might mine a secondary source for pithy quotes and ideas to include in an essay. The value of the process of extraction and unfortunate decontextualisation is in its potential later

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[99] Diana Wyatt, 'Editing For REED', p. 163.

application. This could be considered problematic because it assumes that these records will in some way be useful because they meet the project's principles of selection — a usefulness that is uncertain for many records. Nevertheless, since an editor will never be able to judge that a particular record may or may not be crucial to a later understanding of entertainment in that area, then as many records as can be seen to fit the principles of selection must be edited in order to avoid possible oversights.

Reselection of Material

The list of what I would classify as 'dramatic records' certainly includes the 'paradramatic' and closely parallels the 'inclusion' list of the principles of selection used by the REED project.[100] This has been one of the most debated issues by those involved with the creation of the REED project. What criteria determine whether a specific record is suitable for editing or not? Much like the title of this thesis, the Records of Early English Drama project's self-descriptive title is also mostly inaccurate. While this thesis claims to study 'dramatic records' it does in reality study a much broader set of records for all sorts of entertainment and spectacle. Similarly the REED project often refers to 'evidence of dramatic, ceremonial and minstrel activity in Great Britain before 1642'. Not only does this obviously cross the boundaries of what is 'English', as Welsh and Scottish volumes have been or are being researched, but much of what is included as qualifying as 'ceremonial and minstrel activity' is not the 'drama' of the title. As such, this thesis uses 'dramatic' in its own title in approximately the same way. Rather than refer to the majority of 'dramatic' records as relating also to 'ceremonial and minstrel activity' this thesis prefers the use the term 'entertainment' in a very broad sense. In doing so it includes not only the possibility of everything imagined as dramatic, ceremonial and minstrel activity, but also other types of spectacle and diversion which are excluded from REED.

Part of the rationale for this is that much of REED's 'exclusion' list has been criticised as self-defeating. At the root of most arguments about the exclusion of one type of record or another is the concept that some of the more 'contextual' information of a non-dramatic nature should be included. This non-dramatic but contextually relevant material, for example the "routine repair to waits' houses, pensions to their

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[100] Alexandra F. Johnston and Sally-Beth MacLean, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: Handbook for Editors* (Toronto: Records of Early English Drama, 1980), pp. 13-15.

widows, and passing references to them in law suits"[101] is not included because it does not record any drama, ceremonial or minstrelsy in itself. But it is this very information which will give us an illuminating view into the social situation and challenges faced by late medieval performers. As Rastall states:

> we badly need to build up pictures of artistic life through the biographies of players and musicians, and the excluded material is what we should use.[102]

The Malone Society's inclusion list differs significantly from REED's, and numerous records have been found in the course of this study that are not included in the Malone volumes, but would be included in a similar REED volume. Both REED and the Malone Society's principles of selection have evolved over the years. In Giles Dawson's Malone Society *Collections VII* for Kent it was decided that a strict "limitation of my inquiry to travelling entertainers"[103] was imposed. This meant that waits were excluded because Dawson believed them not to be travelling performers and that they only would travel as a result of special arrangements. Since this has later been shown not to be the case, his exclusion of waits has deprived us of a useful resource. By the time the Malone Society was editing the collection for Norfolk and Suffolk it had been decided that a broader scope of performers was of interest, and so records concerning waits were often transcribed.

Another reason for a broader scope of inclusion is that this thesis does not have the same goals as a REED or Malone Society volume. The basis of these projects is to provide an edition of extracts within particular criteria and to include everything that meets those criteria, whereas the basis of this thesis is the study of the original context of those previously edited extracts.

An aspect of editions produced by established projects is that there is a necessity to balance the usefulness of the individual edition to later scholars with publication pressures of time and most importantly the financial resources of the project which limit (amongst other things) the size of the individual volume. Also there is an understandable desire to have a certain degree of coherence between the volumes covering different areas. Since this thesis covers a single geographically determined location, The Wash, it has no other parts to which it must correspond. The

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[101] Johnston and MacLean, *Handbook*, p. 14.
[102] G. Richard Rastall, 'Review of *REED*: Lancashire (1992)', *Comparative Drama*, 27:2 (1993), 256-262, (p. 259).
[103] Malone Society, *Collections VII: Kent*, p. viii.

similarity of the type of records selected is as important if not more important to a series of published editions as the similarity of other aspects such as the provision of a compatible editorial apparatus. Through the indexes of each of the REED volumes, for example, a degree of comparative analysis can be easily obtained between volumes. The accuracy of this type of analysis is limited to the accuracy of its weakest component, whether that is the selection of material or the act of indexing itself. And yet, the nature of comparative analysis is itself severely hampered in the REED and Malone Society volumes because of the need to extract only those records which fit the predefined selection criteria. The very act of extraction is a necessary evil because no project is able to afford the complete transcription and publication of every document consulted. That only records which fit the principles of selection are extracted means that a highly skewed view of society is projected which makes the entertainment of society appear more important. Not only does entertainment appear more central to society than it was, but very important events are only evident in relationship to the appearance of performers.

> There is an inevitable intellectual parochialism to the selection of many of the entries (of the 'KING BEHEADED: LOCAL ACTOR PRESENT' variety) which is a little disturbing.[104]

That Walker finds it disturbing that the presence of a performer at any event of non-dramatic significance is the only reason that particular event is of interest is important as it highlights the problem of following principles of selection rigidly. This is especially unfortunate given those records concerning non-dramatic aspects of performer's lives that are excluded from volumes. In his concerns about the difficulties of comparative analysis in REED volumes, Walker also raises the possibility of misinterpretations created by the extraction of individual records without some form of context.

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[104] Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?', p. 44.

> On a separate but related issue: we can see in the REED volumes evidence of individuals and crowds flocking to dances and interludes rather than attending divine services, but did the same townsfolk also flock to hear the preaching of a visiting friar, or post-Reformation sermoniser rather than attend regular services, and did this arouse similar concern among the parish clergy? And did they also skip sermons to attend guild meetings, and vice-versa? The bald nature of the records calendared by REED implies a Bahktinian binary opposition — a conflict — between popular ludic misrule on the one hand, and sober clericist authority on the other: church or play, church or dancing? A wider view of the archival records might present a rather more pluralist culture in which religion and popular culture interacted in rather less predictable, oppositional, ways.[105]

In this thesis, where the context proves useful for its own comparative purposes, a variable degree of surrounding text is included. This is only really exploited in analysing the transcriptions from King's Lynn where the great number of related extant documents makes this sort of comparative investigation the most beneficial. Records which it is thought enable such forms of comparative analysis, or that are seen to be of benefit to other studies of early entertainment were also transcribed. In some cases these transcriptions of debatable material bear fruit and help to explain the context of entertainment more clearly, in other cases they are of little immediate use. Since this thesis does not have the publication limitations of the Malone Society or the REED project, it has been possible to gather a greater range of records. While time and length limits have both been very constricting in their effect on this thesis, it has still been possible to adopt a principle of inclusivity on the basis of possible application which these two projects are unable to do. This has meant that many more records based on a much broader concept of entertainment, especially in its relationship to spectacle, have been selected. The inclusion of spectacle as entertainment is important especially in relation to East Anglian drama. Most extant East Anglian drama inherently relies upon spectacle as part of its fundraising intention.

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[105] Greg Walker, 'A Broken REED?', pp. 45-6.

> Despite the wide variation among East Anglian play texts, despite the disparate venues for their performance and the differing patterns of production, the plays from this region all share a single distinguishing theatrical characteristic. Very simply put, they rely upon spectacle to a much greater degree than do the civic cycle plays. The spectacular form of East Anglian plays flows naturally from their function as profit-making enterprises. They *had* to be crowd pleasers and, as modern entertainment has demonstrated beyond doubt, nothing pleases so well as spectacle.[106]

There is a variety of records which this thesis includes which the Malone Society did not include and that the REED project would also probably not include. These include extracts which are vitally important to understanding the meaning of records they would have included, for example as with the payments for a lamb with respect to the Snettisham St Edmund's procession discussed in Chapter Four. It also includes extracts that neither project would include and do not illuminate the meaning of records they would edit, but instead are entertainment-related in a more general sense. The records for gambling in the Lestrange household of Hunstanton discussed in Chapter Five are a good example of this: dicing, shooting, card playing and most other forms of gambling that are not inherently dramatic or having some aspect of spectacle are not transcribed by either the Malone Society or REED project. This is understandable since gambling of this sort in itself doesn't usually count as spectacle. Exceptions to this might be found in spectator sports such as cockfighting, bearbaiting and horseracing in which gambling is the motivation and catalyst for the spectacle, but these do not feature in this thesis. In presenting an investigation of the entertainment taking place in the household as a whole, it would have provided an extremely skewed perspective if gambling had been excluded because it was the preferred form of diversion of the household and this in turn impacts upon the desire for and appreciation of other forms of entertainment. As with the inclusion of gambling the reasons for extracting particular records or types of records not otherwise included by the Malone Society or the REED project are discussed as they arise.

Time and Date

The limitations of the principles of selection — and reselection — of material are not the only ones imposed upon this thesis. One of the most obvious other

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106 John C. Coldewey, 'The Non-Cycle Plays and the East Anglian Tradition', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 189-210, p. 206.

limitations of this thesis is the temporal limits provided in its title: "c. 1350 - 1550". Originally the thesis had been conceived as only having a reference to 'early' drama in the thesis title, and it was eventually realised that many of the records to be consulted were 'late Medieval' and it was with that basis that the initial research was begun. At the upgrading viva for this thesis, the upgrading committee recognised that terms such as 'early' and 'late Medieval' were in themselves problematic. Since the majority of the records were found to be broadly within the span of two centuries from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century, they recommended the inclusion of the date range in the title.[107] Part of the reason for the inclusion of the date range is to provide a perception of specificity and stability in that the thesis consciously presents itself as being late medieval in subject matter. Nevertheless, this range of dates is circumspectly tentative in its own construction through the application of 'circa' ('c.'). What this modification is meant to convey is that although the majority of the records discussed are within the 1350 - 1550 date range, there will certainly be a minority which are outside this range. Proportionally more records outside the proscribed time period are transcribed than space is given to discussing them. Although these records are transcribed, they are only dealt with briefly in the body of the thesis.

One of the many reasons this particular date range was chosen was that the bulk of the records for the communities to be studied are within this broad range. Nevertheless, there are equally exceptions to this, primarily evinced in the transcriptions for Chapters Four and Seven. In transcribing records from Snettisham it is difficult to separate the chronology of the records from the entirety of the volume. As mentioned earlier, the manuscript has been bound in such a misfoliated way as to make the chronology of the folios of direct importance to the reading of it. Thus, it is prudent to include transcriptions from the volume as whole, while simultaneously rearranging them into chronological order. In most cases if the manuscript continues as a single document past the temporal limit of 1550, then the rest of the manuscript has been read, and often transcriptions made of those records demonstrating a continuation or abandonment of those subjects under scrutiny. This is certainly the case in Chapter Seven where the transcription of the sudden increase in travelling

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[107] The PhD upgrading at the University of Leeds comprises an internal examination of a segment of work and a viva after the first year of research to ascertain that the work is of acceptable quality and to aid in the discovery of problematic areas in the thesis and its research at an early stage.

performers shortly after 1550 is necessary to present a less skewed viewpoint of similar entertainment taking place prior to this. In cases such as this, the thesis has based its transcription on a sense of document integrity. If the document as a whole does not extend too far past the terminus date, then it is read in its entirety, but this is unnecessary in the case of most documents.

The most prominent example of an exception to this is the transcriptions from Chapter Five, the household accounts of the Lestrange family of Hunstanton. These accounts are contained in a series of volumes that continue far past the terminus date. While the volumes after 1550 are known — from the Malone Society transcriptions — to contain many records of entertainment, they are not consulted. Partly this is because the next volume would end up extending the search significantly, and partly because the records of the previous volume coincidentally end in 1550/1. While this principle of document integrity would not be feasible for a very large collection of documents it is practicable for a smaller contained set of documents such as those studied in this thesis. Document integrity and its ability to provide a fuller picture of the topics under consideration is not methodologically feasible (or theoretically sound) for a larger study.

Although the imposition of a date range is necessary because of the need to circumscribe the extent of the thesis' study, the simultaneous imposition or categorisation of the thesis by its inclusion in the title is in itself detrimental. It has the benefit of not being so imprecise as such terms as 'medieval'. In certain fields, such as the study of medieval drama, many of the surviving major play texts are very late themselves, the term 'medieval' is seen to encompass texts of a date which others would call 'Renaissance' or 'Early Modern'. For example, in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre* Richard Beadle explains the descriptive inaccuracy of his own title that he has chosen more out of custom and convenience than strict suitability.

> 'Medieval' drama, then, continued as a potent cultural force through many decades of what historians tend to call the 'early modern period', and literary scholars 'the Renaissance'. The term 'English' ... also has serious limitations ... The most significant word in the title, however, is 'theatre', for it is intended to convey the sense that, more than in any subsequent era, the plays composed in that time were intended to be seen and heard, not read.[108]

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[108] Richard Beadle, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed by Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. xiii.

The concept of periodisation and categories of history used over the years have all received criticism of one form or another. In countering Tillyard's *Elizabethan World Picture* in the first chapter of Cox and Kastan's *A New History of Early English Drama*, Margreta de Grazia reminds us that such artificial divisions and structures are modern in their conception and imposition.

> Our postmodernist mistrust of hegemonies, discontinuities, and totalities has little use for such categories as "the ordinary educated Elizabethan" with a "habit of mind" and "ruling ideas." Needless to say, the notion would have seemed odder still to Elizabethans.[109]

Similarly, because this thesis has been undertaken in a postmodern climate, this same 'mistrust of hegemonies, discontinuities, and totalities' has affected the sense of its own periodisation. While the discontinuity that temporal limits impose is necessary for the systematic completion of the thesis it is subverted by the 'circa' applied in its own title as discussed above.

An inevitable consequence of the way in which dates and time limits are understood is the manner in which dates in the work are expressed. The use of dates when discussing the many and varied documents from separate locations is bound to cause some confusion. It is usual for secular and ecclesiastical accounts to use an accounting year which runs from a specific date. For example, the civic documents of King's Lynn use Michaelmas (29 September). This is a very common date for secular documents to use as the beginning of the financial year. Thus, any date from these documents said to be in the year 1444/5, for example, is understood to be from a year running from 29 September 1444 to the 29 September 1445. This confusion is increased by the varied accounting years used by various organisations, especially by the Church and guilds. These are often based on fixed dates with the more common being Lady Day (25 March), 21 April, and 1 September. More confusing still are those dates which are changeable each year, including Good Friday, Easter, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, which change (based on the date of Easter) every year. There are dates such as the Third Sunday in Advent which are a specific day within a ranging ecclesiastical period. The accounting year in force depends on the individual document (and sometimes is only generally consistent within that). All accounting years are noted in the documents list before the appendices. Year ranges which cover

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[109] Grazia, Margreta de, 'World Pictures, Modern Periods, and the Early Stage' in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 7-24, p.8.

more than a single year are indicated as such: 1444/5-48/9. This would refer to the range of years from 1444/5 until 1448/9. The most compact method of expression has been chosen, providing only that information which is needed. Comparisons between places or documents are always fraught with difficulties in this difference in dates, and when comparisons between them have been made, where possible every attempt has been made to ensure that the same year is being referred to. The only set of accounts to which this does not apply are those from the Lestrange household discussed in Chapter Five. These not only use a year running from 1 January, but also indicate the date of the payment in the majority of the records.

In most of the accounts, information was compiled at the time from a variety of people's receipts and bills. For accounts which are prepared copies it is often impossible to draw a relationship between two entries of the same accounting year unless the records themselves indicate such a relationship. We cannot always be certain even that the events took place in the same accounting year, as receipts were sometimes submitted late and sometimes the compiling of accounts covers a number of years. Every care has been taken to indicate the nature of the instability of any such comparisons made, and draft accounts, when they have been found to exist, have also been exploited.

Location

The geographical area for the study is the 'area around The Wash', that is the southeastern corner of Lincolnshire and the northwestern border of Norfolk. The Wash is a large tidal bay on the eastern coast of England.[110] This area was chosen for a variety of reasons. East Anglia is an area of the utmost importance to the study of medieval drama. As mentioned earlier, most extant medieval non-cycle drama originates from East Anglia. As John Coldewey notes:

> With few exceptions, the vast majority of surviving manuscript texts of medieval plays or play fragments that are unconnected with one or another of the civic cycles can be linked to East Anglia by language, manuscript provenance or place-name reference.[111]

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[110] Cambridgeshire also borders The Wash through the inclusion of Wisbech. It was considered a port because the river Nene was navigable to this point. The coastline of the South-West end of The Wash has changed dramatically through successive measures to drain the fenland which began in earnest in the seventeenth century. The exact borders of the counties have been modified several times over the years.

[111] John C. Coldewey, 'The Non-Cycle Plays and the East Anglian Tradition', p. 190.

One of the major collections of plays, the N-Town plays are thought linguistically to originate from East Anglia. One would think, then, that there would be an abundance of academic studies concentrating solely on late medieval East Anglian drama. While there are certainly studies with this focus, they are few in number when compared with those on the cycle plays.

> The predominance of East Anglia over all other regional theatrical traditions in late medieval England, as evidenced by the sheer number of recorded performances and by the variety of associated play texts, has been apparent since the time of Chambers. This fact, however, has ordinarily been obscured by the critical and historical attention (not undeserved) lavished on the great civic cycle plays that flourished elsewhere in the country.[112]

It is not only the concentration on cycle plays but also historically the later concentration on drama from London which has done such a disservice to the state of our knowledge concerning entertainment in the provinces. This is not to say that this work is not also important, but that it has often given the very skewed impression of an absence of entertainment in the provinces. Fortunately, the work of the REED project is doing much to remedy this.

In determining what area of East Anglia would be focused on for the purposes of this thesis Ian Lancashire's *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: a Chronological Topography to 1558* was consulted.[113] While the maps contained within are limited by the very general — but extremely useful — survey that Lancashire undertakes, they depict the locations of extant dramatic records and show several clusters of surviving records surrounding The Wash.[114] Natural geographical features, such as the fens, did not permit much settlement in these areas and provide a partial explanation for the clustering of towns near The Wash. Economically it was prosperous to locate oneself near Boston and King's Lynn, the two major medieval ports in the area.

The numerous surviving documents in the King's Lynn archive are a very good example of what must be missing from similar sized communities elsewhere in Britain. The Wash is an attractive area because it forms an area between East Anglia and the East Midlands where the culture is known to have been infused with a high degree of dramatic activity. The Wash also has the benefit of being a fairly contained

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[112] John C. Coldewey, 'The Non-Cycle Plays and the East Anglian Tradition', p.189.
[113] Lancashire, Ian. *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558*. Studies in Early English Drama: 1, ed. by J.A.B. Somerset (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1984).
[114] Ian Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts*, fig. 24 and 25.

geographical area with a central focus, but which was also on major medieval trade routes, providing a rich diversity of entertainment. Although REED does plan volumes to update the researches of the Malone Society's *Collections* for both Norfolk and Lincolnshire, they are not immediately forthcoming.[115] The geographical area chosen does not include communities larger than King's Lynn, such as Norwich, since this would significantly unbalance the nature of the comparisons undertaken. A major expansion of the research area to encompass more communities would damage the centralised focus of the thesis and its concentration on local contextual examination.

The communities discussed were decided upon through comparison of Lancashire's volume, and the two Malone Society *Collections*. As both of these are supposed to contain references to all locations of extant dramatic records in this area, they provided a good starting point. Nevertheless, these two sources inevitably do not entirely agree, both contain references to material that the other inadvertently overlooks. For example, the Malone Society *Collection* for Lincolnshire does not transcribe the Churchwarden's accounts for Wigtoft in which banncriers from Swineshead and Spalding are rewarded.[116] Similarly, Ian Lancashire's *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain* omits numerous references and confuses the actual location of some.[117] Nevertheless, given the invaluable nature of the latter publication, a survey of British dramatic records until 1558, small inconsistencies are forgivable. The communities were then decided upon in a manner that gives a good geographical coverage around The Wash and provides enough material to investigate. This allows for the selection of a variety of types of community: a larger urban centre, two small rural parishes, a noble household, and three similar sized communities on the Lincolnshire side of The Wash. In addition, the communities needed to have had extracts from their documents edited by the Malone Society.

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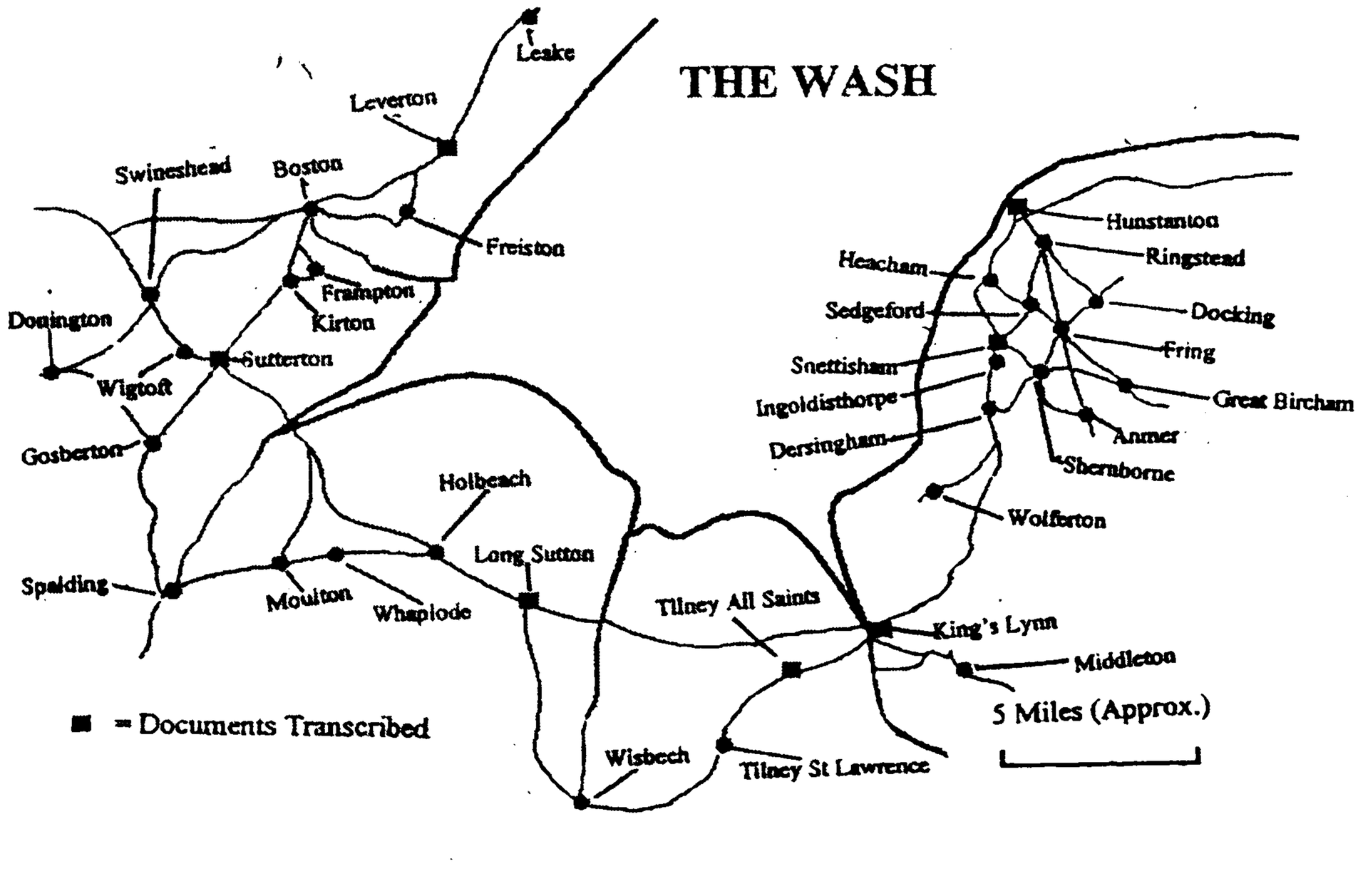
[115] Research is currently underway by James Stokes for the *REED: Lincolnshire* volume. The research for the second REED volume of Norwich records is not yet finished. The first volume is *REED: Norwich 1540-1642*, ed. by David Galloway (Toronto: Records of Early English Drama, University of Toronto Press, 1984).

[116] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the manners and expences of antient times in England, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, deduced from the accompts of churchwardens, and other authentic documents, collected from various parts of the kingdom, with explanatory notes*. 'Churchwardens accompts of Wigtoft, Lincolnshire' (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1797), p. 216 and p. 222.

[117] For example, Ian Lancashire includes Middleton as the location for a performance when, as will be seen later in the discussion, this is not fully justified, Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts*, p. 227. Additionally, he places the Donington cast list at Donington-on-Bain when it has been conclusively demonstrated to be from Donington in the deanery of Holland, also see James Stokes and Stephen K. Wright, 'The Donington Cast List'.

The only exception in methodology concerning place is the lack of inclusion of transcriptions from Boston in Lincolnshire. Initially it was thought that this would provide a good parallel to King's Lynn, but unfortunately there are few surviving records of interest prior to 1550, and thus the comparison of three similar towns from different areas of the Lincolnshire Wash has been undertaken.

Below is a map of the area noting the locations of the communities which are discussed in the thesis.



Editorial Conventions

The editorial symbols used in the transcriptions of original documents, and quotations from these transcriptions, use a style of editing similar to the editorial conventions of the Malone Society and the REED project.[118] The major similarity to these projects in comparison to many other historical transcriptions is the expansion of abbreviations in italics. While some editions of historical documents provide diplomatic transcriptions whose symbols attempt a representational system, other editions often provide the expansions in either parentheses or brackets. Both of these are preferable to the silent expansion of abbreviations that other editions choose. The first of these systems provides a minimum of interference — except for the decisions concerning what symbols to use and what they represent — with the document. The next system of providing expansions within punctuation marks of some sort has the benefit of the provision of conditional expansions, but the disadvantage of making the text difficult to read. The silent expansion of abbreviations, while being both legible and providing expansions structurally insists upon the accuracy of these expansions, which is a very significant form of interpretation. The benefits of the REED/Malone Society's method of providing the expansions of abbreviations in italics (which many other editions use for foreign or emphasised words) are those of legibility and that the format highlights their conditional and ambiguous nature. This allows the edited text to be easily read, but simultaneously enables the consideration of alternative expansions leading to other interpretations. For these reasons this thesis follows this style of expansion of abbreviations in italics.

There are a number of differences between these projects' editorial conventions and those used in this thesis. The Malone Society often did not expand some words for which multiple expansions were possible (Dat˜ for example), this thesis has done so where possible. It should be stressed that the expansions chosen are based on nearby uses of the word in the context of that document.

The symbol <•••> (rarely needed) is used to reflect lost or illegible letters in the original with the number of dots representing the estimated number of letters. Cancellations and words that are struck through on the original manuscript are noted

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[118] The concepts concerning editorial conventions have also been strongly influenced by exposure to textual markup languages such as SGML, XML and by the Textual Encoding Initiative (TEI). In general these attempt to provide markup systems for platform independent documents which give an indicational not strictly representational depiction of the document.

with the symbol [—text—], with the text indicated where possible. The indication of interlineations and interpolations in the original are the symbols ^[text] and [^text]. With the first of these symbols, the insertion mark actually exists in the original, whereas the latter encloses it in the editorial brackets indicating that it was not in the original. Both of these indicate the insertion commences above the word that it follows.[119] Any editorial comments, additions, or indications are marked by enclosing the text concerned in square brackets and providing a footnote: [text]. Similarly a blank in the manuscript where writing would be expected is indicated with the [*Blank*] symbol. No indication is given of the length of the blank unless it is thought to be significant, in which case it is footnoted. The word 'Blank' is always provided in italics in order to prevent confusion with any other editorial intrusions.

One of the most commonly used symbols in the transcriptions is that of the ellipsis character '…' which is used (without the single quotation marks) to indicate an exclusion of original matter of varying length from the original document. This ellipsis can represent several paragraphs of omitted matter (when used interlinearly) or several words if used intralinearly. All ampersand, 'et' or 'and' single characters are transliterated into a standardised ampersand: &. The varying length of dashes, often found before right justified amounts, are indicated by a single length dash character: — . If the amounts are generally right justified in the original this is indicated by a footnote at the beginning of the transcriptions but is not represented in individual extracts. All line breaks in the original are indicated in transcriptions through the virgule character: / . If the use of a bracket prior to the amount surrounding one or more lines is thought to be intrinsic to the character of the document it is indicated with an enclosing parenthesis: } . In some cases this is followed by a varying length dash and so is seen as '} —' which indicates bracketed line(s) followed by a dash or line. All variations or individual extensions to these conventions are discussed in footnotes at the site of difference.

Textual Encoding

One interesting aspect of REED's style of editorial conventions is their relation to other forms of textual encoding. As a project it is understandably influenced more

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[119] No interlineations written below the line happened to be transcribed, and any complex contemporary interpolations are footnoted.

by historical trends in the development of diplomatic transcription than by editorial markup for typesetting purposes. In doing so it is describing, to the best of its ability, what the document looks like. Editorial decisions concerning REED's textual symbols were made in the late 1960s and early 1970s and mostly adopt and update the Malone Society's editorial conventions. The trend is now growing away from presentational markup systems (reflecting how the document looks) towards descriptive and interpretative markup systems (describing the document and its structure itself). While SGML (Standard Generalized Markup Language) became a standard in 1986 (ISO 8879:1986), it was based on an earlier system of the late 1960s developed by IBM. It was only many years later that SGML, then later HTML, and now SGML's recently developed subset XML (extensible markup language) have gained favour with scholars in the humanities searching for methods of encoding documents through a descriptive and structural model rather than a presentational construct to facilitate the creation of multiple and very different document instances.

REED's style of editorial symbols is interesting because it straddles the divide which SGML highlights: the separation of content from format. While the REED symbols are partly presentational (indicating both what the item looked like and how it should be presented) some are partly descriptive (indicating what the item is). This is especially true of its interlineation marks (which differ from mine for purely practical reasons) and its marks indicating a later scribal insertion. While none of these can be said to be fully structural in the sense of these descriptive markup languages, it is interesting to note that some of the same concerns are starting to be felt in different disciplines. One of the dangers of new markup languages, especially the recent popularity in SGML/XML and its derivatives is the idea that this descriptive markup is somehow more objective in its application. If anything, the creation of generalised DTDs (document type definitions) necessitates the realisation that the imposition of this markup on a document in is just as interpretative as any form of textual criticism. The quotes from documentary evidence, and the appendices of transcriptions, present the documents with a modified REED style of editorial symbols. This has been done because this is an acceptable scheme for the editing of early dramatic records. If these transcriptions were to have been conceived otherwise than for printing in this thesis, they would have been better marked up in SGML/XML and then the printed transcriptions with these editorial symbols created from that as a single document

instance amongst many presentational possibilities. The storing of REED transcriptions in various electronic formats (which can be seen in practical application in its computerised patrons and travelling companies database), is a concrete variation on this idea.

Précis of Chapters

While this first chapter is intended to introduce the thesis, problems surrounding it and its methodology, it also raises a number of issues which resurface throughout the thesis. The next two chapters concern the surviving documents from the King's Lynn archive. Chapter Two discusses the records for drama and music in King's Lynn, including an introduction to the social and historical context, and follows with a survey of the various records for dramatic performances, games and civic entertainment. This is followed by a discussion of various records relating to the town's production of a play in the Christmas season of 1444/5. The records for music and minstrelsy are then investigated along with the problems caused by the terminology used for minstrels and their subsequent interpretation. A discussion of the records for both travelling and local minstrels is followed by a comprehensive study of the early waits of King's Lynn.

In Chapter Three the paradramatic activity of King's Lynn is investigated. One of the primary activities here is the city's Corpus Christi procession and its nature as a type of performative spectacle. Various aspects and attributes of the procession are studied including bellringing, the tabernacle, the canopy, the hearse, the candles and torches, and a object known as the 'Gesyne'. This is done mainly through the numerous surviving accounts of the Guild of Corpus Christi. A consideration of the nature of the procession itself, the route of the procession and its funding follows and the section ends with a consideration of music and minstrels in the procession and the celebratory feast of Corpus Christi meal undertaken by the guild. Following this the evolving nature of the civic office of the Bellman, originating from an earlier office of bedesman, is scrutinised for a greater understanding of its performative nature and how it evolves into a mainly secular office. This is followed by a brief discussion on the records for a 'Dragon' and its use as a civic symbol.

In Chapter Four, a single volume of churchwardens' accounts from the small rural parish of Snettisham are examined for a variety of dramatic and paradramatic

entertainments. A consideration of the few records for plays and stages are followed by a detailed discussion of the various records for the Ingoldisthorpe and St Edmund's procession in which a great deal of new information is discovered. This is followed by investigations of the various intercommunal events including Mays and games. Then the records for the 'Rockfeste', an enigmatic fundraising event, are explored before looking at the subjects of dances, lights, plough festivals and church ales amongst other forms of gathering. In addition to this there is a brief examination of the records concerning 'Christmas Lords'.

In Chapter Five a detailed study of the accounts of the Lestrange household of Hunstanton begins with an examination of the household, strangers that visit it and its interaction with other communities. Following this the entertainers and performances recorded in the accounts are investigated in comparison to the donations to non-performers. Leading on from this is a discussion of the payments to a 'foole of the kechyn' which raises issues of how one defines entertainment and its relation to charity. These concepts are then applied to other forms of entertainment which are much more common in the Lestrange household, namely 'dycing schotyng and pleying at cardes'. The lack of references to musical instruments and other musical activities is also noted in relation to those that are more numerous, but later, Malone Society extracts relating to instruments.

In Chapter Six, the rediscovered churchwardens' accounts of Tilney all Saints are examined in detail. The Malone Society did not have access to this manuscript and instead relied upon antiquarian transcriptions. As there are frequent and repetitive payments for lights to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to whom the church is dedicated, these are briefly examined. There are then studies of the records for Mays, bells, the tabernacle and the various processions. This is followed by studies of the plough gathering, organs, players, Christmas festivities, stages, donations to a poor child and the records for singing. Many of these are examined in relation to understanding their confusing terminology.

In Chapter Seven, a comparative study is undertaken of the churchwardens' accounts from Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton, all of which are in Lincolnshire. These three similar villages are from different areas of the Lincolnshire Wash but have a number of aspects in common. The records for lights, plays and players, the gathering for plays and banns, when players came, where they played and where they

came from, are studied along with their patrons. Sections follow on records the Malone Society omitted, church ales, food and drink, processions, and the use of bells.

The final chapter raises again some of those themes which have been encountered throughout the body of the thesis. In doing so it ties together similar records and themes discussed in the earlier chapters and draws parallels with other records. It also indicates some of the main contributions of the thesis and their implications, and suggests some areas where further research could be undertaken.

Chapter Two: King's Lynn – Drama and Music

King's Lynn: An Introduction

The development of King's Lynn is detailed in various antiquarian histories ranging from Mackerell to Hillen.[1] Expanding on the historical narratives of these early antiquarians, there are introductory descriptions in Owen[2] and Clarke and Carter, as well as Parker.[3] These are further condensed in Paul Richards' recent popular *History of King's Lynn*.[4] Michael Myers has also studied the turbulent politics in fourteenth and fifteenth century King's Lynn.[5] While some of the more important points affecting entertainment in the town's history are considered briefly below, the above sources should be consulted for a more exhaustive history.

The geography of The Wash made it an ideal location for the early medieval salting industry and so began the settlement which was eventually to become King's Lynn. It had been established for some time before the *Domesday Book* which makes several references to it, and its history has been shaped by the owners of nearby Gaywood and Wooton.[6]

Ever since Bishop Herbert de Losinga granted the church he was building in honour of Saints Margaret and Mary Magdalene to the priory of Benedictine monks in Norwich, the history of King's Lynn has been directly affected by its religious institutions.[7] It was the convergence of this main settlement with the 'newland' where

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[1] B. Mackerell, *History and Antiquities of ... King's Lynn* (London: [n.pub], 1738), Henry J. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, 2 vols (Norwich: Privately Printed, 1907; repr. Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1978). See also William Richards, *The History of Lynn, Civil, Ecclesiastical, Political, Commerical, Biographical, Municipal, and Military, From the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time ... To Which Is Prefixed a Copious Introductory Account of ... Marshland, Wisbeach, and the Fens*, 2 vols (King's Lynn: W.G. Whittingham, 1812).

[2] *The Making of King's Lynn: A Documentary Survey*, ed. by Dorothy M. Owen (London: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 1984).

[3] Helen Clarke and Alan Carter, *Excavations in King's Lynn, 1963-1970*, King's Lynn Archaeological Survey, Monograph Series 2, Society for Medieval Archaeology: 7 (London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1977), Vanessa Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Century* (Phillimore: London and Chichester, 1971).

[4] Paul Richards, *King's Lynn* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1990).

[5] Michael D. Myers, *Well-Nigh Ruined?: Violence in King's Lynn 1380-1420* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1996).

[6] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, no. 1.

[7] This grant also allowed the creation of a market on Saturdays. The endowment survives and is transcribed by Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 68, no. 2. See also *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, ed. by Barbara Dodwell, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society: N.S. XL & XLVI, 2 vols (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1985), no. 107.

St Nicholas' was to later be founded, and their respective markets (controlled by the Bishops in Norwich) which formed the basis for their evolution into *Lenne Episcopi*.[8] Bishop William Turbe increased both the earnings and the responsibilities of St Margaret's by granting it the church of St Nicholas and the newly built St James' as parochial chapels.[9]

Although the church of St Margaret was in need of substantial repair by Margery Kempe's time,[10] it was not until the 1430's that the town was rated to rebuild the belltower. In the late fifteenth century a number of renovation projects also transformed the building through the strengthening and extending of the northwest tower.[11]

One of the more notable events in the history of St James' took place when, on 25 May 1399, the parochial chaplain of St Margaret's, William Sautre,[12] publicly recanted his heretical teachings before the Bishop in St James' churchyard.[13] William Sautre was later burnt at Smithfield in London on 26 February 1401 for his Lollard beliefs, and is considered to have been one of the earliest Lollard martyrs.[14] The greater area of King's Lynn contained a number of hospitals and friaries connected with the town.[15]

One of the benefits of having the published results of extensive archaeological excavation is that one is able to see the development, not only of the town, but also of

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[8] Although King's Lynn was Bishop's Lynn until the sixteenth century, for consistency it is referred to as King's Lynn through the entire body of this thesis.

[9] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, no. 4 and B. Dodwell, *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, no. 124. This did not please some of the inhabitants of the 'newland' of North Lynn, but various attempts to make St Nicholas's into a parish church subsequently failed, cf. H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 877-9.

[10] Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe, 1436*, ed. by S.B. Meech and H.E. Allen, EETS OS: CCXII (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 165-6.

[11] A storm in 1741 blew down most of the southwest tower onto the nave and aisles. The church was restored in a rather plain and unelaborated style which, because of the extant fifteenth-century renovations, evinces an intriguing mix of architectural styles.

[12] The variation of 'Sawtre' is sometimes found in the earlier antiquarian histories.

[13] cf. *VCH*, II: p.442 and H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 138-48. There seems to be some confusion about whether Sautre's recanting took place at St James or the Hospital of St John. The *VCH* is the only source citing the latter.

[14] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 869. Note that the date is incorrect on this page, but correct on p. 148. It is of interest that Sautre's writ of execution is placed on the Rolls of Parliament before the statute *De hæretico comburendo*, and predates this legal recourse.

[15] A brief, though dated, introduction to the other religious houses in King's Lynn is available in the *VCH*. A summary and references to the transcribed documents which Owen includes are available in her survey, Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 32. See also C.R.F. Palmer, 'The Friar Preachers or Blackfriars of King's Lynn', *Archaeological Journal*, XLI (1884), 79-86.

the town's effect on its geographical surroundings.[16] One of the many interesting conclusions of Clarke is the extent to which the river Ouse has narrowed through silting (over 100 yards), and how quickly this reclaimed land was built upon.[17] For example, the sixteenth century Thoresby Grammar School exists on land that was still a tidal beach in the thirteenth century, as the discovery of the medieval timber wharf under its courtyard indicates.[18]

The marketplaces of King's Lynn are of special interest since it was in these larger public areas that much of the paradramatic activity recorded took place. For example 'le Tewesday Market' was the performance location for the play of 1457/8 amongst others.[19] While markets often clustered themselves around churches for economic reasons, the Saturday Market was already in existence at the time of the foundation of St Margaret's.[20] Although St Nicholas' was granted the right to its Tuesday Market, this also already existed in some unofficial form before the charter in question.[21] It is in between these two markets that the first roads and habitation of King's Lynn formed.[22]

Owing to its easy access via water through the fens, King's Lynn soon became one of the central ports of the Middle Ages. From the fourteenth century upwards, almost all the food and cloth-related trades were important to King's Lynn, which played a major role in importing new products and exporting raw materials to the continent.[23] This led to special trading agreements between the merchants of King's Lynn had special agreements and the Hanseatic merchants, which had many benefits but also some drawbacks.[24]

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[16] For a strictly geological description of the formation and development of the Lynn area see R.W. Gallois, *Geology of the Country Around King's Lynn and The Wash* (London: HMSO, 1994).
[17] H. Clarke and A. Carter, *Excavations in King's Lynn*, pp. 413-24.
[18] For references to the Grammar School, see H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, 2 vols (King's Lynn: Thew & Son, 1874), pp. 19-25 and Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973), p. 306. For physical references see H. Clarke and A. Carter, *Excavations in King's Lynn*, pp. 100-12, and Vanessa Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Century*, p. 24.
[19] KL C/39/58 (verso), cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 50
[20] B. Dodwell, *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, no. 107, and Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, no. 2.
[21] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 11.
[22] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 16.
[23] Mark Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth series: 12 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[24] See for example, Dorothy M. Owen, 'Willliam Asshebourne's Book', *NRS*, XLVIII (1981), 55-117.

The medieval guilds of King's Lynn are a continual source of information concerning the manner in which the citizens viewed themselves and especially their relationship with the divine. While information about the majority of the guilds is generally hard to come by, the chamberlains' accounts for 1371/2 contain a list of those — some referred to only there — that contributed to the cleaning of the town's dykes.[25] Unlike some larger towns in this period, for example York, there was not an abundance of craft guilds. No explicit craft or trade-related guilds were founded with the intent of trade regulation; any ordinances were the creation of the civic government itself.[26]

The lack of a craft oriented guild structure may partially be explained by the town's provision of regulations for various crafts within the city. Yet, while the mayor and council provided regulations for a variety of tradesmen such as the tailors[27] or carpenters,[28] these were for the peaceful operation of their crafts, and to ensure their contributions to, and participation in, the Corpus Christi procession. Most of the guilds founded from the fourteenth century onwards had less of an intention to act as craft organisations than as religious confraternities. These medieval mutual benefit societies were not only concerned with general welfare of their membership in times of hardship, but the salvation of their souls.[29]

The primary guild of the town was the Guild of Holy Trinity which controlled

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[25] KL/C/39/31, cf. Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, no. 389.

[26] This unusual occurrence for such an important trade-oriented city may be explained by the groups that did form religious guilds. For example, the Guild of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross was founded in 1368 by an organisation of shipmen and could be seen as a craft guild, but nowhere in its statutes are there any regulatory laws concerning the craft except where the settlement of disputes was concerned. The Guild of the Ascension (Coifmakers) had no craft-oriented comments in its statutes, and the same was true for the Guild of St William (Young Scholars) and the Guild of the Nativity of St John the Baptist (Young Merchants). See H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England* (London: Macmillan, 1919), pp. 193-99.

[27] H. Jeaffreson, *The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn*, RHMC: 11th Report, Appendix pt. 3 (London: HMSO, 1887), pp. 165-6.

[28] KL/C/7/5, fol. 15-15v.

[29] Toulmin and Lucy Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, EETS: O.S. xcl, 1870, pp. 45-109. Owen only considers the first twenty-one guilds listed, those being divided into Lynn and Bishop's Lynn, but those from West and North Lynn are equally indicative of the nature of the guilds in the greater community. Hillen lists a total of sixty-one guilds, Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 741. A large part of the Guild of St James, for example, was wiped out in the 'great pestilence' which most likely refers to either the 1348-9 or the 1360 epidemics, cf. H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England*, p. 194. It should be noted that after the initial epidemic, a number of deaths from plague continued yearly between the large recurrences.

much of the trade under its jurisdiction as the 'Guild Merchant'.[30] Existing from at least the early thirteenth century this guild included all the major merchants trading within the city, its members being listed in an early bederoll.[31]

The corporation benefited greatly from the decision of Henry VIII to dissolve the religious guilds. During this dissolution many of the possessions of these guilds, including major properties, were passed on to the corporation. In the case of King's Lynn the three guilds who enriched the town the most were Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi and St George.[32]

Westlake states that the Guild of the Holy Trinity was "evidently the governing body of the town" and while he is correct that the Alderman was "elected by the commonalty of the town"[33] this simplifies the relation between the Great Guild and the corporation.[34] The 'commonalty' of King's Lynn was a group of twenty seven burgesses, formed by the election of three from each of the nine constabularies. There was also a 'Great Jury' made up of Twenty Four prominent burgesses appointed for life who, like those in the 'Twenty Seven', were members of the Great Guild.[35]

One of the town's common clerks, William Asshebourne, records the story of a riot surrounding the election proceedings of 1415/16 in which a mob forced the previous mayor to swear in John Bilney as the new mayor as the result of difficulties

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[30] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 741-7, and Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 61.

[31] KL/GD/44. Some lists of new members are included in their fifteenth century account rolls, but the coverage is much less complete. See KL/C/38/3, 7 & 12.

[32] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 60. A partial list of 1545 survives detailing the larger properties transferred to the corporation evincing the extent of the wealth of the guilds, see KL/BC/4. For example, the Trinity Guild was renting over 44 separate tenements.

[33] H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England*, p. 199.

[34] The fullest explanation of the process for the election of offices in Bishop's Lynn is to be found in the Letters Patent of Henry V issued on 2 June, 4 Henry V (cf. H. Jeaffreson, *The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn*, RHMC: 11th Report, Appendix pt. 3, pp. 195-203). It could be argued that the guild's high degree of cooperation and support of the corporation might imply use of the guild as an alternative economic and regulatory body not under the control of the Bishops.

[35] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 96. Few others note this process, and Harrod does not indicate his source. Presumably, it was concluded after a close reading of the Trinity Guildhall rolls for this period. However, Owen who has the benefit of the narrative recorded in the *Book of William Asshebourne* (f. 105v -109) which Harrod did not have access to, states that the 'twenty four' was made up of the twelve jurats who elected the mayor, and another twelve which they chose. However, the constabularies are mentioned in other contexts, cf. H. Jeaffreson, *The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn*, RHMC: 11th Report, Appendix pt. 3, p. 167, 12 February, 39 Henry VI (1460).

which had been brewing since earlier abnormalities in 1412/13.[36] The elections progressed normally until that year, when the Alderman and the twenty four members of the Great Jury were absent from the proceedings and the 148 burgesses present took a more direct route by naming the first four jurats themselves.[37] This resulted in confusion about the method of election and caused bitter dissension in the town until the letters patent of Henry V.[38] Both Martin Wryght and Radulph (de) Bedyngham, who are mentioned in the Malone Society extracts, served as jurats on various occasions. This may indicate either their importance and respect in the community or their assumed loyalty to whichever side was nominating them. Election by jury was used for the majority of civic posts including the four chamberlains, three gatekeepers, town clerk, sergeant of the mace, the headmen for the Leet and a Bedeman.[39]

In each of the instances, during the late fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries, when this form of election was challenged, the mayor justified it through the Bishop's charters.[40] This choice of defence is of interest with respect to the number of disagreements between the corporation and the Bishops on a variety of liberties. This implied hypocrisy may be an indicator of how feeble the mayor's control was under

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[36] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, no. 447. KL/C/10/2 (*Book of William Asshebourne*), fol. 105v-109, See also Dorothy M. Owen, 'Willliam Asshebourne's Book'. The normal course of elections was that the Alderman of the Trinity Guild (with the intention that since his position was for life and he was therefore thought to be free of partisan alliance) picked the first four jurats, two from the 'Twenty Seven' and two from the 'Twenty Four'[36] would then pick four more, who then together picked four more to complete the dozen jurats who were to retire and choose the next mayor, cf. H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 689-91.

[37] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 102. A similar method was applied to the election of members of parliament, saving that the mayor would choose the first two or four members of the jury. This process of two choosing two, choosing two more, etc. to make twelve is much more complicated than is implied by Owen's 'nominated twelve of their number' in her two page summary of King's Lynn governmental practices, Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp. 39-40. The RHMC description notes that each new set of people had to take oaths before continuing, cf. H. Jeaffreson, *The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn*, RHMC: 11th Report, Appendix pt. 3, pp. 146-60.

[38] June 2nd, 4 Henry V (1416), cf. H. Jeaffreson, *The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn*, RHMC: 11th Report, Appendix pt. 3, pp. 195-203.

[39] The Bedeman, later known as the 'Bellman' is discussed in the next chapter. He not only read the Bederoll of prayers at the start of guild meetings but proclaimed the upcoming meeting around town. See also, KL/R.R., fol. 126, fol. 166, fol. 168, cf. H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 33.

[40] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 100.

the combined civic pressure of the burgesses.[41] That the ruling bodies of the town were in such a tenuous position of power is reflected in the civic involvement in dramatic production. By exerting a defining dramatic presence, the town leaders were trying to emphasise their own concept of civic identity.

Drama — Plays and Minstrels

As King's Lynn was such an active and flourishing port in the Middle Ages, and as there remains to us a wealth of documents in comparison to other towns, one might expect to find a great diversity of dramatic production. Although the King's Lynn archives are by no means disappointing in this area, the majority of 'dramatic activity' one finds is entertainment of a 'paradramatic' nature. There are few records of plays and players until the sixteenth century, and even then the town was frequented by only a small number of troupes of players per year.

One of the standard scholarly reasons for not finding as many records of early performance as one would expect is that records simply do not survive which would contain references to the performances or their circumstances. In King's Lynn, a large number of local documents do survive, but the amount of performance found in them is still less than one might expect for a town of its relative importance. Nevertheless, given the frequency at which minstrels, players and other performers are paid in the surviving documents, King's Lynn still had a very active performance culture. Citizens would have been used to musicians, players and other performers participating in their civic and guild events, and so would have come to expect this entertainment.

One of the other reasons for there not being the records of dramatic activity one would expect is that "records of payments to entertainers in one year followed by none in the next often indicate a change in accounting procedures, not a sudden disappearance of entertainers from Lynn".[42] The records for King's Lynn certainly indicate that this is not simply scholarly pride attempting to obscure a lack of

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[41] cf. Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp. 34-8. One of the many disagreements between the corporation and the Bishops concerned the successive Bishops' insistence that any new mayor-elect had to be presented before them or their steward in the Bishop's palace outside Gaywood. Henry VIII eventually freed the town from the Bishop's authority by the incorporation of King's Lynn in 1525, and by the granting of the Episcopal liberty and courts in 1537, see KL/C/2/46, 48. cf. Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 37, and H. Jeaffreson, *The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn*, RHMC: 11th Report, Appendix pt. 3, p. 225.

[42] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 31.

substantiation. There are several instances in which a certain type of performer (waits for example) are routinely recorded in one type of document (Chamberlains accounts) but after a specific date there are no more payments to them recorded, even though other documents (Hall books) indicate their continued existence. This may mean that accounting practices did indeed change and the payments were no longer recorded, or entered in other documents which do not survive, or that the performers in question were recompensed in other ways. Performers were routinely paid in the town's chamberlain's accounts, but not for the entire run of manuscripts.

> During the sixteenth century, the mayor's allowance was raised to £100 a year, and he was thereafter expected to pay all gratuities to entertainers, so that payments no longer occur in the chamberlains' accounts. Unfortunately, few of the mayors' accounts have survived.[43]

The incompleteness of the records is not the only problem; language is also always a barrier in understanding a different time period or culture.

The meaning of words is often debatable and their interpretation highly personal. At one point the Classical Latin 'histrio' meant 'actor', and yet, by the Middle Ages it referred to a type of musician. Its use was not even universal throughout England where it could refer to musicians as well as other types of entertainers under noble patronage.[44] It may, or may not, also have been used in King's Lynn to refer to the civic waits. While 'ludus' sometimes is used in reference to some form of drama, it could also be used to refer to a large variety of games, sports, and dances.[45] The interpretation of such records must always return to the way in which the terms are used in the documents themselves.

> At King's Lynn the local chamberlains made a distinction between minstrels and actors in their records as early as 1370. In the town accounts for 1370-1, in an itemized list of payments to troupes of minstrels from the households of such lords as Hereford, Warwick, Oxford, Suffolk, or Lancaster we find the following two entries: *Item de ijs datis menestrallis prio die maij. Item de iijs iiijd datis Ludentibus eodem die*. From then until 1384-5 the clerks merely entered notice of a general item for entertainment, without differentiating between recipients.[46]

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[43] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 31.

[44] A.A. Young, 'Plays and players: The Latin Terms For Performance (I)', *REED Newsletter*, 9:2 (1984), 56-62, pp. 58-9. See also cf. A.A. Young, 'Minstrels and Minstrelsy: Household Retainers Or Instrumentalists?', *REED Newsletter*, 20:1 (1995), 11-17.

[45] A.A. Young, 'Plays and players (I)', pp. 60-1.

[46] S.J. Kahrl, *Traditions of Medieval English Drama* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1974), pp. 101-2.

The clerks of King's Lynn also sometimes use strange or misleading terms. Even where a fairly conventional term was used, the nature of the employment is not strictly certain. Minstrels are generally known to be musicians, yet the circumstance of employment, including the nature of their performance, if any, often remains a mystery. Were they simply musicians or vocalists, or a combination of the two? The answers gained strictly from documentary sources are inconclusive, but even when more information is provided they tend to more frequently be a "musician, of an unspecified instrument".[47]

The majority of early drama scholarship concentrates on the surviving dramatic texts, such as the large cycle plays. These large organised productions were orchestrated as grandiose civic events, and it should be stated from the outset that no records survive which indicate that such plays were ever performed at any time by or for the people of King's Lynn.

The 'Saint's Play' depicting the life, works, and often martyrdom, of a particular saint has been thought to be one of the most common types of plays at this time. The saint's play has been seen to lead eventually to the development of Renaissance tragedy, and yet, because only a very small number of English examples survive, their study is a "neglected genre which has not received the scholarly attention it has deserved".[48] The records of King's Lynn are especially helpful in that they give us the first ever record indicating a play of the life of Saint Thomas Becket.

> The earliest recorded play of St Thomas Becket is reported in 1384-85 at King's Lynn, where payments were noted in the chamberlains' account books for playing an interlude dramatizing his life.[49]

Although it is certain that an interlude of Saint Thomas the martyr was performed, the content most likely centred upon the martyrdom of the Saint, not his entire life. The record itself reads "Et de iij^{s} iiij^{d} sol*utis* ludent*ibus* int*er*lud*ium* S*anc*ti Thome Martiris de don*a* maioris".[50] M. D. Anderson has already suggested that this play may have been of special interest to certain members of the King's Lynn populace — those of the

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[47] A.A. Young, 'Plays and players (I)', p. 62. Most performers would have adapted themselves to the whims and fashions of the day as is necessary in any employment that relies on public patronage.
[48] C. Davidson, *The Saint Play in Medieval Europe*, p. ix. For the saint play as the forerunner of Renaissance Tragedy see John Wasson's article in the same work.
[49] C. Davidson, *The Saint Play in Medieval Europe*, p. 53. The Chamberlains' accounts are, of course, in rolls not 'books'.
[50] KL/C/39/40.

Guild of St Thomas the Martyr.[51] The guild was certainly interested in honouring the saint.

> That the guild was also interested in honor paid to the image of the saint is shown by presence of a statue representing him before which lights were regularly provided. The image was in the parish church and perhaps placed in the Chapel of St Thomas of Canterbury there.[52]

It is likely that there were other dramatic productions elsewhere concerning the saint sometime between 1170 (his martyrdom) and the 1384/5 performance in King's Lynn.

The feast of Corpus Christi was often used as a setting for entertainment and spectacle, including processions. 'Corpus Christi plays' is an umbrella term mostly used to designate the cycle plays and associated activity. In King's Lynn there were a variety of performances that took place on Corpus Christi, but these were probably single plays not the large cycles some might expect. The same chamberlains' roll which contains the reference to the St Thomas Becket play mentioned earlier also contains a reference to an interlude performed on Corpus Christi day and both payments are for three shillings and four pence.[53] If they were in reference to the same performance, then this would establish that the saint's play was performed on Corpus Christi day. This coincidence alone is no reason to connect them. Other reasons to connect these two payments are that they both talk about 'ludent*ibus* inter*lud*i*um*' and they follow on from one another in the original document. It is in reality the latter that indicates they are referring to separate performances. If they were to be found in separate areas of the document then it could be argued that they were a reaccounting for the same payment, but since one of them follows directly upon the other this is unlikely.

The records of the two interludes, the one on Corpus Christi day and the other of St Thomas Becket, have been cited by scholars for a number of purposes. Although following on Chambers, Stanley Kahrl uses them to further very specific arguments.

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[51] The Guild of St Thomas was founded in King's Lynn by at least 1272. M.D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery*, p. 197, cf. H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England*, p. 14-5.). This guild specifically also celebrated the feast of the saint's translation (7 July) not only the regular feast day (29 December). If the performance was outside, then the date of the translation of the saint would certainly be much more appropriate because of the weather.

[52] C. Davidson, *The Saint Play in Medieval Europe*, p. 54. Davidson should be consulted for further information on St Thomas Becket plays, pp. 52-60, and Saint's plays in medieval Europe as well.

[53] KL.C.39:47.

> As early as 1385 the records of King's Lynn include payments of half a mark each to players for an 'interlude' (some sort of play; the term is imprecise in medieval usage) on the day of Corpus Christi and for another interlude (apparently on a separate occasion) on that of the martyrdom of St Thomas. Who the actors were, or where they came from, we cannot be sure. Possibly minstrels adapted to the new roles, but most authorities doubt this, considering the survival of minstrels clearly identified as musicians and tellers of tales until late in the fifteenth century.[54]

And yet, there is no way of determining whether these two payments were on separate occasions or whether they were both part of one festival on or around the feast of Corpus Christi. Kahrl's careful introduction of these records suggests the possibility of the theory that minstrels may have taken on the parts of players under competition from other performers. This theory has been largely discounted by more recent scholarship which argues against the existence of 'professional' travelling players during the fifteenth century.[55] Nevertheless, some payments to minstrels do leave a large scope for interpretation and this will be discussed later.[56] Kahrl continues:

> As already noted, an interlude was performed at King's Lynn on Corpus Christi day in 1385 by travelling players. Their reward was half a mark. In the same year the townsfolk of Lynn also saw a play of St Thomas Martyr, for which the reward was also half a mark. As these were paid for by a town's governing body, and were put on by itinerant players, it is unlikely that they were in Latin. However, no part of the cycle plays which have survived was written before the very last part of the fourteenth century.[57]

As this is in reference to the same records, it is useful to note that the additional scholarly assumption that travelling or itinerant players put on the interlude of Corpus Christi day and the Saint's Play. Although Kahrl's discussion of these plays (to determine that they were performed in English) is extremely useful, it has made this assumption that they were performed by travelling players and provides no corroborating evidence. Given the number of plays known to have been performed in King's Lynn in the following century, it is just as likely that unnamed residents who made their living in other ways were responsible for their production. Kahrl continues to use these records for a variety of arguments and adds more to his assumptions.

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[54] S.J. Kahrl, *Traditions of Medieval English Drama*, p. 15.

[55] Peter Meredith, 'The Professional Travelling Players of the Fifteenth Century: Myth or Reality?' in *European Medieval Drama 1997: Papers from the Second International Conference on Aspects of European Medieval Drama, Camerino, 4-6 July, 1997*, ed. by Sydney Higgins (Camerino: Università Degli Studi di Camerino, 1997), pp. 25-40.

[56] For example, why did the town officials purchase and give a sword to Queen Philippa's minstrel in 1355/6? Whatever the reason, it is unlikely to have been for a play.

[57] S.J. Kahrl, *Traditions of Medieval English Drama*, p. 23.

> Given the fact that medieval holidays were generally on such religious holidays as Christmas, it is not surprising to find the players at Lynn performing a play on the life of St Thomas, Martyr, though it is a bit surprising to learn that on one visit their repertory included a play suitable for Corpus Christi day.[58]

The introduction of the term 'repertory' not only reintroduces the idea of professional players, for which there is no evidence, it implies that these are the same players and that they have a 'repertory' of plays from which they can choose what to perform. While this may be generally true in the late sixteenth century, there is no indication of either of these from the records themselves.[59] Since there is a great deal linking the two records, if the play of St Thomas was not performed on the feast of the saint's translation then the feast of Corpus Christi is certainly another possibility as later plays are known to have been performed on this date in King's Lynn.

In the 1447/8 chamberlains' accounts there are expenses at the Corpus Christi guildhall "qu*ando* ludus erat in foro".[60] While there is nothing to indicate that this play was performed around the feast of Corpus Christi, there is a payment in 1456/7 for wine consumed by the mayor and others at the house of Arnulph Tixony (a public house) on the feast of Corpus Christi when the "ludus erat in le Tewesday Market".[61] This might indicate a location for other performances as in 1461/2 the mayor has expenses for more wine in Tixony's house "ad videndum quendam ludum in festo Corpus *Christi*"[62] and in 1483/4 there is a (deleted) payment to "le pleyers sup*er* diem Corpus *Christi*".[63] It should be stressed that there is no indication of the possible content of these 'plays' or any necessity that they were dramatic productions, simply that they took place on the feast of Corpus Christi.[64] That dramatic events, such as the procession which will be discussed later, were routinely celebrated on the feast of Corpus Christi is important, if only to indicate that this is a date on which the people would have come to expect such events to take place.

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[58] S.J. Kahrl, *Traditions of Medieval English Drama*, p. 102.
[59] That these specific plays were put on by local players is noted by Peter Meredith, 'The Professional Travelling Players of the Fifteenth Century: Myth or Reality?' pp. 25-40, note 3.
[60] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 49.
[61] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 50, cf. KL/C/39/58, The Malone Society misdates this roll as 1457/8.
[62] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 51, cf. KL/C/39/59, The Malone Society does not note the classmark of the roll.
[63] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 54, cf. KL/C/39/59.
[64] That this date is used explicitly to identify them does not necessarily imply that they are related to the themes of Corpus Christi.

These expectations would have influenced the organisation of local entertainment. An artificial division between locally produced dramatic activity and travelling professional performers can be drawn, but this division may be somewhat limited in ignoring plays which may have hired a 'professional' (or more) and filled smaller roles with local talent. As there was a great amount of traffic between King's Lynn and London (and hence other large cities) this would indicate that professional performers, if available for hire, could have been sought. Nevertheless, there is nothing to indicate that any such purchasing of talent took place in the records of these productions.[65] In addition, it is extremely difficult to determine whether or not a performance or entertainer is local or travelling, given the exceedingly terse nature of the records themselves. What can be determined is that the citizens of King's Lynn routinely paid for the performance of 'ludi' and hence would have been accustomed to having seasonal entertainment of this type.

Some of theses, such as the 1444/5 Christmas play discussed later, would almost certainly have been productions that were conceived and performed locally, with local people participating. As only a few auxiliary performance records (those relating to properties, costumes and sets) survive this may indicate that the majority (if not almost all) of the productions were not local in origin.

This does not necessarily mean that they were 'touring players' but could also indicate single performances specially commissioned. While the lack of auxiliary performance-related records suggests the possibility of the touring players, it does not necessitate them. As with much local drama to this day, the plays may have been cobbled together by volunteers who provided, or covered the cost of, their own costumes. Additionally, members of the numerous guilds, whose records do not survive, may have mounted them.

Nevertheless, many types of travelling entertainers visited King's Lynn, and it appears common for them to have secured the patronage of a sympathetic noble family. The number of 'players' recorded increases in the mid-fifteenth century, and the number of travelling companies with named patrons increases significantly near the end of the sixteenth century. It may be simply that accounting practices changed and these payments were only suddenly recorded. The trend towards an increase in

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[65] No argument is being made for the necessary existence of a 'profession' of actors in the mid-fifteenth century. It is not until early in the sixteenth century this becomes a greater possibility.

travelling players is also evident in other areas of the country in the late sixteenth century. The term 'players' could refer to a variety of performance types and many scholars have been much too quick to assume that dramatic performance is necessarily entailed. Minstrels, for example, are routinely mentioned in relation to their noble patrons from the beginning of the records, as are nobles' messengers, couriers and heralds, with whom minstrels are most commonly grouped in the civic documents of King's Lynn.

The location in which performances took place is illuminated in a number of the records. Dramatic activity is known to have taken place in the various guildhalls. Those guilds which had specific guildhalls that are known to have been used for performances are the Guild of the Holy Trinity (the Guild Merchant), the Guild of Corpus Christi and the Guild of St George.[66] The Guildhall of the Guild of St George was rented by other guilds for a variety of purposes, some of which may have involved significant entertainment.[67] The assumption has been made in many local history publications that the majority of the drama produced in the town took place in this hall. These include the current *King's Lynn Town Guide*, which claims that the hall had "visits by companies of which Shakespeare was a member".[68] This may be in reference to the record of 14 November 1598, when the mayor paid three pounds and ten shillings "to the Quenes plaiers & the Lorde Chamberlynes plaiers".[69] And yet, there is no indication where these companies performed.[70] That these two were at least considered as the main indoor locations for plays is shown by the common council agreeing on 20 September 1594 that there should not "be any playes suffered to be played either in this hall called Trenitie hall or the hall called St George*s* hall".[71] While these two guildhalls survive, the guildhall of the Guild of Corpus Christi does not, and there is still some uncertainty as to its exact location.

Performances were not strictly limited to indoor settings, and the large Tuesday Marketplace was commonly used for a variety of dramatic activity. The first mention

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[66] The corporation later used the Guildhall of the Guild of the Holy Trinity as a town hall when the guilds were dissolved, and a later town hall (1895) was eventually built adjacent to it.
[67] The Guild of Saints Giles and Julian did this amongst others.
[68] *King's Lynn Town Guide*, ed. by A.M. Stratford, sixth edition (Wisbech: King's Lynn Society of Arts and Sciences, 1993), p. 103.
[69] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 64.
[70] After a variety of incarnations the Guildhall of St George remains as a beautiful theatre and arts centre to this day.
[71] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 66.

of this is in 1447/8 when at least three payments for food are qualified with the statement "quando ludus erat in foro die martis".[72] This food could have been consumed at the play itself, or might simply have been used as a reference to the date in question. If the latter is true it would indicate that the 'ludus' which took place in the Tuesday Market was a central event that in itself was culturally important, or isolated enough to act as a temporal signifier. It not only needed no other qualification (i.e. on the feast day of a saint) and so may have been one of the few events of this type taking place there that year. A variety of other records also mention the Tuesday Market as a performance location. It should be re-emphasised that it is almost impossible to know what is intended by the term 'ludus'. Lawrence Clopper has recently been concerned that scholars have too readily made the assumption that such things must be plays instead of games of some sort.[73] Many of the records involving performance often mention a public house or tavern because the performance is only used to recall the time at which the expense of the food and drink was incurred. This does not necessarily mean that the performance took place at the pub, and many of the records mentioning pubs reference the drama as taking place elsewhere. Nevertheless, it opens up the possibility that a large number of performative entertainments took place within these establishments. If a 'ludus' is mentioned as having taken place in a public house, inn or tavern, the possibility (depending on context) must exist that it refers only to some form of table game.[74]

That travelling players enjoyed the patronage of noble families in the late sixteenth century is not in question. It is not normally considered the case that the players were accompanying their patrons, but rather travelling by themselves in time allowed away from the household. This implies a notion of players travelling to towns and performing to local audiences. And yet, the surviving banns and records of banns-criers indicates that the enticing of people from surrounding villages to see a performance was a possible option.[75] A record from King's Lynn indicates that nobles were also attracted into the town to view the playing.

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[72] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 49.
[73] Lawrence Clopper, 'Communitas: The Play of Saints in Late Medieval and Tudor England' *Mediaevalia*, 18 (1995, for 1992), 81-109.
[74] See also Chapter Five for a discussion concerning dicing, card games and 'tables'.
[75] B. Moore, 'The Banns in Medieval Drama', *Leeds Studies in English*, N.S. 24 (1993), 91-123. see also the discussion of banns in fenland Lincolnshire in Chapter Six.

> Et ij[s] solut*is* p*ro* iij lag*in*e*m* vini exp*ensis* quando d*omi*na de Beaufort venit / ad villa*m* de Lenne causa de recreand*i* seu ludend*i* p*er* p*recepto* maioris p*er* temp*orem* compo*ti*[76]

What this would appear to indicate is that Lady Beaufort, whose husband was already the Admiral of the Northern Fleet and would be the first Earl of Dorset and later Duke of Exeter, came 'ad villa*m* de Lenne' for the sake of recreation or playing. Simply that a noble of this importance was coming to King's Lynn expressly for the entertainment she would receive there must be indicative of its importance. A great deal could be made of this and the other references to playing watched by nobles and those put on when gentry and royalty visited the city. It is possible that the "causa de recreand*i* seu ludend*i*"[77] refers back to the wine, not the Lady Beaufort. In that case the wine would be for the sake of the recreation and playing, and the mention of the Lady Beaufort's visit is simply a temporal locator. Nevertheless, if it is the former, then this case may be seen as unusual since the entertainment itself attracted the Lady in question rather than it being put on in honour of her visit. The political implications of the uses of drama and spectacle are outside the scope of this current study, nevertheless the power of dramatic activity as representational propaganda was certainly understood and capitalised on.[78] It is noteworthy that while a proportionately large number of payments to performers under noble patronage are found in this chamberlains' account, no other trace or mention of this play, or reward for the performance, is found in this single roll.[79]

The manner in which performances were funded is almost always shrouded in some degree of mystery since the accounting records rarely provide any elaboration. There may be a simple reason why there is no other record of this play. One of the possible ways in which performers subsidised their productions was through the collection of donations from the audience. They may have extorted payment part way through the narrative before the appearance of the vice or other suitably energetically entertaining character. One of the matters that has puzzled scholars is what place the payments by the town might then have played in these productions. In discussing why

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[76] KL/C/39/47. This payment was not edited by the Malone Society.
[77] KL/C/39/47.
[78] For a discussion of the sixteenth century use of drama as propaganda See M. Butler, 'Private and Occasional Drama' in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 127-59. See also the article following this by M. Heinemann 'Political Drama', pp. 161-205 for the political subtexts to many Renaissance plays.
[79] cf. KL/C/39/47.

the records are often incomplete and why payments do not show up in the years when other evidence indicates that players almost certainly passed through (and one assumes performed), Giles Dawson uses Canterbury as an example.

> It shows that the amount collected was not inconsiderable and that the officials who were there knew the amount. That they added just enough to bring the total up to a round figure, 10s., suggests that they took the amount of the collection into consideration and regarded 10s. as a reasonable remuneration. The implication is that if the collection had brought the players ten or twelve shillings, the corporation would have felt no obligation to charge its treasury with an additional sum. And we should then have no knowledge that those players visited Canterbury in that particular year. Perhaps I am stretching the evidence too far. But whatever consideration it was that moved town officials to reward visiting players at all, we are safe in assuming that they did not invariably feel constrained to do so.[80]

The majority of the records Dawson uses in reference to his discussions of travelling players are from the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the practice of audience donations explains the uneven levels of payments to groups of performers of equal size throughout the records.[81] The records of King's Lynn preserve a payment from the early sixteenth century that supports this idea of the corporation adding to the amount collected from the audience. In 1528/9 the chamberlains' accounts make a note of "Et sol*utis* in regard*o* [—d—] ludatorib*us* plusquam sint collecta in donis v^{s} viij^{d}".[82] This records that the players were rewarded with five shillings and eight pence more than they collected in gifts. Who these gifts were from we cannot know for certain, but the assumption that it was from the audience after, or during, their performance is certainly justified. 'Ludatores' surely are given gifts for their performance of, or perhaps in, a 'ludus'.[83]

That the corporation would be adding to the amount given in gifts underscores the notion that an entertainer's success naturally depends on the favour of their audience. If the content of the performance were out of fashion with the desires of the

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[80] Malone Society, *Collections VII: Kent*, p. 26.

[81] A statistical survey of all payments to performers recorded in King's Lynn using the precise number of performers revealed comparatively irregular levels of payment throughout the period. The only trend, if any, that could be determined was a gradual rise in the cost per performer in the sixteenth century. Graphs and analyses of this type are horribly flawed, not only because it is impossible to determine what amount may or may not have been donated by the audience, but also since it cannot be known what the circumstances of employment (i.e. length or number of performances, etc.) involved.

[82] KL/C/39/75 (verso), cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 59.

[83] Whether this 'ludus' was certainly a play is impossible to determine, yet it must have been, according to the record itself, some form of spectacle which garnered money.

audience, the performers would not earn as much money. Eventually even the corporation may not have wished to subsidise performances of a nature which either conflicted with their beliefs, or which they thought might incite dissension among the townsfolk. It is these states of mind which lead to the paying of players not to perform in the late sixteenth century. The first indication of this in the King's Lynn records is in 1509/10 in corporation hallbooks.

> This day it is Agreed that the Constabylles of this Toun shall make watche on nyghtes thys wyntertyme & specially in Cristmas for vagabundes and ryottours players [84]

That 'vagabundes and ryottours players' are linked is no surprise given the attitudes towards those without fixed abodes during the period. Nevertheless, 'players' in this context could mean many things, specifically those who 'play riot' on people (i.e. attack them). The remainder of the records which concern themselves with whether or not players are allowed to play in King's Lynn are outside the time period defined for this study, nevertheless brief mention of them should be made.[85] On 4 August 1587 there is a record not of a payment for performance, but an agreement "by Mr Maior Aldermen & comen counsell that hir maiesties players nowe beinge in this Town shall have geven them of the Townes allowance — xl^{s}".[86] While this may simply be a charitable gift it is more likely given because of the political importance of their patron.

The Malone Society edits a confusing set of payments for 1591/2. The payments it edits first from folio 429v of KL/C/7/7 come chronologically after those which immediately follow them from folio 52v of KL/C/7/8 from a mayor's account. If they are arranged not in their documentary but their chronological order we find that the Earl of Essex's players are paid (twenty shillings) on 22 April 1591, then the Queen's players are paid (four pounds) on 20 June 1591 and another unspecified time and finally on 29 September 1591 there is a payment to the Earl of Essex's players "yat thei sholde not plaie heare — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}".[87] What might have changed between 22 April 1591 and 24 September 1591 entitling the Earl of Essex's players to receive

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[84] KL/C/7/5, fol. 97, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 56.
[85] While brief mentions are made of these post-1550 records, it is done so because the performance tradition is continuing directly from before this date. Unfortunately, little space is available to discuss these records to the extent which they deserve within the confines of this thesis.
[86] KL/C/7/7, fol. 348, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 64.
[87] KL/C/7/7, fol. 429v and KL/C/7/8, fol. 52v, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 65.

six shillings and eight pence more for not playing than they did for playing is unclear. The obvious argument — that they did not wish the expense following the visit of her majesty's players on 20 June — falls flat since they pay them more not to play than they did to play earlier that year.

The records for 1598/9 indicate a small number of groups of players "that came to playe" but also a payment of the same amount (ten shillings) "to the Erle of Worceste*r*s men who likewise came to playe but did not".[88] Their reason for not playing is unspecified but as they were paid the same amount as those who came to play were paid it is unlikely to be of a financial nature. It may be that the mayor and aldermen did not approve of the content of the play the Earl of Worcester's men were going to perform.

One payment concerning players being paid for not playing has been left out of this brief summary because of its idiosyncratic and possibly political nature. This was for the 22 July 1603 and recompensed the mayor twenty shillings for having "bestowed of the Erle of Hunt*ington*, & the Lord Evers ther [—men—] players to kepe them from playinge heare this daungerous tyme".[89] This 'this daungerous tyme' refers to the current plague epidemic which made welcoming travelers of any sort into your city dangerous. They are paid 'to kepe them from playinge heare' because of the fear that they might be spreading the plague. That they are paid — rather than just turned away — is out of respect of their patrons. It is noteworthy that this is shortly after accession of James I of England (James VI of Scotland) to the English throne. This is significant only in that the political fortunes of the Earl of Huntington were unsteady since he had been suggested as one of the other possible claimants to the English throne.[90] In 1616/17 the mayor and aldermen agreed to write a letter to:

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[88] KL/C/7/8, fol. 215, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 68.
[89] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 69, cf. KL/C/7/8, fol. 282v.
[90] R. Doleman had written in 1594 *A Conference on the Next Succession to the Crown of England* which purported to be an impartial view of potential rivals to the throne. It included James VI of Scotland, the Infanta of Spain, the Earl of Derby, Lord Beauchamp and Lord Seymour. And yet, it also included the Earl of Huntingdon as a prominent claimant. See also, Neville Williams, *All the Queen's Men: Elizabeth I and her courtiers* (London: Cardinal, 1974), p. 222. A more detailed investigation of this might further examine the loyalties of the Earl of Huntington and Lord Evers to see whether the Earl was still regarded as a potential claimant to the throne in 1603. Nevertheless, plague remains the most obvious interpretation.

> the L*ord* Chancelor of England the Townes high Steward to intreat that he will be a meanes that all the companyes of players w*hi*ch yerely resort to this Towne may nott be suffered here to vse playing notw*i*thstandinge their gran*tes* and paten*tes* made vnto them.[91]

This not only confirms the regular attendance of players 'w*hi*ch yerely resort to this Towne' but also indicates that the town council's objection was not so much financial, but only that they desired them not to 'vse playing' there. Whatever their reasons for not wanting them to play, that they included the clause "notw*i*thstandinge their gran*tes* and paten*tes* made vnto them"[92] shows consideration for the political connections of their patrons. On 15 October 1627, the previous mayor presented a bill of money he paid out in charitable causes during his period of office. The recipients of this were the "poore Soldiers Ship-broken men and other poore people and to the Kyng*es* players".[93] While the mention of the players is separated by another conjunction, it is a plausible assumption that these were all listed as examples of good Christian causes, which further highlights the moral perception of players at the time. This was seen again in 1635/6 when a bill is presented for payments "to poore Souldiers Players & others".[94] The year previous to this a payment of forty shillings was made "To send awaie his ma*ies*ties Plaio*rs* of his priuate chamb*e*r in Yorke w*i*thout Actinge heere".[95] And again in 1636/7 forty shillings was "giuen to the Kings play*ers*. not to plaie heere".[96]

A record concerning the the Earl of Sussex's players from 1592/3 is particularly noteworthy.[97] These players were paid twenty shillings, and on the face of it nothing unusual exists within the record. It is of interest when compared with Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors* which mentions that "At Lin, in Norfolke, the then Earle of Sussex players acting the old History of Fryer Francis".[98] As no other specific mention of the Earl of Sussex's players has been found in the King's Lynn

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[91] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 70, cf. KL/C/7/9, fol. 104v.
[92] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 70, cf. KL/C/7/9, fol. 104v.
[93] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 71, cf. KL/C/7/9, fol. 274v.
[94] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 72, cf. KL/C/7/9, fol. 419v.
[95] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 72, cf. KL/C/7/9, fol. 386v, the word 'Actinge' is not used before this time, supporting the idea of 'playing' as acting.
[96] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 73, cf. KL/C/7/9, fol. 438. The idea that travelling players transmitted plague is another reason for towns wishing to send them away as quickly as possible. Not only might the players be infected, but also the gathering of people together to form an audience was a sure way to speed up the spread of the disease. This is noted in a petition by the town waits in 1636 for "some Reliefe this Tyme of Sicknes & visitacion", Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 73, cf. KL/C/7/9, fol. 446v.
[97] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 65, cf. KL/C/7/8, fol. 52v.
[98] T. Heywood, *An Apology for Actors: In Three Books* (1612) (London: Shakespeare Society, 1841), Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 65, cf. KL/C/7/8, fol. 52v.

records, this may be the year that Heywood is alluding to. Depicted in the play was a woman who was haunted by the ghost of her husband whom she had killed hoping to secure the affection of a younger man. Upon seeing the stage ghost, a woman from the audience cried out with fright and thought it was her own husband whom she later admitted to having murdered.

> What can sooner print modesty in the soules of the wanton, then by discovering unto them the monstrousnesse of their sin? It followes, that we prove these exercises to have beene discoverers of many notorious murders, long concealed from the eyes of the world. To omit all farre-fetcht instances we will prove it by a domestike and home-borne truth, which within these few years happened. **At Lin, in Norfolke**, the then Earle of Sussex players acting the old History of Fryer Francis, and presenting a woman who, insatiately doting on a yong gentleman, (the more securely to enjoy his affection) mischievously and secreetly murdered her husband, whose ghost haunted her; and, at divers time, in her most solitary and private contemplations, in most horrid and feareful shapes, appeared and stood before her. As this was acted, a towne's-woman (till then of good estimation and report) finding her conscience (at this presentment) extremely troubled, suddenly skritched and cryd out, 'Oh! my husband, my husband! I see the ghost of my husband fierecely threatning and menacing me!' At which shrill and unexpected outcry, the people about her, moov'd to a strange amazement, inquired the reason of her clamour, when presently, un-urged, she told them that seven yeares ago she, to be possest of such a gentleman (meaning[99] him), had poysoned her husband, whose fearefull image personated it selfe in the shape of that ghost. Whereupon the murdresse was apprehended, before the justices further examined, and by her voluntary confession after condemned. That this is true, as well by the report of the actors as the records of the towne, there are many eyewitnesses of this accident yet living vocally to confirme it.[100]

It is this occurrence in King's Lynn which may have inspired one of Shakespeare's passages in *Hamlet*.

> ... I have heard
> That guilty creatures sitting at a play
> Have, by the very cunning of a scene,
> Been struck so to the soul, that presently
> They have proclaimed their malefactions [101]

Whether factual or not, this episode was believable enough to be used by Heywood for his *Apology*, and may have inspired Shakespeare's famous verse. Heywood uses the story of the play at King's Lynn as his first in a series of example of how watching

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[99] Possible typographical error for 'naming'.
[100] Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, pp. 57-8.
[101] W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act II, scene 2., lines 584-8, as edited in *Hamlet*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Harold Jenkins (London: Methuen, 1984)

plays has brought people to moral rectitude. *Hamlet* must have been written prior to 26 July 1602 since it is described in the Stationers' Register as having been "latelie Acted by the Lord Chamberleyne his servantes" on that date.[102] The example is said to be "a domestike and home-borne truth, which within these few years happened".[103] As the players were in King's Lynn in 1592/3, *Hamlet* was written before mid-1602 and Heywood describes it as being a 'few years' earlier than his *Apology for Actors* in 1612, it is more than possible that they are all referring to the same performance.[104] Although numerous editors of *Hamlet* cite Heywood's text in their notes, none have been found which mentioned that these players are known to have been in King's Lynn in 1592/3.

This reference by Heywood, whether real or invented, contains a great deal more information than is normally present in the records themselves. There is usually a great absence of information concerning individual performances because the extant accounts rarely give a great deal of detailed or specific information concerning the conditions of performance itself. One set of records which give substantially more detail are the chamberlains' accounts for 1444/5 which include details about a play performed during the Christmas season.

The Christmas Play of 1444/5

The editors of the Malone Society volume for King's Lynn place the records from the Chamberlains' Roll, KL/C/39/55 under the year 1445/6.[105] This is a result of an earlier archivist misascribing the roll to the twenty fourth year of the reign of Henry VI, 1 September 1445 - 31 August 1446. It is believed by the current archivist and myself to belong to the twenty third year of his reign, and thus 1444/5.[106]

Reproduced below are the extracts from the chamberlains' roll generally as edited by the Malone Society.[107] Although there are errors in transcription and

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[102] See *Hamlet*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Harold Jenkins, pp. 1-12.
[103] Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, p. 57.
[104] This story is still repeated in King's Lynn to this day and is included in modern form in Alison Gifford, *Ghosts and Legends of Lynn* (King's Lynn: Amaryllis Press, 1986), p. 53. Gifford makes the same mistake as other local historians in assuming that this necessarily took place in St George's Guildhall, when no proof exists to substantiate this.
[105] David Galloway and John Wasson, eds., *Records of Plays and Players in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1330-1642*, Collections: XI (Oxford: For the Malone Society, Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 47-8.
[106] A variety of internal evidence necessitates that it is not 1445/6. I am grateful to the King's Lynn Archivist, Susan Maddock, for her assistance in establishing this.
[107] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 47-8.

expansion, they have not been corrected here, but are discussed in the text, with new transcriptions in Appendix One.[108] The reference numbers added to each entry are in order to facilitate discussion — this extract will need to be referred to throughout the discussion.

[KL/C39.55] Expense forincece

1- Et sol' precepto Maioris pro ij soes* seruicie expenditis apud aulam Sancti Georgij & sancte Trinitatis in vigilia Epiphanie domini ad noctem & in die sabati ad noctem quando ludus ostendabatur ibidem &c--iij^{s} Et sol' pro pane eodem tempore--v^{d} Et pro vij^{li} candelis eodem tempore expenditis--ix^{d}

2- Et sol' precepto Maioris histrionibus Comitis Arundell ij^{s}

3- Et sol' precepto Maioris Iohanni hornset pictori pro pinccione diuersorum vestimentorum & ornamentorum pro ludo tempore Natali domini per Maiorem & consilium huius ville ostend' &c xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

4- Et sol' pro vino expendito circa luseres apud Tabernam Margarete ffrank in die lune xiiij^{d}

5- Et sol' precepto Maioris Iohanni Newhame & passhelew & Stephano Peyntour pictoribus pro pictacione diuersorum ornamentorum & vestimentorum pro ludo coram domino de Scales tempore Natalis* domini v^{s} v^{d} ob

6- Et sol' precepto maioris Martino Skynner pro expensis suis eodem tempore xviij^{d}

7- Et sol' precepto Maioris Iohanni Clerk at Seint Nicholas & Gilbert informatoribus[109] le Mary & Gabriel cantare in dicto ludo xx^{d}

8- Et sol' Willielmo Barbour in Gresmarket & Ricardo Cember ludentibus coram dicto domino in eodem ludo xx^{d}

9- Et sol' pro expensis Edwardo skarlet eodem tempore ij^{s}

10- Et sol' precepto Maioris Iohanni Martyn filio Martini [Wright] Skynner eodem tempore ij^{s}

11- Et solut' precepto Maioris Martino Wryght Skynner pro empcione diuersorum ornamentorum pro ludo coram domino de Scales xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

12- Et dat' precepto Maioris Histrionibus Comitis Warrwicie iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Expense reparacionis cum alia forincece expense

13- Et sol' precepto Maioris Martino Wryght Skynner pro pentulacione diuersorum ornamentorum & vestimentorum pro ludo coram domino de Scales tempore Natali domini per Maiorem & consilium huius ville ostenso xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

14- Et sol' precepto Maioris pro expense equorum de carectorum cum expense de prandio de Carteris apud Mydelton tempore ludi coram domino de Scales ibidem vj^{s} iiij^{d}

15- Et dat' precepto Maioris histrionibus comitis Suffolcie xl^{d}

The first extract, edited in paragraph form, contains three payments for ale, bread, and candles. Why other payments which are found in paragraph form and which also follow directly upon each other are not edited in this way is unknown. The first

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[108] There is a new transcription of each of the 'Expense forinsece' sections, along with other extracts, in Appendix One. That they do not appear in one block like this in the chamberlains' accounts, and only as a result of the Malone Society's editing is stressed.

[109] The editors note at this point that "Expansion to 'informative', 'informatione' or 'informatorie' yields approximately the same result: 'for instructing.'", Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 47-8.

payment is for ale 'expended' at the guildhall of Saint George and Holy Trinity on the Vigil of Epiphany (Monday, 5 January, 1445) and on the 'die *sabati*' (Saturday, 10 January, 1445). The assumption has been made that the Saturday referred to is the one following, and not preceding Epiphany, solely because of the order in which the payment lists them.[110] Epiphany is also the celebration of Twelfth Night and is often associated with carnivalesque reversals as seen in the 'Lord of Misrule' and 'Boy Bishop' traditions.[111] These festivals have often been studied with respect to the nature of the social inversions that took place and seen as the release of underlying socio-political tension.[112] There is no trace of these specific traditions in King's Lynn, except for a single possibility of a Boy Bishop.[113] In the mid-sixteenth century Twelfth Night became a time of masques and disguisings.[114]

That the festivities, noted in extract number one, happened 'qu*ando* ludus ostendabatur ib*ide*m' tells us both that the play was performed at the same time as these expenses were incurred and in the same place. This means that it was performed 'apud aulam S*anc*ti Georgij & s*anc*te Trinitat*is*' which are two distinct locations. St George's guildhall is in Checker Lane[115] and the guildhall of the Holy Trinity is in the Saturday Marketplace.[116] As these are two separate locations, the two dates provided in the payment could be understood to refer back to each place respectively. That is, that the performance in St George's Guildhall was during the 'vigil*ia* E*pi*ph*ani*e dom*ini* ad noctem'[117] and the performance at the Trinity Guildhall was on the 'die

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[110] The Saturday before was 3 January, 1445. Epiphany was Tuesday, 6 January 1445.

[111] E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 1st edn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), I: pp. 323-35, and Enid Welsford, *The Fool: His Social and Literary History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1935), pp. 199-219.

[112] See, for example, W.J. Kaiser, *Praisers of Folly: Erasmus, Rabelais, Shakespeare*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature: 25 (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1963) and *Fools and Folly*, ed. by C. Davidson, Early Drama Art and Music Monograph Series: 22 (Kalamazoo, Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), and Chris Humphrey, *The Politics of Carnival: Culture, Performance and Social Change in Medieval England*, Manchester Medieval Studies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), see also Tom Pettitt, 'Customary Drama: Social and Spatial Patterning in Traditional Encounters', *Folk Music Journal*, 7:1 (1995) 27-38.

[113] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 46, cf. KL:GD/37.

[114] Glynne Wickham, *The Medieval Theatre*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 161.

[115] The existing building dates from the early fifteenth century and so is this one, and Checker Lane is now known as King Street.

[116] The guildhall was rebuilt after a fire in 1421, and although it has undergone several renovations, the general appearance of the fifteenth century has been retained. See also Vanessa Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Century*, p. 124, and H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 28.

[117] Monday, 5 January, 1445.

sabati ad nocte*m*'.[118] That this production should be repeated in these two locations, which would have had a certain amount of overlap in audience implies a certain amount of importance to this play which may have been the last note of the Christmastide revelry.[119] It may be that the mayor and aldermen from the Guild of Holy Trinity had the privilege of seeing the performance first. The payments for bread and candles are noted to be at 'eode*m* t*em*pore' in the singular leaving some doubt as to the relation of these two performances. It is reasonable that they are the same production and that the city was providing ale, bread, and candles for both performances and accounting for them as a single event.

The matter is further complicated by Parker's assertion that St George's Hall was often rented for functions by lesser guilds.[120] Hence, it is even unclear which body was providing the impetus to the evening. It is interesting to note that there was a post fourteenth century Guild of the Feast of Epiphany, which may have been somehow involved.[121]

A question remains as to the use of the seven pounds of candles that cost the city nine pence. Although they may have been used for helping to illuminate the production, or for some Twelfth Night ritual now forgotten, they were probably used simply to help light the halls. No specific information remains concerning the content of this play. The expenses which come later are for a performance or performances earlier in Christmastide. They may relate in some way to the same production, but it would be dangerous to compound the two without some evidence to link them together.

This highlights the dangers of relying on edited extracts and one of the problems of annually compiled chamberlains' accounts. This first extract of payments comes from the first of four 'Expense for*incece*'. Each roll from around this date contains four sets of compiled accounts, one for each chamberlain. Hence, their position in relation to each other has no bearing on their chronology. Whether or not

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[118] Saturday, 10 January, 1445.

[119] The shorter Christmas season was often thought to have ended with Twelfth Night, thus adding an extra dimension to the celebrations, the longer Christmas season ended at Candlemas (2 February). The Guild of St George the Martyr was founded after the collection of 1371/2. H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 741. See also KL/C/39/31, and Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, no. 389.

[120] Vanessa Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Century*, p 124.

[121] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 741.

the plays of Twelfth Night and the Sabbath are the same as the one performed at Christmas, twelve days earlier, is unknown. Despite the temptation to view them all as a single production, this is unable to be established.

The next payments to be discussed are numbers two, twelve and fifteen from the Malone Society's extracts. In essence they are the same type of payment with a differentiation of recipient and amount. They tell us nothing about the dramatic productions local to King's Lynn during this year, but they do state that the 'histrionibus' of the Earls of Arundell, Warwick and Suffolk respectively received ij^{s}, iij^{s} iiij^{d} and xl^{d} each.[122]

The word 'histrio, histrionis' has a variety of meanings.[123] As the accounts are compiled there is no way even to know whether the 'histrionibus' of the Earls of Arundell,[124] Warwick,[125] and Suffolk[126] were part of Christmas celebrations or were in King's Lynn at a different times. It is interesting to note that, as we can establish the time for a number of the extracts, the majority of recorded dramatic activity took place in the Christmas season. And yet, other than the knowledge that these 'histriones', under the patronage of these various nobles, were in King's Lynn at this time, little else can be understood from these payments in this year alone.[127]

Included in the Malone Society's transcription are a number of payments for a

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[122]Aside from this, and some variation in capitalisation, one payment is paid (solutis) and the others are given (datis).

[123] While originating from the Classical Latin word for someone who "appeared on the legitimate stage" it eventually gained a more pejorative sense, see A.A. Young, 'Plays and Players: The Latin Terms For Performance (I)', p. 58., cf. A.A. Young, 'Minstrels and Minstrelsy: Household Retainers Or Instrumentalists?', *REED Newsletter*, 20:1 (1995), 11-17. By this period the term appears to have rarely meant an actor, and seems to have meant either a musician (including waits) or a singer. In the King's Lynn accounts it is sometimes used to refer to the city waits, but also is used, as here, to mean entertainers under the patronage of a specific noble.

[124] The Earl of Arundel was William FitzAlan (Mautravers), created 16th Earl of Arundell in 1438, born 23 November, 1417, died in December, 1487. G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland and the United Kingdom* 14 vols (London: Doubleday, 1910), pp. 248-9.

[125] This Earl of Warwick must have been Henry (De Beauchamp). The fourteenth Earl of Warwick he was created first Duke of Warwick on 5 April, 1445. There is no Earl between that date and 2 March, 1449/50 when Richard Neville was created Earl of Warwick. G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, pp. 383-90.

[126] The Earl of Suffolk was William (De La Pole), 4th Earl of Suffolk. He was created Marquess of Suffolk on 14 September, 1444 he became Duke of Suffolk on the 2 June, 1448. Born in Cotton, Suffolk on 16 October, 1396, died 2 May 1450, G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, pp. 443-8.

[127] The Earls of Arundel have a special connection to the town, as half the proceeds from the Tollbooth in King's Lynn were by right given to the Arundels, see Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 37. Payments such as these can be studied in a correlative manner, with the records from a variety of areas allowing the movements of some of these travelling companies/musicians to be tracked with general accuracy, see Sally-Beth MacLean 'Tour Routes: "Provincial Wanderings" Or Traditional Circuits?', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 6:1 (1993), 1-14.

play at Christmas. This play was performed for the Mayor and council, as well as Lord Scales.[128] Three of these extracts may be concerned with painting of some properties, or perhaps costumes, for the play. These payments, numbers three, five and thirteen from the Malone Society's extracts above, deserve close scrutiny because of what we may learn from them about the nature of the performance.

In payment number three John Hornset is paid 'p*ro* pincc*i*one diu*er*sor*um* vestimen*t*or*um* & ornamen*t*or*um*'. The payment notes that he is a painter (pictor) and thus we can assume that this was his profession.[129] It is clear that the audience included the Mayor and council, and that it was performed at 'tempore Natal*i* d*omi*ni'. Although this refers specifically to 25 December, it may here be referring to the general period of Christmastide festivities.[130]

The question remains as to what objects John Hornset was painting. When one thinks of painting in relation to modern productions the assumption is that one is referring to pieces of the stage setting, large stage properties or scenic backdrops. This may be what is being painted for the Christmas 1444/5 play. And yet, the phrase 'diu*er*sor*um* ornamentor*um* & vestimentor*um*' is used. What are these 'divers vestments and ornaments'?

The proper translation of 'vestimenta' in this context is surely that of costumes.[131] It could be used to denote backdrops or other set decorations made of cloth, and yet, this would more likely be the 'ornamenta', which could also refer to pieces of a set.[132] If it is only the 'ornamenta' that are painted then it is confusing that 'vestimenta' are even mentioned. If this was the only time this phrase was used its meaning in this context would be limited to an uncertain general term, but the same phrase is used in extracts five and thirteen, yet in the latter phrases the order is reversed. The situating of 'vestimenta' first is intentional in order to stress the word, indicating that it is indeed costumes which are being painted.

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[128] This was Thomas (De Scales), 7th Lord Scales. Born and baptised at Middleton, just outside King's Lynn, he was found to be 21 years old on the Feast of St Denys (9 October), 1420. He had quite an illustrious and highly political career and died on 25 July, 1460.

[129] No other references have been found concerning him in the King's Lynn records.

[130] cf. *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, ed. by C.R. Cheney (London: Royal Historical Society, 1945; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 4.

[131] *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1879; repr. 1933), p. 1981, and *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, ed. by R.E. Latham (London: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1980; repr., 1994), p. 510.

[132] Lewis, *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 1279.

While it is doubtful that this is the case, it is necessary to consider which parts of costumes might be painted. It may be more cost efficient, for example, to paint certain details of costumes such as jewellery or ornaments. It might have been an appropriate way to decorate angel's wings or other supernatural elements, and it would have been one of the easiest ways to include details such as heraldic insignia. While these are all possibilities, the reversal of the phrase may, in reality, indicate nothing more than scribal carelessness or unfamiliarity with the nature of the payment. It is possible that the clerk may only have known that John Hornset was paid for painting somehow in connection with the play, and have chose this as a stock phrase. In addition, other than the use in payments concerning this play the phrase is not encountered elsewhere in the accounts. This might indicate, that the phrase was only being applied to a variety of work related to the play.

In the next of these related extracts, number five, John Newhame, [*blank*] Passhelew, and Stephen Peyntour, all collectively called painters, are paid 'pro pictac*i*one diu*ersorum* ornamentor*um* & vestimentor*um* p*ro* ludo cora*m* d*omi*no de Scales tempore Nat*a*lis d*omi*ni'.[133] Aside from the reversal of the phrase previously considered there has been no change in the activity being remunerated. They are explicitly called painters (pictores) and can be assumed to have been painting as indicated in the payment.

While in the previous payment the audience was probably the mayor and council, in this extract the play is said to be performed 'cora*m* d*omi*no de Scales'. The family of De Scales resided just outside King's Lynn, in Middleton, since at least the mid twelfth century and there was a close connection with the nearby Bardolfs of Wormegay who also figure prominently in the accounts of King's Lynn.[134] By 1444/5, the year of the play, Thomas De Scales was the seventh Lord Scales and had already had an illustrious military and diplomatic career.[135] That the town was entertaining a guest of such prestige and influence makes the event one of great importance to the

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[133] The blank is left in the Malone edition as part of its editorial policy, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. xx.

[134] There is a possibility that the two families were united by marriage. G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, pp. 503-4 note q. Lord Bardolf was also the 'Compater' of Lord (Thomas) Scales, G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, p. 504, note j.

[135] G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, p. 504-6.

burgesses of King's Lynn.[136]

No further trace survives of John Newhame or Stephen Peyntour in any of the records consulted. There is a mention of the Passhelew family in several instances, but since the clerk did not provide a first name, no identification is possible. One of the more interesting possibilities is Robert Passhelew who in 12 Henry VI (1433/4) is granted his freedom (although he is noted as being in Prussia) because of his apprenticeship to Thomas Spicer.[137] His freedom because of apprenticeship to Thomas Spicer is repeated in 15 Henry VI (1436/7) where it is also noted that he is the son of John Passhelew.[138] This may have been done when he returned from Prussia where Thomas Spicer engaged in a large amount of business. Thomas was quite an important merchant and one of the members of parliament for King's Lynn in 1433/4,[139] and a member of the council of 'Twenty Four' by 1440/1.[140] There is no definite link between Thomas Spicer and the payments for the play, since the first name of the painting Passhelew is left blank.

The final of these three extracts, number thirteen, is interesting for a variety of reasons. Martin Wright, is paid thirteen shillings and four pence "p*ro* pen*t*ulac*i*one diu*e*rsor*um* ornamentor*um* & vestimentor*um* p*ro* ludo cora*m* d*omi*no de Scales tempore Natal*i* d*omi*ni p*er* Maiore*m* & consiliu*m* hui*us* ville ostens*o*".[141] The amount is the same as the first payment for painting.[142]

This extract may confirm that the previous two payments mentioned for the Christmas play before the mayor and council and the one before the Lord of Scales are for the same play. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in all the payments indicating

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[136] It is of note that during this year there are many payments for the building of the 'molendinum de domino de Scales' which may indicate that the city was somehow collaborating with the Lord Scales on other projects or wished to impress him for business reasons. Payments for the mill and the repair of it appear in both KL/C/39/55 and 56.

[137] 'A Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn, 1292-1836. Compiled From the Records of the Corporation', *NRS* (Norwich: Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 1913), p. 40.

[138] *Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn*, p. 41, cf. J. Bulwer, 'Notice of a manuscript volume among the records of the Corporation of Lynn', *Norf. Arch.*, 6 (1864), 217-51, (p. 237).

[139] *Norfolk Officials Lists. From the Earliest Period to the Present Day. Compiled From Original Sources. With an Introduction*, ed. by Hamon Le Strange (Norwich: Agas H. Goose, 1890), p. 209.

[140] *Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn*, p. 299, cf. Bulwer, 'Notice of a manuscript', p. 235.

[141] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 48, cf. KL/C/39/55.

[142] However, as this totals one mark, which was a common amount of payment in the records and does not necessarily mean that they were doing work of the same nature or calibre. For general information on medieval currency see *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, ed. by Peter Spufford, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks: 13 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College, London, 1986).

the Mayor and council the word 'per' is used: 'p*er* Maior*em* & consiliu*m* hui*us* ville ostend' &c'. This could be understood simply as indicating agent, and thus meaning that the play was financed through the agency of the Mayor and council, and not that they were the audience. Yet, even if the play was performed for all the parties mentioned, the possibility of multiple productions still remains.

In the Malone Society editing of the records, Martin Wright is paid "p*ro* pen*t*ulac*i*one"[143] which loosely translates again as 'for painting'. The 't' and the 'i' in 'pentulacione' are in italics indicating they are expansions by the Malone Society from what is written in the manuscript.[144] In the chamberlains' account in question the abbreviation marks tend to be fairly accurately over the parts of the words which are abbreviated.[145] This is important since the first abbreviation mark for 'pentulacione' indicating the missing 't' is a short arc from the 'p' to the 'n'. This should indicate that the missing letter is not after the 'n' as provided in the Malone edition, but really should be somewhere between the 'p' and the 'n'. The word is quite logically expanded to 'pentulacione' by the editors because of its similarity to the previous two payments mentioned. As these are for painting, that is 'pro pinccione' and 'pro pictacione', and the objects are also "diu*er*sor*um* ornamentor*um* & vestimentor*um* p*ro* ludo" it is a natural conclusion to reach.[146]

Martin Wright, in this payment, and several others, is noted as being a skinner. While it is entirely possible that he is paid for painting, it is reasonable to suggest that the abbreviation mark may be for an 'n' for 'pennulatione'. Originating from the word 'penula' for a 'hood' Latham defines 'pennelatio' as "edging or lining with fur".[147] Since Martin Wright is known to be a skinner it is much more probable that he was edging costumes with fur rather than painting.

The reverse of the earlier problem of word order is encountered when one realises that while it would be more logical to edge 'vestimenta' with fur, doing so to 'ornamenta' is unlikely. Given the skills he must have had as a skinner, his involvement with costumes is much more probable. This confusion of terms may lend

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[143] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 48, cf. KL/C/39/55.
[144] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. xx.
[145] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 48, cf. KL/C/39/55.
[146] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 48, cf. KL/C/39/55. This is entirely plausible given limits of time and pressures of publication, it is understandable that decisions must have been made without the luxury of experimenting with other options.
[147] R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, p. 340.

credence to the idea of "diu*ersorum* ornamentor*um* & vestimentor*um* p*ro* ludo"[148] as being a stock phrase.

Unlike the people mentioned previously in the accounts, a variety of information can be discovered concerning Martin Wright. He appears in the Malone Society's extracts only in connection with this play and does not appear in any other years. The other payments concerning his involvement increase our understanding of his place in society significantly. He is found in the extracts numbered six, ten, eleven and as already mentioned thirteen.

In the first of these, number six, he is paid eighteen pence 'p*ro* exp*ensis* suis eod*e*m t*em*pore'. Since the previous payment (in both the edited text and the original manuscript) is number five, this 'same time' refers to "tempore Nat*a*lis* d*omi*ni".[149] Hence, it may mean that this payment is not only for expenses at the same time as the play, but concerns expenses for the play. Martin Wright is paid again specifically for work concerning the play in extract eleven when he is paid for buying 'div*e*rsoru*m* ornamentor*um* p*ro* ludo cora*m* d*omi*no de Scales'. This adds to the confusion over whether the 'pennulacione' previously noted is done with the 'ornamenta' or 'vestimenta'.[150] These two payments, when taken with extract number thirteen for 'pennulacione', indicate a personal involvement with the play as one of the more important preproduction staff. Not only is he working on costumes, and paid for other expenses at the time of the play, but he is also buying the properties or decorations (ornamenta) used in the production. It is unrealistic to think we could ascribe any of the modern terms such as 'producer' or 'costume designer' to his actions, and yet his purchasing of 'ornamenta' leaves open the possibility that he may have had some artistic influence on the production.

Who is this Martin Wright who played such an important role in the preproduction work for this Christmas play? It has already been mentioned that he was a skinner which may explain any involvement with costumes. In extract number ten, his son, John Martin, is paid two shillings for his expenses at 'eod*em* temp*ore*'. This is an intriguing payment since he is noted as being 'Ioh*ann*i Martyn filio Martini [Wright] Skynn*er*'. Why the clerk has struck out the name 'Wright' is unknown, and

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[148] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 48, cf. KL/C/39/55.
[149] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 48, cf. KL/C/39/55.
[150] Scribal ignorance or carelessness remains a possibility.

since no other reference has been found to a Martin Skynner and the payment is also related to the time of the play, it is reasonable to assume that they are the same person. There are other links between John Martin and Martin Wright which support this further.

During the same year as this play and several others, John Martin was the gate guard of the East Gate to the city. He was paid later for carrying the ceremonial sword in civic processions.[151] It is curious that at about this time a debate escalated between the city and the Bishop over whether the sword was to be carried in front of the mayor, which would be more normal, or in front of the Bishop and thus behind the mayor. This controversy, which was only a symptom of the rifts and discord between the corporation and the Bishops, came to a head in 1446/7. In that year the sword bearer was John Pygot, who had been quite an important burgess — having been a member of the 'Twenty Four' since at least 1440/1.[152] After numerous complaints by the city, King Henry VI issued a letter permitting the sword to be carried before the mayor.[153] While this should have ended the dispute, it was challenged by the Bishop and disagreements existed for a number of years.[154]

Not only was Martin Wright's son the sword bearer a year or two before this conflict began, but Martin Wright himself was sent to London in 1446/7 on business concerning the Mayor's sword.[155] Although it developed over several years, this concern over the carrying of the sword might have been the reason for the creation of a new scabbard for the sword in 1444/5, the same year as the play.[156]

Mention has already been made of Thomas Spicer and John Pygot who both were members of the 'Twenty Four' at this time.[157] During this year and the next extant chamberlain's account Martin Wright is recorded as having been not only a constable but also a tax collector for his ward.[158] There are also several instances that

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[151] KL/C/39/56.
[152] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 181-2.
[153] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 180-2. cf. H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 4-7.
[154] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 182.
[155] KL/C/39/56.
[156] KL/C/39/55.
[157] *Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn*, pp. 299-300. See also Hudson Gurney, 'Extracts from a manuscript ... of Lynn Regis ... taken from the Hall Books', *Archaeologia*, 24 (1832), 317-28, p. 320. H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 96.
[158] KL/C/39/55, 56.

he is recorded as being a member of the 'Twenty Seven'.[159] He also collected the rent from a number of important properties owned by the town.[160]

As also mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the election of civic positions such as mayor, civic recorder, the four simultaneous chamberlains, the gate guards, members of parliament, and the bedeman was by jury. Martin Wright was on a number of such juries, and in one case (for the election of the burgesses to go to parliament) was in the set of the first four burgess chosen by the mayor.[161] Election to these juries must have been an indication of some sort of prestige or social importance. At the very least, it is an indication of the trust placed in him by his nominees to vote for their favourites. In this instance, because he was chosen in the first four, means that the mayor was choosing him, in theory, as a representative voice of the twenty seven *potenciores*.[162]

What do Martin Wright's civic positions tell us about the play he was involved with? As the records indicate he bought 'ornamenta' and did a variety of other work with the preproduction materials of the play. This knowledge of his social standing should increase our knowledge of the manner in which the play was viewed by the town, and especially the civic government. Our knowledge of Martin Wright's position in the community is further illuminated by other records in the same roll as the payments for the play. William Hardy, another constable, and he were paid for their riding to see William Yelverton, the King's Justiciar and the Recorder of Norwich, to gain his advice concerning someone who had taken sanctuary in St Margaret's Church.[163] Martin Wright was also paid compensation for riding to London on matters of civic business.[164] He is recorded as having been a burgess, a merchant, a constable, a taxman, and was sent on errands of importance to the civic government. And yet, he was directly involved with the buying and 'pennulacione' of 'ornamenta' and 'vestimenta' for this play.[165]

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[159] For example in 1440, cf. *Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn*, p. 300. H. Gurney, 'Extracts from a manuscript', p. 320.
[160] KL/C/39/55.
[161] H. Gurney, 'Extracts from a manuscript', p. 320 contains a badly distorted translation of this payment, cf. KL/C/7/3.
[162] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 95-97.
[163] KL/C/39/55. By the time of the compiling of the accounts, the person had 'abjured the realm', cf. H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 87.
[164] KL/C/39/56, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 49.
[165] The possibility exists, of course, that Martin Wright is involved solely as a favour to his son.

Both the records concerning Martin Wright, and the other relationships between the *potenciores* of the city and the performance of the play indicate that it was of extreme importance to the city, and very likely was the focus of ulterior political motives. That the play was intended specifically for the Lord Scales indicates a certain amount of self aggrandisement by the city. The idea that the civic elite would wish to be directly involved in local dramatic production is unfamiliar, but it was certainly more common than may be thought at first. In researching the Donington cast list from Lincolnshire, James Stokes and Stephen K. Wright state that:

> The idea that mature local leaders (in our own time one might imagine the mayor and city council) were expected to be actors with major roles in annual productions — some of which traveled to other communities — is a concept foreign to most modern civic experience, but it had been fundamental to parish-sponsored drama of this kind in the period before the 1570s.[166]

Other plays are recorded in King's Lynn and some references, such as the one of 1409/10 at which the Lady Beaufort may have been present, are missing from the Malone Society's volume.[167] A difference between the payments for the Christmas play and other payments for plays in King's Lynn is that the former include preproduction expenses. That is the expenses for properties, costumes and painting, and other tasks that needed to be completed before the production commenced, and not payments for the performance itself.[168]

This is different from the payments for playing, or as is more common in King's Lynn, payments for wine or bread while the play was, for example, in the Tuesday marketplace.[169] That the Christmas play, and other plays, are used to locate payments which may have no relation to the play itself, both increases and decreases the difficulty of interpretation. It is made easier in that it informs us that the play was of such interest to the civic government, and was such a notable event of common experience, that it was used as a temporal reference in other payments. This is the only

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[166] James Stokes and Stephen K. Wright, 'The Donington Cast List: Innovation and Tradition in Parish Guild Drama in Early Elizabethan Lincolnshire', *Early Theatre* 2 (1999): 63-95, p. 78. While the King's Lynn play is certainly of a different nature from the Donington parish play, the involvement of the upper level of civic politicians is quite similar.

[167] KL/C/39/47.

[168] Admittedly, in the modern experience at least, work on costumes and properties sometimes continues right up to the time of the performance itself. However, while the payment can be made days or even weeks later, the work for essential items must be complete before the play is played.

[169] KL/C/39/56, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 49, KL/C/39/58 (verso), cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p.50.

play in the records of King's Lynn where such explicit preproduction payments are made. Also, it is the only reference where the payment shows an intentional production financed by the city itself. The difficulty of interpretation is increased as doubt is cast whether payments for work at 'eodem tempore' indeed involved the play, or just happened to be around the same time as the production.

There still remain several payments which help to illuminate other aspects of the Christmas play of 1444/5. The most informative of these is extract number seven which is a payment for John, the "Clerk at Seint Nicholas & [*blank*] Gilb*er*t informat*oribus* le Mary & Gabriel cantare in d*icto* ludo".[170] This payment is important because it increases our knowledge of the content of the play. We learn the names of two of the characters, Mary and Gabriel. In addition, the existence of 'le Mary & Gabriel' indicates a play of religious subject matter and there are only a few stories, apocryphal or canonical, which contain both Mary and Gabriel.

Jacob Bennett argues that the Digby *Mary Magdalene* most likely originated from the area around Bishop's Lynn.[171] As his article was published before the Malone volume, it is fairly likely that Bennett had not seen this payment, and thus could not use it as a possible proof for his theory. And yet, for the payment to bear any relation to the extant Digby version 'Gabriel' would have to be understood as representing the 'good angel' and 'le Mary' as Mary Magdalene instead of the more likely Blessed Virgin Mary.[172] This, coupled with the solely linguistic basis for his argument, makes other arguments for the provenance of the Digby *Mary Magdalene* more believable.[173]

It is more likely that the production includes a scene from the Virgin Mary's life that involves the angel Gabriel, such as the Annunciation scene from the N-Town

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[170] As with the painter, Passhelew, in extract five, the Malone Society copies the blank space, whereas in the transcriptions for this thesis it is indicated with [*blank*]. cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. xx.

[171] Jacob Bennett, 'The Mary Magdalene of Bishop's Lynn', *Studies in Philology*, 75:1 (1978), 1-9.

[172] *Early English Drama: An Anthology*, ed. by John C. Coldewey, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1993), pp. 186-252. That 'le Mary' more likely refers to the Blessed Virgin Mary instead of Mary Magdalene is based on other 'Marys' tending to be consciously differentiated from the Blessed Virgin Mary to which 'Mary' usually refers.

[173] John C. Coldewey, 'The Non-Cycle Plays and the East Anglian Tradition', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. by Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 189-210.

Mary Play.[174] There is also the possibility that the two characters were in entirely different parts of the play which may have little or no basis in surviving, or at least canonical, religious texts.

Since the payment is for teaching them to sing, there is the possibility that they had no part in the play except for their singing. This is unlikely because if it were the case there would be no reason for the characters to be named so explicitly. Thus, it is more likely that they were an integral part of the play, but any attempt at precise identification with an extant text is flouted by the terse nature of the accounting records.

This one extract can tell us still more about the play itself. The payment is specifically for teaching the two characters to sing, not to act, dance, or do anything else. This implies two things: firstly, they were not knowledgeable singers before, or at least not sufficient enough to learn the singing parts by themselves, and secondly that at least two characters in the play had to sing. These two points, while self evident, bring to light a number of more difficult questions.

In what language were they singing? It is possible that the play itself was in English. Nevertheless, as a set piece in an English play of religious content, it is quite possible that the singing was in Latin. While Lord Scales' diplomatic functions and ambassadorial missions to France imply that he had an understanding of a variety of languages, many of the burgesses watching were surely not fluent in many other languages.[175] Even if they did have some knowledge of foreign languages through business dealings, and an understanding of Latin based on attendance at church, English is still the most probable language for the production based, at least, on the language of surviving texts. And yet, even if the play itself was in English the singing in many English plays during this period was in Latin.[176] That the songs were in Latin is further supported by the extract that notes one of their instructors as the 'Clerk at

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[174] *The Mary Play from the N. Town Manuscript*, ed. by Peter Meredith (London and New York: Longman, 1987). However, as the percentage of extant medieval dramatic texts is quite low in comparison to the number of plays known to have been performed, it should not be expected that the payment would necessarily identify an existing text.

[175] G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, pp. 505-6.

[176] See discussions in G. Richard Rastall's, 'Music in the Cycle Plays', in *Contexts for Early English Drama*, ed. by Marianne G. Briscoe and John C. Coldewey (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 192-218, and JoAnna Dutka's, *Music in the English Mystery Plays* (Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute, 1980). See also G. Richard Rastall, *The Heaven Singing: Music in Early English Religious Drama*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), pp. 78-84, pp. 203-4.

Seint Nicholas'. That they are being instructed by a clerk from a parochial chapel, who would obviously be familiar with the techniques of Latin Chant, makes it much more likely that the songs were indeed in Latin.[177] Another possibility is that the 'dicto ludo' is a purely liturgical exchange meant to be sung in church and has no 'drama' except the wholly sung interaction between Mary and Gabriel.[178] While this is a distinct possibility, given the number and type of expenses it is probable that something more complicated was intended.

If the play was in English and the singing in Latin there is little else this payment can tell us about the content of the performance. That one of their tutors is specifically a clerk from St Nicholas' may be an indication of another agenda. St Nicholas' was one of the parochial chapels of St Margaret's and at this time was attempting to gain its own privileges.[179] As they were being taught by a clerk from St Nicholas' as opposed to the parish church of St Margaret's, it may reflect the difficulties between the Bishops and the city that were manifested in support by the corporation for St Nicholas. There is no direct evidence for a political motive, but given the contemporary disputes the corporation was having with the Bishops, it is a distinct possibility. This should be considered in addition to the collaboration with Lord Scales in the building of a mill.[180] Nevertheless, if a political connection did exist, it would be almost impossible to find evidence of it as this is specifically the type of information which goes unrecorded.

Another extract which helps our understanding of the production is number eight in which two of the actors in this Christmas play are named. William the "Barbour in Gresmarket" and "Ric*ardo* Cember" are paid twenty pence for "ludent*ibus* cora*m* dic*to* do*mi*no in eode*m* ludo".[181] These two are the only people expressly paid for acting in the Christmas play. As it is rare in this period to have the actual names of two actors in such a play, this payment was noted prior to the Malone

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[177] If the play was indeed the same as that on the vigil of Epiphany, then as Gabriel and Mary are not celebrated on 5 January, it is unlikely to be a liturgical play, and thus in English. However, there is no supporting evidence for linking the two sets of celebrations.

[178] See also Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400 - c 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), especially Section A 'Liturgy, Learning and the Laity', pp. 9-87.

[179] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 29, and H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 61-3.

[180] KL/C/39/55, 56.

[181] KL/C/39/55, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 48.

volume by a number of historians of King's Lynn not specifically concerned with dramatic activity.[182]

There is a very minor mistranscription in the Malone Society's editing of these payments. Richard's last name is 'Comber' not 'Cember', as comparison with a variety of other records that year makes clear.[183] There is very little we can discover about William, the Barber from the same record.[184]

There is some surviving information about Richard Comber. He purchased the freedom of the city in 1437/8 and is in a list of burgesses of 1440/1.[185] A number of other records survive, and one of these is a payment from Richard Comber for the rent of the 'domus aquatus' and two pastures outside the east gate.[186] While there are payments to people for keeping the mill for water, there exists some confusion in various sources as to the operations of the area and the etymology of the placename.[187] What is clear is that this would have been an important rent to hold, and at a cost of twenty six shillings and eight pence, it indicates that Richard was a merchant of some means rather than a mere labourer who also acted. This indicates, once again, that the people directly involved with this production were generally powerful members of the higher classes of King's Lynn.

While William (the) Barber and Richard Comber are the only ones expressly paid for acting, following directly after these payments are some to John Martin (already noted as the son of Martin Wright), and Edward Skarlet. Both payments are for two shillings and both are made at the 'eod*e*m temp*o*r*e*'. As this refers back to the paying of the players it may be intended not only to note that the payment was for work at the 'same time' but for work directly connected with the play. As the payment it cites is for acting, it is tempting to assume that they were also being paid for acting, but this is difficult to establish.

Another payment that helps to inform us about the play is number fourteen

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[182] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 88, cf. H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 818.
[183] KL/C/39/55.
[184] There were several other people with the surname 'Barber' at this time in the King's Lynn Records, which makes it even unclear whether he was a Barber in Grassmarket or if his name was 'William Barber' and he happened just to live in Grassmarket.
[185] *Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn*, p. 42, 302 and Bulwer, 'Notice of a Manuscript', p. 237.
[186] KL/C/39/55. The 'domus aquatus' may be in reference to part of what was later known as the 'kettle mills' by the east gate of the city, and the location of the pastures supports this.
[187] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 793-5.

which is a payment of six shillings and four pence "p*ro* exp*e*ns*e* equor*um* de carect*orum* cu*m* exp*e*ns*e* de prand*io* de Carteris apud Mydelton temp*o*re ludi cora*m* d*omi*no de scales ib*ide*m".[188] While the payment for horses and the lunch of some carters might not seem extremely important to the play, this payment initiates a great amount of confusion. Because of the mention of the play, that the carters are at Middleton, and the use of the word 'ibidem', there has been some disagreement concerning its implications and several antiquarians have taken this payment to mean that the play before the Lord Scales was performed in Middleton. This is, in some ways, the easier of assumptions to make, as Middleton was Thomas De Scales' family home.[189] Whether this is the case or not is unclear because of the use of the word 'ibidem'. If it is taken literally to mean 'in that same place' it could be referring to Middleton or the 'huius ville' (King's Lynn) of the previous payment. Even if reference to Middleton is understood, the question remains whether 'ibidem' refers back to the play or the carter's lunch. If it is referring to the play then it could mean that it was performed in Middleton at some point, otherwise it could just be locating the carters and horses. If 'ibidem' is understood temporally and taken to mean 'at the same time' or 'in the same business', the payment could be taken as a temporal locator meaning that the carters were in Middleton while the play was concurrently taking place in King's Lynn.

These accounts are consistent throughout in their use of 'ibidem' to refer back to the last physical place mentioned and this lends some support to the idea that the play was performed before the Lord Scales in Middleton. This would also explain why some of them continually stress that it was shown 'Coram Domino de Scales'. That the payment for the carters is referenced through mention of the play suggests their being in Middleton had something to do with the production. Even if their involvement in the production was known as a fact, it would still be an assumption to think that the carters were transporting goods needed for the play to Middleton. They could also, as unlikely as it may seem, have been taking people of the household of Lord Scales into King's Lynn to see the play, or have been carrying the baggage of the Scales household. The reason for the payment for their lunch, in that case, would be

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[188] KL/C/39/55, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 48.
[189] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 88 and H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 818.

quite a quandary. Any theory of the play somehow being performed on the cart is equally as unlikely when one remembers that this is a Christmas play.

The most convincing arguments for the play being performed at Middleton still rely on entirely circumstantial evidence. The consistent use of 'ibidem' in the accounts, that the play was for Lord Scales who was from Middleton and had a close relationship with the town make it a reasonable assumption. The interest and financial support of the town and the involvement of some of the notable members of the upper classes of King's Lynn also lends a certain amount of credibility to the idea of this having been one of the performance locations. Unless this circumstantial evidence can be supported by further research showing a more direct relationship between the performance and Middleton, it is impossible to conclude that this play was necessarily performed there.[190]

That it is sometimes indicated that it was shown 'p*er* Maiore*m* & consiliu*m* hui*us* ville' and at other times 'cora*m* d*omi*no de Scales' might indicate two performances. If the city were to put on a play in Middleton they would also have had at least a single local performance in King's Lynn. Yet, as mentioned before, that the play was shown 'p*er*' the mayor and council does not necessarily mean they constituted part of the audience, just that it was produced through their agency and support. No records found in the course of this thesis would conclusively support the idea of the play being performed at Middleton, but it is a likely possibility.

In extract number four there is a payment of fourteen pence "p*ro* vino exp*e*ndit*o* circa luseres apud Taberna*m* Margarete ffrank in die lune".[191] What is meant by 'circa luseres' is unclear. It could mean the payment was made for wine consumed around the time that some 'players' were in town, or just as easily while players were in the tavern, or for wine for the players themselves. Whether these 'luseres' have any relation to the plays mentioned above, or not, is unknown. That the payment is for wine 'in die lune', that is on Monday, does not help in any attempt to relate it to the plays mentioned above. Christmas day, 1444, was a Friday.[192] While

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[190] The possibility remains that this civic sponsored production did travel to other locations, as this has been found to be quite common in the greater Wash area, see Chapter 7. And yet, most of this travelling does not appear to start until the mid-sixteenth century.

[191] KL/C 39/55, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 48.

[192] In respect to the plays mentioned in extract one, the Saturday is obviously not being referred to, but the vigil for Epiphany which was indeed on Monday evening.

Twelfth Night certainly was a time for bacchanalia and revelry, it is strange that this vigil would take place in a tavern, instead of the hall that was already rented. This might have been a payment relating to a final rehearsal at which a certain amount of celebration took place, a separate celebration for the players, or a completely unrelated group of 'players'.

Margaret Frank appears many times in the Chamberlains' accounts for this period, mostly in reference to her tavern or purchases of wine. And while she is not admitted as a freeman to the 'freedom of the city', she is mentioned in this context. She takes an apprentice named Richard Goodewyn of Litcham in 1446/7, thus giving him the 'freedom'.[193] Later, in 1448/9, a Richard Goodwyn purchases the freedom and is noted as a 'vyntner'.[194] It may be that Richard left the apprenticeship to start his own business. How Margaret Frank came to be a woman of such property is unknown.[195]

Exploring the records of dramatic activity for this single year in the history of King's Lynn greatly increases our understanding of the nature of the performances in question. That drama in King's Lynn was supported by and involved members of the class of burgess '*potenciores*' confirms the centrality of civic drama to their self identity. This year is of specific interest since it was apparently the only year in which the civic government took such a direct interest in a dramatic production. It is not only the reasons why some boroughs produce plays, and others do not that deserve consideration. It is also necessary to look at the catalysts which inspired a city to produce a large dramatic production one year, and not the next.[196] In the case of King's Lynn, records exist noting that plays and processions were put on in many years other than this. And yet, as these are secondary references and not payments for preproduction work, the King's Lynn Christmas play of 1444/5 is one of their few productions for which detailed records survive. It is likely, therefore, that this is one of the few productions instigated by the local government itself. As such, it may be that its intent was to keep, or secure, the favour of Lord Scales not only because of the mill

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[193] *Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn*, p. 49.
[194] *Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn*, p. 50.
[195] She is also listed as having rented property to 'Peter Dutchman' in a subsidy return of aliens resident in King's Lynn, PRO E 179/149/126, cf. Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, no. 491.
[196] L.M. Clopper, 'Lay and Clerical Impact on Civic Religious Drama and Ceremony', in *Contexts for Early English Drama*, ed. by Marianne G. Briscoe and John C. Coldewey (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 103-136, p. 111.

being jointly built, but also for his possible support in the civic disagreements with the Bishop of Norwich. This production was certainly of great importance to the burgesses of King's Lynn — for a variety of reasons. Negative conclusions show that we are unable to prove a performance in Middleton, although this is likely one of the performance locations. Information concerning many of the people involved in the production has not survived. And while these show that we are unable to conclusively determine more concerning this play, they are beneficial in doing that much.

The drama of King's Lynn was a highly important aspect to the formulation of the town government's self-identification. Yet, few records remain to give detail information concerning the productions themselves.

Music and Minstrelsy

Records relating to music and minstrelsy make up the majority of those which the Malone Society transcribed for King's Lynn. Similarly, other collections of edited dramatic records, such as the *Records of Early English Drama* volumes, usually contain more records concerning music and minstrelsy for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than any other single type of activity. This does not imply that there necessarily was more music-related performance at that time than any other and does not eliminate the possibility that other types of performance were more common and simply went unrecorded. Nevertheless, the bulk of early records from King's Lynn are those of minstrels.

Terminology

What is meant by the term 'minstrels' is a long debated subject. In her discussion of the dramatic terms found in early dictionaries Abigail Young finds them to be of little help in coming to a more concrete idea of what being a minstrel implied.

> 'Ministrallus,' the fourth of these terms, is also spottily represented. It does not occur in Papias, Balbus, or Elyot because it is a purely medieval and purely English locution. The English 'mynstralle' is found in one of Wright's glossaries as a definition of 'prestigiator'. 'Ministraulus' defines the English 'Mynstral' in the *Promptorium*, in which 'mynstralsy' is defined as 'musica, organicum.' But it is not given as a definition of 'minstral' in the *Catholicon Anglicum*, where that English term is defined as 'gesticulator' and 'histrio,' among other terms.[197]

Even contemporaries disagreed on an accurate translation and this highlights the problem of usage where there is a danger of misinterpretation by the reader based on outmoded concepts of minstrelsy. In addition, there are a variety of Latin words which are commonly translated into the English 'minstrel'. The word 'ministrallus' is most often used when referring to minstrels making the translation seem obvious, but this is problematic in two ways. Firstly, this word can have a variety of meanings. Secondly, a variety of other (equally problematic) words are often translated as 'minstrel'.

When the term 'ministrallus' is used, there is rarely any supporting detail to confirm what they did. That is, minstrels are most commonly found as an unspecified kind. When they are of a specified type they are either mentioned in terms of employment but not instrument (e.g. wait, King's minstrels), or only by what type of instrument they play (e.g. piper, harper, trumpeter). Because the majority of records involve no specification of kind of minstrel, many discussions suggest a variety of performance types — not always musical.[198] The term 'ministrallus' can properly refer to professions not related in any way to entertainment. Young proposes the following definition, but then proceeds to qualify it in relation to REED research to underscore the non-performative uses of the word.

> ministrallus, -i *n m* (*from LL ministerialis*, servant, civil servant) 1. servant; 2. craftsman, workman; 3. entertainer, apparently one whose performance involved some sort of music, whether vocal, instrumental, or dance; minstrel.[199]

Even if it is to be assumed that the latter sense is generally the intended, except where

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[197] A.A. Young, 'Plays and players: the Latin terms for performance (II)', *REED Newsletter*, 10:1 (1985), 9-16, (p.12). The *Promptorium Parvulorum*, has often been consulted before the *MED* and *OED* because of its King's Lynn provenence. However, unless the *MED* or *OED* are deficient concerning the word they have been given as a standardised reference instead. See also, *The Promptorium Parvulorum*, ed. by A.L. Mayhew (London: K. Paul, 1908).

[198] A.A. Young, 'Plays and players: the Latin terms for performance (I)', *REED Newsletter*, 9:2 (1984), 56-62, (p. 62).

[199] A.A. Young, 'Minstrels and minstrelsy: household retainers or instrumentalists?', *REED Newsletter*, 20:1 (1995), 11-17, (p. 13).

evidence points more clearly to the earlier possibilities, one must be aware of the dangers of this assumption. This interpretation is theoretically problematic but is convenient for scholars as it alleviates the constriction provided by the lack of detail in the records. When this assumption is made it should be entered into with an awareness of its methodological shortcomings.

In examining the terms used for minstrels it is interesting to note the variety of terms for musical performers in King's Lynn. The words used to specify types of musicians include: 'baggepipe', 'citherizanti', 'clarenaris', 'ffytheler', 'fistulatores', 'gyterners', 'harpors', 'histriones', 'luters', 'pipers', 'taberer', 'thitheratores', 'trumpetours', 'tubatores' and 'waytes'. A number of these words actually refer back to the same type of instrumentalist, and all of the individual uses of these words (or variants of them) are far outnumbered by the use of the unspecified 'ministrallus'. This does not imply that the term 'minstrel' did not also include these instrumentalists but that they were specified less often. Although payments to a small number of singers are recorded, there is no indication of whether minstrels, in the minds of those recording payments, were considered to be primarily vocalists or instrumentalists. That there was some conscious differentiation is unlikely, as the individual terms become increasingly common through the fifteenth century.

A variety of other performers who may have incorporated music or song in their performances could include a 'gestour' 'ioculator', 'iogelor' (also 'iugulator'), 'plaiers' (which could be players of instruments or games as easily as players of plays), and a 'tripudiator'. What the specific duties or nature of performance of a 'gestour', a 'ioculator' and 'iogelor' are hard to pin down with certainty, but they often involved a wide range of musical and non-musical types of performance.[200] In relation to a number of known minstrels the payments include mention of: 'sociis suis', 'serventibus suis' and 'pueris suis'. These are most likely for either accompanying performers or servants assisting them. There are also a variety of other performers, such as the bearwards, who probably did not use much music and song in their performances.[201]

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[200] The English translations of 'jester' and 'juggler' do not provide a realistic impression of the range of the performances of a 'gestour', 'ioculator' or 'iogelor' which could include the skills of: acrobatics, juggling, mime, playing a variety of instruments, singing and storytelling.

[201] An exception could be bears trained to dance to music, although there is no indication of this in King's Lynn.

Whether the 'mimi' recorded in King's Lynn would have incorporated music depends on what one believes to have been the nature of their performance.[202] In surveying records published by the *Records of Early English Drama*, Young found that 'mimi' was being used interchangeably with 'histriones' and 'ministralli', and that when more detail was given it generally referred to musicians and sometimes even town waits.[203]

Identification and Interpretation

The difficulty in actually identifying minstrels can lead to over zealous assumptions on the parts of editors when someone does appear to be named in a payment to a minstrel. The misunderstandings concerning the payments in the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts from 1401/2 and 1402/3 which led the Malone Society editors incorrectly to believe that 'Radulph de Bedyngham' was a minstrel have been mentioned as an editorial problem in Chapter One.[204] The mistaken assumption that this notable local politician and treasurer of that guild was a minstrel emphasises the dangers of removing records from their contexts and then interpreting them. The very presentation and editing of that record shows the editors to be engaged in an interpretative conjecture unable to be sustained by the extract itself.

One of the more notable problems in interpretation comes when the inherently financial nature of the records concerning minstrels is considered. Unless specified, it is impossible to know what minstrels and other performers were paid for or what the circumstances of this employment entailed.[205] Throughout the fourteenth century chamberlains' accounts record payments in one lump sum to a large variety of minstrels, but local minstrels were probably paid individually and this reflects the compiling of items for the final accounts.[206]

In King's Lynn civic documents, minstrels were often — especially throughout

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[202] Although a pejorative term meaning a farcical actor or mimic in Classical Latin, by the Middle Ages it had come to refer much more to musical professions.
[203] A.A. Young, 'Plays and players: (I)', p. 61.
[204] See Chapter One.
[205] It is this which invalidates any cross comparison of a financial nature between payments, as the duration of employment, number of performances, and number of performers are rarely, if ever, fully detailed.
[206] Exceptions to this are in 1358/0, 1369/70, and 1370/1 when large groups of individual payments were made.

the fourteenth century — paid with other types of servants.[207] These include 'cursores', 'nuncii', 'heraldi' and 'waferers' amongst others. One of the implications of these being grouped together is that all of these distinct professions were viewed as being on a similar economic or social level. As well, there is the possibility that their duties overlapped to a certain degree, or at least the perception that they did so, certainly existed. Minstrels certainly could have carried messages for their patrons.[208] Young argues that they served many roles within the household.

> It seems equally likely that such minstrels were the go-fers or executive assistants of the fourteenth century, expected to act as heralds at one time, as messengers at another. But it also seems likely that some of the household tasks required the retaining of a sufficiently skilled specialist. Wafer-making for instance, or musical performance, seems to fall into that category. In such a situation, a variety of functional terms could easily be used to describe the same person at different times and even a wafer-maker or a musician might find himself carrying important messages for the king when the times demanded it.[209]

If one attempts to discuss the relation of minstrels to players immediately some problematic comparisons are encountered. Minstrels, whatever the term may in reality have meant, were certainly more common through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than players, and yet if by 'players' we understand not actors but players of games or music, then the comparison becomes meaningless except for etymological purposes. If we do compare the amounts they get paid, for example the sixteen pence 'for plaiers' versus the six shillings 'for mynstralls' in 1431/2, then players could be seen to be less valued.[210] All of these economic comparisons are predictably flawed by the lack of information concerning the nature of their employment needed to examine whether these performers were working under the same conditions. If we cannot be certain what minstrels and players were specifically being paid for, then comparisons between the two professions eventually will prove relatively fruitless.

One question that should be considered is whether these minstrels were instrumentalists or vocalists. Certainly those performers whose main identification is by their instrument, are likely to have been known for their performance ability with

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[207] cf. KL/C/39/12 – KL/C/39/45 (1343/4-1404/5).

[208] The argument has also been made to the effect that 'ministrallus' was simply a general term that was applicable to all employees of the patron. Thus, unless unambiguous performance terms are linked with a record, it is impossible to know whether a payment to a minstrel is to a performer or not.

[209] A.A. Young, 'Minstrels and minstrelsy', p.15.

[210] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 45, cf. KL/GD/37, fol. 38v. Similar comparisons could easily be made with the records of 1432/3, and 1437/8.

that instrument. One should be careful not to make the assumption that a performer, for example a harper, might not also sing whilst playing.[211] In addition, entertainers such as pipers, whose instrument clearly makes self accompanied singing unlikely, should not be assumed only to play the pipes, but could easily have also been involved in other secondary performative activities.

Travelling Minstrels[212]

The most obvious division of minstrels is between local and travelling performers. This should be immediately qualified with the reservation that simply because a performer travels it does not follow that they are 'wandering', 'touring' 'itinerant' or automatically following some sort of 'circuit'.[213] It merely means that they have travelled from one location to another, and this may or may not mean that they were travelling for the purposes of performance.

One of the aspects of payments to minstrels which quickly becomes apparent is that the number of minstrels is rarely specified, and when it is they come in relatively small groups.[214] It is problematic to determine whether these payments are in reality multiple payments which have been summarised for the final accounts or actual groups of performers. A very specific payment reading "Item sol*utis* Ministrall*is* d*omi*ni de Scales xij^{d}"[215] may be referring to a number of visits by the minstrels of Lord Scales. It could also be a misexpansion and refer only to a single minstrel. The more common and even less specific records such as "Et in don*is* ministrall*is* x^{s} viij^{d}"[216] make this difficulty more problematic as these could easily be summary payments for a number of independent minstrels or a group of minstrels.[217]

The number of minstrels travelling together must have been dependent on

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[211] While no evidence survives in King's Lynn to directly support this it may explain why there are relatively few payments for those explicitly noted as singers.

[212] The term 'travelling' is used to refer to performers coming from outside of King's Lynn. It should not be understood to imply an intinerary or set 'route' as has been suggested for sixteenth-century players. The term 'visiting' might be a more accurate description.

[213] cf. Peter Meredith, 'The Professional Travelling Players of the Fifteenth Century: Myth or Reality?', pp. 25-40. 'Touring', 'wandering', 'route', and 'circuit' are all extremely assumption laden terms which are sometimes carelessly applied by those mentioning medieval drama.

[214] The exception appears to be pipers and trumpeters who are recorded as having come in larger groups.

[215] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 51, cf. KL/C/39/59.

[216] KL/GD/10.

[217] In this example it is likely to be a number of minstrels (either in a group or separately), given the relatively large amount of the payment.

financial concerns. The mere act of travelling costs money and the average amount any single performance will garner may not fluctuate greatly with respect to the number of performers. Hence, a group of three minstrels might earn the same as a group of five, making the former more lucrative for each performer. A smaller number of performers also would make significantly less impact on the intended audience and produce lower gross rewards. Whatever this natural, but varying, limit was, it would have been easily detectable by experienced travelling performers.[218] Chambers discusses the number of minstrels travelling in small groups and sees it as a consequence of a statute of Edward II designed to reduce large numbers of itinerant vagabonds. It was ordered that:

> ...of these minstrels that there come none except it be three or four minstrels of honour at the most in one day, unlesse he be desired of the lorde of the house.[219]

Another aspect of records concerning minstrels is that they are quite often noted as being under the patronage of a specific nobleman, for example the 'Ministrall*is* d*omi*ni de Scales' noted above. Minstrels were willing to travel great distances and the records include those from all parts of the country. These are what Chambers discusses as "household minstrels",[220] but the implication that they necessarily served their lord when he was in residence or during certain months of the year is difficult to verify from a simple payment. Letters of introduction, real or forged, might easily introduce minstrels a patron had knowledge of without them necessarily being in his permanent employ. And yet, it is assumed that this would be unusual as there was a large number of the aristocracy willing, if not actively wanting, to have their own set of minstrels. This could serve each party well. The patron might have received extra recognition by having accomplished minstrels travelling through the land using his name, and it is out of respect for their patron that some minstrels were given higher fees. Thus, an ideal interaction of reputations must have been sought where a good minstrel brought extra prestige to his patron at whilst the status of their patron enhanced the minstrel's own image and consequently his ability to sell their services.

While during some years there is a scarcity of records noting the patrons of

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[218] Although this limit appears to be three or four performers (based on those records which do provide numbers), it may easily be expected to vary with type of performer as well.
[219] E.K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, p. 54. The Proclamation is dated 6 August, 9 Edward II (1315).
[220] E.K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, p. 54.

minstrels, other years provide an abundance. Aside from the inevitably changing scribal practices, another possible explanation for this discrepancy is that some years simply more minstrels appeared who were connected to patrons. This, in itself, might be explained if a number of the aristocracy travelled as a group, each accompanied by their own set of minstrels. In the same way, if the royal household or members of the royal family were travelling, a number of members of the court would have accompanied them. If full royal itineraries were available this would greatly facilitate this type of inquiry.[221] Payments for large groups of 'patroned' minstrels in the King's Lynn records do occur in the years when royalty visited, but for other records it is impossible to know whether a payment to the King's minstrels happened during the visit of the King himself.[222]

Although the editing of dramatic records now often includes the compilation of a list of information concerning the patrons of minstrels and players it does not include any of the highly informative non-dramatic information. If there were payments or gifts to nobles themselves, which might establish whether the performers were or were not travelling with their patron, this would be invaluable in helping to further understand this system of patronage. The large compound payments recorded throughout the fourteenth century to minstrels sometimes mention that the payment is "p*ro* honore d*omi*nor*um* suor*um*".[223] This indicates that the performers were not necessarily being paid for the quality of their performance (although this must have influenced it to some degree) but according to their patron. And yet, in 1412/13 it is recorded as "p*er* consensum soc*ie*tat*is* ad honorem ville de lenne hoc anno".[224] It was considered an honour if the town had the ability to reward the minstrels of the nobility. If this was the case, then the status of one's patron and a letter of recommendation would be of great importance to a travelling performer.

That some minstrels were given letters of recommendation by their patrons is not in doubt, but, although their existence is commonly assumed by scholars, very few examples have actually survived. In 1412, William Asshebourne records a letter of

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[221] Edited itineraries exist for early monarchs, but not for the fifteenth century.
[222] Gifts to members of the royal family are recorded in 1409/10, 1415/16, and 1416/17 which also correspond to years when large numbers of minstrels with named patrons are recorded. Nevertheless, it is problematic to determine whether gifts are given in their presence or merely sent to them.
[223] KL/C/39/43.
[224] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 42, cf. KL/C/39/49, mb. 10.

recommendation from Thomas Beaufort the Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine[225] to "les mair & / bons gentz de la ville de lenne"[226] on behalf of "nostre biene ame / servitour & menstralle Grene Piper".[227] This letter is recorded in *William Asshebourne's Book* which is a private memorandum and formulary book kept by Asshebourne who was the common clerk of King's Lynn thoughout the early fifteenth century. It includes an assortment of letters and documents which "he clearly began for his own use as a formulary of sample documents, but which took on the appearance of a chronological record for the years 1412-1417".[228] Although concise and without much detail as to the 'gayte' which Grene Piper would provide, it is probably typical of the type of letters of recommendation given to minstrels. A transcription of the full letter, dated 4 July 1412, is provided below as well as in Appendix One.

> A noz treschers & bien amez les mair & / bons gentz de la ville de lenne / Le count de Dorset admiralle / dengletere guiane & dirlande / [229]
>
> Treschiers & biene amez Nous vous saluons tresjoiment Et en taunt que nostre bien ame / servitour & menstralle Grene Piper presentour dicestes est desirons pur feare service / a vous come gayte del vile de lenne en quele desire vous prions daver sa persone / especialment recomendez ensi quil poet sentier icestes noz lettres & priers celle partie luy / estre vaillables & expedientz Et ce fesaunt nous ferriez especial plesier ceo sciet / dieu quil vous donne bone vie & longe Escrypt a leycestre le iiije jour de julet [230]

While it may be possible to attempt to identify this minstrel, this would be fraught with problems. Presumably, 'Grene' is his surname and although this is more information than most references give us, any tenuous identification with other minstrels would be dangerous. It is interesting to note that Green is referred to first as a servant and then as a minstrel. This may indicate that his role as a minstrel was secondary to his

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[225] He was reappointed as such for life on 3 March, 1412. The letter dates from 4 July, 1412.
[226] KL/C/10/2, fol. 26v.
[227] KL/C/10/2, fol. 26v.
[228] Dorothy M. Owen, 'William Asshebourne's Book', *NRS*, XLVIII (1981), 55-103, p. 60, For transcriptions see Dorothy M. Owen, *Making of King's Lynn*. In addition, it records various details and submissions concerning the electoral disputes taking place in King's Lynn at this time. While this eclectic view into the heart of the life, politics and history of early fifteenth century King's Lynn has not, unfortunately, been fully edited, Dorothy Owen has prepared a calendar of its contents and includes a number of transcriptions from it in her documentary volume.
[229] Thomas Beaufort was Admiral of England, Ireland and Guyenne at this time.
[230] KL/C/10/2 The Book of William Asshebourne (4 July 1412), fol. 26v. I am very grateful for the assistance of Alan E. Knight and others with the transcription and double checking of this passage. No punctuation or accents appear in the original, and so have not been added here. William Asshebourne was the common clerk of King's Lynn. See Dorothy M. Owen, 'William Asshebourne's Book', *NRS*, XLVIII (1981), 55-103.

employment as a servant, or that it made him appear well rounded or more valuable, hence more desirable to employ. The other possibility is that the two terms are being used as a synonym and the phrase is a tautology.[231]

Little more contextual information can be added to that information which is readily apparent from the records of King's Lynn concerning the activities of travelling minstrels as the edited records rarely yield more information than a cursory financial payment. With the development and compilation of lists of 'Patrons and Travelling Companies', research has begun into tracing the routes travelled by minstrels and players.[232] Although records for minstrels are often more common, most of the research generated by the 'Patrons and Travelling Companies Database' has consisted of tracing the routes of later period players, as this has remained the common interest of the scholars concerned.[233]

Local Minstrels

After the travelling minstrels, another division of minstrels which appears self evident to study is those who were local inhabitants. In addition, there is the possibility of musicians who were professionals but whose main income derived from performing locally, not travelling to other locations.

The type of employment for local musicians which was mostly recorded was the regular use of musicians by town governments, of which civic 'waits' are the most common example. This may partially be because of the difficulty of determining whether a performer is local or not — unless an origin or a patron is specified there is no way to know whether performers are local or travelling. Language variants also remain a barrier, in 1455/6 there is a record "In mynstrellys hyyr 6^{d}".[234] Is this a payment for a minstrel 'here' or for minstrel 'hire'?[235] It should probably be interpreted as 'hire', and even if it did mean 'here' that does not necessitate a local

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[231] See A.A. Young, 'Minstrels and minstrelsy', pp.12-13 for a discussion of the origins and meanings of the word minstrel.

[232] A computerised database of this information is kept at the Records of Early English Drama offices.

[233] e.g. S.B. MacLean 'Tour Routes: "Provincial Wanderings" or Traditional Circuits?', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 6 (1993), 1-14. 'Travelling Players' in *A Companion to the Medieval Theatre*, ed. by R.W. Vince (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), pp. 353-8. Peter Greenfield, 'Touring', in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 251-68.

[234] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 50, cf. KL/GD/80.

[235] The *MED* and *OED* do not list this variant for either 'here' or 'hire'.

minstrel, as it may be referring simply to the location in which the minstrel's services were to be engaged — at the guildhall.

Local minstrels certainly did become members of the numerous religious guilds in King's Lynn. William Wylde and John de Trumpington became members of the Guild of Saints Giles and Julian, their entrance fee being waived in lieu of their fee for performing.[236] While in 1494/5 the Guild of Saint Anthony ruled that four "skevens shall fynde a mynstrell ye next gen*er*all daye on ther owne cost",[237] by 1500/1 Thomas Lawson a 'mynstrel' had joined the Guild of Saint Anthony and was required to pay his own entrance fee, leaving a down payment of two shillings, and John Richardson, also a minstrel, paid the whole amount upon joining in 1503/4.[238]

Minstrels were not only guild members but also in some places had guilds of their own. That minstrels had guilds in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is not in doubt, but only dubious evidence exists for these in King's Lynn. In the 1391/2 Corpus Christi accounts, after a list of payments to several minstrels, there is the following entry.

> Et de ij^{s} / sol*utis* Ministrall*is* societatis Lenn*e* de cons*ueta* dona caus*a* eiusd*em* festu*m*[239] [ut p*atet* in p*ar*ticul*a* Joh*ann*is de Laginghith <•••••>/ lib*er*atis][240]

This may indicate that there was an organisation or society of minstrels in King's Lynn at this tim, but it is inconclusive as an equally possible translation allows the 'societatis' to refer to 'Lenn*e*'. While this could have applied to the minstrels of King's Lynn as a whole, that is all the local minstrels at the feast, it does not necessarily mean that they were all members of an ordered guild. Nevertheless, this may indicate a certain amount of organisation on the part of local minstrels. That the 'society' pertained to King's Lynn instead, is corroborated by the common use of 'societatis' in the Malone Society's edited records for 1412/13. In this year the Chamberlains' accounts record a use of the word in connection with minstrels that leaves no doubt that it refers to the community, not some organisation of minstrels.[241]

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[236] KL/GD/37, fol. 5v. Walter Aleyn performed regularly for the guild, but whether he entered the guild as the others did is not recorded.
[237] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 55, cf. KL/GD/78.
[238] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 55-6, cf. KL/GD/78.
[239] The Malone Society reads **festuij* for *festu* ' here expanded as festu*m*.
[240] KL/GD/2. The Malone Society does not edit this final portion.
[241] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 42, cf. KL/C 39/49 mb. 14.

No other references can clearly establish any evidence for a guild of minstrels in King's Lynn.[242]

A variety of local musicians did exist and are recorded in a number of ways. Minstrels were commonly paid in relation to a feast, which remains a possible context for their performance when none is given. Musicians were paid for by the Guild of Corpus Christi for the annual feast of Corpus Christi, and quite commonly for their celebration on the octave.[243]

The town's bellman, whose occupation is discussed in Chapter Three, must have at one point at least rung a bell.[244] Bellringing was a common occurrence in King's Lynn. The sacrist of St Margaret's was routinely paid for "p*ro* pulsac*ion*e in d*ic*to f*est*o & Octab*o* eiusd*e*m".[245] The chamberlains' accounts record not only payments for the bellman, but they also paid "xij^{d} solut*is* p*ro* pulsac*ion*e lib*er*tatis".[246] The most obvious local group for music making was that of the civic waits.

Waits in King's Lynn

Surveys of medieval drama rarely include waits within their scope. This is understandable since most of these surveys are concentrated strictly upon traditional textual drama. As projects such as the *Records of Early English Drama* have included baitings, processions, minstrels and other possibly non-dramatic performative arts, the amount of information concerning these areas has been greatly enriched. One of the many topics which has benefited has been our understanding of the nature of the profession of 'wait'.

Waits are understood to have been either watchman or civic musicians.[247] In general, the scholarly community accepts these definitions, and yet, some have found them overly simplistic in summarising what the extant records show concerning both

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[242] Likewise, no evidence for minstrel kings visiting King's Lynn or minstrel schools has been found, cf. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, pp. 50-56.

[243] e.g. KL/GD/20 (1433/5), KL/GD/22 (1438/9), KL/GD/29b (1452), amongst many others. As has already been mentioned, other guilds hired minstrels as well.

[244] Whether this implies 'music' is debatable, yet it is intended for an audience even if only for the purpose of attracting their attention.

[245] KL/GD/3. Obits are also commemorated through bellringing.

[246] KL/C/39/24 (1361/2).

[247] G. Richard Rastall. 'Wait' in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, Vol. 20 (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 154-5. A variety of senses exist in definitions of 'wait' which include: a watchman, a household watchman, an instrument of the shawm family, any player of said instrument, a civic ministrel, and Christmas singers.

the nature of the profession and its evolution. The problem arises because waits as civic musicians and waits as watchmen have been considered by some as completely separate entities and have been said to have no relation to one another.[248] This recent distinction will be shown to be an artificial one, at least in the case of King's Lynn, and is not as rigid as has been claimed.

The majority of scholarly discussions concerning waits covers the late fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century. This is the period when waits were most common, and thus, it is the period from which the greatest amount of information about them survives. Basing our understanding of the nature of their activities solely on later period information skews our perceptions of this changing and evolving profession. Through the examination of the salad days of the profession, we are given the chance to see not only what the profession was developing into, but also what it developed from. For this reason, and because it uses evidence not previously transcribed, this thesis concentrates more fully upon the earlier waits of King's Lynn.

While household waits date from at least the early fourteenth century, civic waits do not normally start appearing in corporation documents until at least the mid-fifteenth century.[249] Early examples given of waits as civic minstrels are at Beverley (1405) and Norwich (1408). Part of this perceived discrepancy arises from the lack of extant documents or the lack of proper transcriptions of those documents that do survive.

Giles Dawson decided to impose a strict "limitation of my inquiry to travelling entertainers"[250] and thus excluded waits from the Malone Society's *Collections VII* volume dealing with Kent because he believed them not to be truly travelling performers. His belief that they only travelled through special arrangements may indeed be true in the early period, but has been found not to be the case by at least the early seventeenth century.[251] That he did not include waits in his survey has deprived us of a variety of useful and interesting information. It is the background of this

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[248] G. Richard Rastall, 'Wait', pp. 154-5.

[249] Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, p. 51. This is evident not only through a quick examination of REED transcriptions, but also in the late period of references to waits in secondary material about them.

[250] Malone Society, *Collections VII: Kent*, p. viii.

[251] These ideas were explored during my MA in the Centre for Medieval Studies at University of Leeds through a supervised research project under Dr G. Richard Rastall, "Waiting By The Road: Possibilities and Problematics of Minstrel Travel", which was concerned with a variety of civic waits, but especially the waits of Durham, travelling through early seventeenth century Lancashire and Cumberland.

publication that helps to explain the inconsistencies in information about waits in the later Malone Society's *Collections XI* volume.

It is not intended, nor is it practical, to rewrite the histories concerning the nature of the position of waits in medieval England — this study is concerned strictly with the waits of King's Lynn. A great deal of information concerning waits survives in the corporation archives. The Malone Society transcribed much of this, and yet, as performed drama, and not waits, was its priority there is a great deal of remaining information that was not included in its volume. It does include the majority of later records, but until the close of the sixteenth century this provides few details concerning the actual activities of the waits, recording instead the handing in and returning of waits' collars of office by the mayor.

The first entry specifically concerning waits in the Malone Society's volume is from the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts from 1432/3.

> ffeod*is* cu*m* vad*iis*
> Et in feod*is* mag*istri* p*er* annu*m* xiijs iiij^{d} Item Cl*er*ico p*er* annu*m* vj^{s} viij^{d} Item decano p*er* annu*m* x^{s} Item in vad*iis* de iiij mynstrell*is* / d*omi*ni Ducis Norff*olcensis* ib*idem* int*er*essent*ibus* in die festi x^{s} Item in vad*iis*[252] de le Waytes de lenn p*ro* die festi & in oct*abo* die iiij^{s} Et in vad*iis* / Will*elm*i Cook ib*idem* int*er*essent*ibus* in oct*abo* die tem*pore* xx^{d} p*er* Joh*ann*em Wesynham
>
> *Sum*ma xlv^{s} viij^{d} [253]

In this case the context shows the waits being paid alongside the minstrels of the Duke of Norfolk (a payment which the Malone Society also edits). While this might provide the grounds of an argument for the necessary musicality of the waits of King's Lynn, this same context simultaneously denies this argument much scope as it includes payments to non-performative employees of the guild. The payment is of little use other than to note that the waits were paid wages for both the day of the feast and on its octave, and that they were paid significantly less than the other minstrels. The Malone Society believed that this was the first record of waits in King's Lynn, and used it to show the transference from the term 'histriones' to the term 'waits'.

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[252] The Malone Society expands this as 'Vad*imoniis*' but as 'vadium' has the same meaning at this time and was also used in other documents in King's Lynn, it was used instead.
[253] KL/GD/18, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 45. This, as with the majority of the others, is my own transcription, available in Appendix One.

> In one instance, however, the Lynn accounts refer to the hiring in 1431 of the first city *histriones*; in 1432 and thereafter they are called waits. It is possible, of course, that their occupation altered when they accepted the job as city waits and that they were no longer entitled to the term *histriones*.[254]

There are a variety of payments to waits in King's Lynn significantly earlier than this date. The first record of a civic wait in King's Lynn has been found in the King's Lynn Chamberlains' accounts from 1362/3. "Item de — xxxvj^{s} viij^{d} solut*is* solut*is*[255] Joh*anne*m de Boys[256] Wayte p*ro* eodem".[257] This payment is in the 'ffeod*a* Solut*is*' section containing payments to city officers and the 'p*ro* eodem' refers to a previous 'p*ro* feod*o* suo'. It should be noted that while John de Boys appears listed with other civic officers in the chamberlains' accounts the waits were not elected positions like the mayor, recorder, gate guards, or bellmen and as such are not listed in the hallbooks of the corporation.[258]

The possibilities of interpretation in the next roll are slightly problematic. The roll classified as KL/C/39/26 actually contains two rolls. The second was discovered to be an unclassified draft roll or copy of the account and in consultation with the archivist the classification KL/C/39/26a was given to the final roll and KL/C/39/26b was given to the draft. Whether the Malone Society examined both rolls or just one of them is unknown since the portion it transcribed is identical on both rolls and it did not provide a note indicating the existence of this draft. As is to be expected the two rolls are almost identical, nevertheless some payments are condensed for the final roll. In 1364/5 KL/C/39/26a (the final roll) records an "Item de xlij^{s} Joh*ann*i Wayte & Will*el*mo Wayte p*ro* eodem" in the 'ffeod*a* Solut*is*' while the draft roll states:

> ffeod*a* Solut*is*
> ...Item de — xl^{s} [∧ij^{s}] solute Joh*ann*i de Doys Wayte & Will*el*mo le Wayte v*idelicet* dicto Joh*ann*i p*ro* tempore / suo — x^{s} & dicto Will*el*mo p*ro* tribus quarteriis anni xxx[∧ij^{s}]^{s}[259]

This draft roll is extremely useful in that it expands the terseness of the final roll and allows us to glean a much greater degree of information. To begin with, the final roll

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[254] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. xvi.
[255] sic. The solut*is* is repeated.
[256] Both the archivist and I read 'Boys' here, although in KL/C/39/26b it is most certainly 'Doys'. This may simply be scribal confusion or error as 'de Boys' is more probable.
[257] KL/C/39/25.
[258] The only exception to this is discussed below.
[259] The extra 'ij^{s}' is added between the numeral thirty and the shillings mark. KL/C/39/26b, draft roll of KL/C/39/26a.

names them as John and William 'Wayte' the earlier roll names them as John de Doys and William 'le Wayte'. This permits us to ascertain that 'wayte' is indeed a profession, not simply a surname and gives at least one surname that could be used to help further identify the wait himself.

The draft account provides a breakdown of the single payment recorded in the final roll which details how much is going to each wait — ten shillings are paid to John de Doys and thirty two shillings are paid to William le Wayte. The two shillings appear to be added as an afterthought or a correction of a miscalculation. We also learn that William acted as the wait for only three quarters of the year and John 'for his time'. This could be a misleading payment because one easily assumed conclusion could be that John was a wait for the first quarter of the year, and that William took over the position after that for the remaining period. Yet, succeeding rolls contain payments to John, not William, emphasising that it is John who is the regular employee. As there are no mentions of waits earlier than 1362/3 it cannot be determined whether William was being slowly replaced by John, nor is this likely. If John was a more regular employee he might be more well known to the scribe possibly explaining why a more accurate surname is given originally for him and not for William.

In the very first payment (1362/3) John was paid thirty six shillings and eight pence.[260] In the next roll the combined total was forty two shillings, with the two shillings added afterwards. In the next two rolls, for 1365/6 and 1366/7 "Joh*annem* le Wayte" is paid forty shillings.[261] Although John is paid in the singular, except for the one year with William, it is impossible to determine if the payment was for him individually or a group under his control. The former is the most probable explanation, as other groups of individuals (such as the chamberlains) are usually noted in the plural.

The next roll, KL/C/39/29 possibly dating from 1369/70, is unfortunately damaged and missing the first portion of the roll which would contain the 'ffeod*a* Solut*is*' section that might have had a payment for a wait. KL/C/39/30, from 1370/1, is complete and introduces a new named wait in a payment to "Petro Wayte".[262]

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[260] KL/C/39/25.
[261] This appears to have become the standard rate at which to employ the King's Lynn wait for a year.
[262] KL/C/39/30.

Whether his surname does indicate that he is a wait could be contested. Nevertheless, it is the most likely possibility since he appears in the records immediately after the previous wait disappears.

Peter Wayte is paid forty shillings (the same amount as the earlier waits) regularly in every extant chamberlains' roll from 1370/1 until 1384/5.[263] This term of employment may have been longer still as no chamberlains' accounts survive between 1384/5 and 1388/9, when an unnamed 'vigilator' is paid in the list of officers. A 'vigilator' is understood to be a watchman, from which civic waits have been said to develop independently.

Nevertheless, records of payments to Peter Wayte occasionally introduced the term. The first such record, in 1375/6, is a payment "de xl^{s} cons*uete* solut*is* Petro Wayte Vigil*atori* ville p*ro* feod*o* suo".[264] The expansion of 'Vigil˜' to 'Vigil*atori*' is based on the scribal use in later rolls and is one of the more likely possibilities. It was chosen instead of 'vigilis' not only because 'vigilator' is used in the rolls but also because it was the more common variant from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. Indeed, in the very next roll he is referred to as "Petro Wayte Vigilatore".[265] He is then provided with this identifier for every payment to him from 1375/6 until the last mention of him by name in 1384/5. Additionally he is referred to as 'Vigilatori ville' a number of times. The only variant to this is in 1377/8 when he is referred to as "Petro Whaite p*er*vigil*atori* ville".[266]

The introduction of this term in conjunction with payments to Peter Wayte leads to the possibility that he is the unknown 'vigilator' paid in 1388/9. The payment is for:

> ...xxij^{s} sol*utis* vigil*atori* ville usq*ue* fest*um* C*ir*cumsici*oni*s / p*ro* eod*em* & recerserut[267] ab offici*o* suo...[268]

The difference in payment (forty shillings previously and twenty two shillings in this

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[263] KL/C/39/30 to KL/C/39/40. His name, most often spelt 'Wayte' is occasionally spelt 'Whaite'. It should be noted that there is an extra payment in the first roll (KL/C/39/30) to Peter Wayte for six shillings and eight pence.

[264] KL/C/39/35.

[265] KL/C/39/36.

[266] KL/C/39/37. In this single reference the expansion to '-vigil*atori*' can be challenged, as 'p*er* vigil*em*' is also possible. The 'p*er*' abbreviation appears in the original to be inherently part of the word and so it has been decided to treat it as a prefix rather than a preposition taking the accusative case.

[267] Although the transcription has be confirmed, the meaning of this word is debatable, 'receseru*nt*' is also a possibility although no abbreviation mark is present.

[268] KL/C/39/41.

case) is easily explained as the payment only covers the period up to the Feast of the Circumcision on the first of January. That he would be paid just more than half his annual salary for under a third of a year's work would indicate a possible meaning for the word 'recerserut' — that he is paid extra for retiring from his office.[269] Nevertheless, this meaning cannot be conclusively determined.

One of the ideas supported by the existence of this supplied profession of 'vigilator' is that Peter Wayte's professional name had become the surname by which he is recognised. And yet, it could equally be argued that none of the waits so far mentioned were indeed civic musicians, and were merely city watchmen. This is unlikely and can be challenged in relation to the next named 'vigilator', William Wylde.

Wylde is recorded in various documents as an entertainer, a 'vigilator' and a wait. It is the existence of these three aspects to Wylde's professional life that support not only the idea of these early waits being civic musicians, but challenges (at least for King's Lynn) the aforementioned idea that waits as civic musicians and waits as city watchmen were professions which developed separately.[270] It may be the case that he was a liminal character on the borderline between two occupations, or that the confusion concerning him is a result of his existence at a time in which the professions of watchman and of civic minstrel were somehow merging.[271] While waits may have been of several different types, one should be careful not to confuse household waits, who are known to have originated as watchmen, with civic waits, who are thought to have been musicians from the beginning.[272] This type of wait has been defined in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* as:

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[269] His term in this case was a just under a third of the year because the accounts began at each Michaelmas, September 29th.
[270] G. Richard Rastall, 'Wait', pp. 154-5.
[271] The early examples given of waits as civic minstrels are at Beverley (1405) and Norwich (1408). If William Wylde was indicative of a transitory period in the job of civic minstrel, then he would have been at the beginning of this period. See also, G. Richard Rastall. 'Wait' in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, Vol. 20 (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 154-5.
[272] G. Richard Rastall. '*REED*: Lancashire' (Book Review) *Comparative Drama*, Vol. 27:2, 1993, p. 261.

> A civic minstrel, permanently employed by a town. Town waits were equivalent to the German Stadtpfeifer and the civic pipers of Italy and elsewhere. At first they formed the standard loud band of two or three shawms and a slide trumpet (later, a sackbut); it was probably their use of the shawm that led to the name 'waits' being attached to them. They were not watchmen, and had no direct connection with [them].[273]

William Wylde first appears in the King's Lynn records in the account book of the Guild of Saints Giles and Julian. In 1394/5 John de Trumpington and he were both noted as minstrels and entered into the guild.[274] Instead of paying the thirteen shillings and four pence, they were given entrance in lieu of their fee for that year. The Malone Society notes, but does not transcribe, this record. The Guild of Saints Giles and Julian was one of the more important of the numerous city guilds, but had no direct hand in the political affairs of the city, unlike the Guild of the Holy Trinity which was the 'Guild Merchant'. That they were given entrance to the guild in lieu of their fee for that year most likely indicates only that their performances were the original reason for their entrance to the guild.

In the records for the next two years there are several tantalising payments to minstrels but none of these are named explicitly. Throughout the succeeding eight years, there are regular payments to Wylde and companions that are variously called "sociis suis mynstrallis" or noted as "servientibus suis" and "pueris suis".[275] It may be that Wylde was simply a minstrel of such a high profile that he had servants, or that he performed with a number of other minstrels.[276] The payments to Wylde are almost always grouped with the payments to the 'clericus' and 'decanus' of the guild, and these payments are frequently separated from other expenses including payments to other performers — this may indicate that Wylde's role in the guild was one of great importance. As the central event of the guild was a sumptuous banquet, it is possible that Wylde provided the majority of the entertainment for these feasts. In the guild's ordinances concerning proper costume, the minstrels of the guild are mentioned along with the other guild officers.[277] Thus, it would be a natural conclusion that their role

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[273] G. Richard Rastall, 'Wait', p. 155.
[274] KL/GD/37, fol. 5v.
[275] e.g. KL/GD/37 fols. 10, 12v, 13v, 14v, 17, 18, 19. Between, fol. 12v and 13v the Malone Society has misfoliated, and all foliations given here correct the one folio error introduced in its edition. All of these can be translated as 'servants', but 'socius' can also mean 'companion'.
[276] The first two of these payments are for six shillings and seven pence, and the succeeding six payments are consistently for five shillings each.
[277] KL/GD/37, fol. 19v.

was viewed as indispensable to the guild's activities.

A number of other minstrels, players, and harpers, are noted in the accounts, including several references to Thomas, a trumpeter with the Lord Beaufort.[278] Other performers who appear more than once include John Chyventeyne, a jester, John Suffeld a harper, and Thomas, another harper.[279] It is believed that Thomas the harper is likely the Thomas Benet noted as a harper in the membership lists of the corresponding period.[280] The only other people noted as performers in this list are William Wylde and John Trumpyngton.[281] It may be that Benet and Trumpyngton are the "sociis suis mynstrallis" that Wylde is said to be with.[282]

Another performer, Walter Aleyn, a trumpeter, appears in the accounts during the same years as a number of payments to Wylde. The payments are in the same format, though for less money, also including references to his servants and boys.[283] This might indicate that Walter Aleyn held a similar, though secondary, role as Wylde in the guild's activities.

William Wylde also appears in the chamberlains' accounts for 1398/9 where he was paid an enormously large sum of four pounds for his fee for being the 'vigilator' for the year.[284] Unfortunately, just before this there is a ten year gap in the surviving accounts. The preceding chamberlains' account (1388/9) contains a payment to an unnamed 'vigilator' of twenty two shillings for his fee up to the Feast of the Circumcision.[285] This 'vigilator' and Peter Wayte before him were paid a not unusual amount for an annual salary when compared with the other city officers in the same accounts. And yet, if we return to Wylde and compare his four pound annual fee to others civic officers it appears highly unusual. The mayor received ten pounds and then Wylde is the next highest paid individual. The four chamberlains receive a single

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[278] KL/GD/37 fols. 19, 20.
[279] KL/GD/37 fols. 8v-20. It is a shame that the Malone Society missed a number of these payments entirely despite transcribing other records from the same folio, and especially that it missed the 'enterluyt' (interlude) mentioned on, fol. 20.
[280] KL/GD/37, fol. 50.
[281] KL/GD/37, fol. 49v.
[282] KL/GD/37 fol. 10.
[283] e.g. KL/GD/37 fols. 16v & 18. The Malone Society having missed the record on, fol. 16v which indicated that Walter Aleyn was a trumpeter must not have realised that the later payments were of interest.
[284] KL/C/39/42: "Item solut*is* Wille*lm*o Wylde vigilat*ori* ville p*ro* feod*o* suo p*er* anni iiij^{li}".
[285] KL/C/39/41: "Et de xxij^{s} solu*tis* vigil*atori* ville usq*ue* f*estum* Circumsic*ionis* / p*ro* eodem & recerserut ab offic*io* suo".

pound each and most others are in the range of six to twenty shillings.[286]

It is unknown why Wylde should be paid twice the amount of the preceding 'vigilator' unless his duties somehow encompassed more. This supports the idea that Wylde was more than a simple watchman, and also had the duties of a civic minstrel. And yet, the meaning of wait as a civic minstrel has been thought to have no connection with waits that were watchmen.[287] This is not a one off payment to William Wylde for some special service rendered in 1398/9, in every succeeding extant chamberlains' accounts, save one, he is paid this same four pounds as an annual fee until 1407/8.[288] And yet, that this an 'annual fee' may be an unwarranted assumption. Wylde does not receive this payment in KL/C/39/44, and the series of accounts are missing a regular number of years between payments, hence, it is equally possible that Wylde is receiving a payment for an office the term of which stretches over a number of years. As these accounts do not survive it is impossible to clarify this. There is no indication of this in any of the records found, and no other employees are paid in that manner. There is the possibility that Wylde was collecting the payment for a number of watchmen, of which he was the leader — perhaps the same boys, servants, and companions noted in the Guild of Saints Giles and Julian accounts.[289] Unlike the four chamberlains, no indication that this might be the case has been found. The fee is always referred to as 'feodo suo' in the singular presumably denoting that Wylde was the sole 'vigilator' and was collecting a fee simply for himself.[290] Yet, waits are usually found in groups and Wylde was referred to as with companions in the accounts of the Guild of Saints Giles and Julian. From 1432/3 onwards, the waits are always referred to in the plural in civic documents. As mentioned earlier, attempting to determine whether Wylde was collecting for himself only, or for a number of 'vigilatores' is impossible.

Lest it be thought that his employment with the city has no explicit involvement with music, it should be mentioned that the city bought him an expensive

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[286] cf. KL/C/39/40-KL/C/39/47.

[287] Much of the confusion seems to be owing to the inaccurate definition and description of Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1953), cf. G. Richard Rastall, 'Reed: Lancashire', p. 261.

[288] KL/C/39/42-47, except KL/C/39/44.

[289] KL/GD/37 fols. 10-19.

[290] e.g. KL/C/39/45. There are also uses of 'vigilator' in the nominative singular which support the assertion that Wylde was working alone.

instrument. In the same year as his first four pound salary, the city bought Wylde a "trumpet" at the price of one mark.[291] Later in the same chamberlains' roll this expense is more fully detailed and, it is noted in the margin as a 'tuba' (the Latin word for trumpet) but in the body of the record as a "claryon".[292] While the Latin 'tuba' and the English 'trumpet' are both generic terms covering a number of wind instruments, the term 'claryon' is a specific instrument. It is probable that all these references are to a single musical instrument, but the variance in terminology makes it difficult to determine the exact type of instrument purchased. It may be that it is the instrument referred to as a 'wait' — an instrument from the shawm family, but this is unlikely since it would not then qualify as a 'claryon'.[293] The designation of 'wait' might have been used for those who are shawmists and 'vigilator' for those who are trumpeters. Would Peter Wayte, mentioned earlier as being also called a 'vigilator', be both a shawmist and a trumpeter? It may be that the use of 'vigilator' is a transferred sense coming from the use of the term for guards (sometimes gate guards) who would summon assistance through the blowing of a trumpet.

This may simply be a horn that Wylde, as a watchman, might use to awaken people in the event of some late night emergency. But it is unnecessary to purchase such an expensive instrument if it is only to be used in emergencies, or even the sounding of the hours. It should be remembered that thirteen shillings and four pence is, after all, more than some lesser civic officers were being paid for a year's salary. If Wylde is not only a watchman, but also a civic musician this might help to explain the purchase of the instrument, as well as his being the second highest paid civic officer. Another possibility, as mentioned earlier, is that if Wylde were collecting payment for more than one 'vigilator' then this purchase of a trumpet may be for more than one instrument. As the accounts do not show any indication of this, it cannot be ascertained.

The last four pound salary that survives for Wylde is in 1407/8.[294] In the next

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[291] KL/C/39/42: "In j Trumpet *emptum* p*ro* Will*elm*o Wylde / xiij^{s} iiij^{d}".
[292] KL/C/39/42: "Item rem*itto* in man*u* Will*elm*i Wylde de p*rovidentia* co*mun*itat*is* j claryon p*retium* j m*arcz*". The exact meaning of "rem' in man' ... de provid'..." is debateable.
[293] G. Richard Rastall, 'Wait', pp. 154-5. See also *The New Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. by D. Arnold, Vol. 2 (Oxford University Press, Oxford: 1983), pp. 1956-7. It is thought that the name 'wait' might derive from the instrument's use by the waits of a noble household.
[294] KL/C/39/46: "Et comp*uto* solut*is* iiij^{li} Will*elm*o Wylde vigilatori Burgi lenn in plena solucc*ion*em ffeod*o* su*o* hoc anno".

extant chamberlains' account from 1410/11 there is no single large payment indicative of a salary.[295] Yet, in four individual payments he was paid a total of thirty six shillings and eight pence. In the first he was paid thirteen shillings and four pence (one mark), and in the second and the fourth it is noted that he was paid for specific times — "circa festum Corporis Christi de ffeodo suo hoc anno" and "in vigilia Passionis domini hoc anno".[296] As these are the only payments to him in which a specific time period is mentioned, it may mean that he was being employed, not all year around (as the 'de ffeodo suo hoc anno' would normally be thought to indicate), but only for a limited period of time around major civic festivals. This practice might be understandable if Wylde had retired and was called back to duty only when he was most needed. This idea is supported by the third payment on this roll in which he is noted as being "nuper vigilatori ville de lenne".[297] Other than the two feasts mentioned above, no precise dates are able to be determined for these payments. What is interesting is that in subsequent chamberlains' accounts there is not only no mention of Wylde, but also no 'vigilator' was hired in the next several years to replace him.

So far no explicit record of Wylde as a 'wait' has been mentioned, which could cause doubt as to whether he did indeed fulfil the same functions as other waits. In examining the Hall Rolls for King's Lynn, 1399/1400-1403/4 Wylde is elected to the city position of 'wayte'. There are four instances, in four separate years when the roll lists him with other elected city officials — "In Wayte William Wylde".[298] He is the only wait in King's Lynn for which election references have been found, and these should banish any doubt that he was thought at the time as both a'wait' as well as a 'vigilator'. This could mean that these terms were simply being used to describe the same duties as watchman, but the purchase of the expensive trumpet makes this highly unlikely. The purchase of the instrument, coupled with the records for the Guild of Saints Giles and Julian in which he is called a minstrel, leads to the inevitable conclusion that the terms 'wait', 'vigilator' and 'minstrel' were all being applied to the same person. Either he was all these separate things at once or the term 'wait' and 'vigilator' were being used to denote a type of performing minstrel —with some duties

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[295] KL/C/39/47.
[296] KL/C/39/47.
[297] KL/C/39/47.
[298] KL/C/6/2.

as watchman.

Wylde started to work for the city in 1398/9 and was paid twice as much as the previous 'vigilator' from the 1380's. When he disappeared from both civic and guild accounts in 1410/11 no one was hired immediately to replace him. Perhaps the need that William Wylde filled no longer existed, but this would not be so if he had been a simple watchman. Even if he were also a civic musician, performing at official civic functions, the need for this addition to pomp and civic pride certainly would not have suddenly vanished. It may be that while another wait, with all the varying duties of Wylde, was hired, his payments were not recorded in the accounts. Nonetheless, with the precise nature of the records and the amount such a civic employee would have to be paid, this is highly unlikely.

Another early record which might be referring to waits, or to an organisation of minstrels, is the payment of two shillings in the 1391/2 accounts of the Guild of Corpus Christi to "sol*utis* Ministrall*is* societatis Lenn*e* de cons*ueta* dona caus*a* eiusd*em* festu*m*".[299] The first mention of waits found by the Malone Society in King's Lynn was in the 1431/2 Corpus Christi accounts,[300] and mention of them is also found in 1437/8. Hence, it is strange that they were not mentioned in the 1437/8 civic accounts when all the town's officers are given livery.[301] But, since 'vigilatores' are given livery in this list, this might indicate even more of a relationship between the two terms.

In 1432/3 there was an agreement that the waits would go through the town from the Feast of St Michael (29 September) to the beginning of Lent (in 1432, 9 March).[302] On the first of November 1433, there is a similar agreement for them to go through the town with their instruments from the Feast of All Saints (1 November, i.e. that very day) right up to the Feast of the Purification (2 February).[303] These brief records tell us that they were hired for going through the town and playing during the winter months. There is the possibility that they used the summer months to travel, although relatively few references to the waits of King's Lynn are found in the

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299 Malone Society reads **festuij* for *festu*` here expanded as festu*m*. KL/GD/2, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 39.
300 KL/GD/18.
301 KL/C/39/53.
302 KL/C/7/3, fol. 16, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 46.
303 KL/C/7/3, fol. 30v, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 46.

surviving records of other communities.[304] Whether or not the waits were a group of individuals previously, there were two waits at this time and the 1433/4 record makes this evident: "ut uterq*ue* ipsor*um* duor*um* h*ab*eat p*ro* feodo sua .xx.^{s} & vestura*m* sua*m* p*ro* anno isto".[305] That they are given their livery as part of their salary is a common occurrence with waits of this period.

There are a variety of payments to the 'histrionibus ville lenn' in the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts around this time, indicating that the waits did not rely solely on their salary from the city.[306] The mentions of William Wylde and others in a variety of Guild accounts help to support the idea that the guilds in King's Lynn were quite willing to employ minstrels, and specifically the city's waits, at their functions.

The Malone Society transcribes a record from 1457/8 which indicates that the waits at that time were living in a house in Briggegate for which they did not pay anything.[307] This may simply have been a case of obstinate tenants, but might instead be an indication of institutional support — of the city bearing the cost of the waits' lodgings.

The Michaelmas entries for 1513/14 provide the first indication of the waits' collars. Their collars were silver in the design of dragon's heads (from the town's coat of arms) with branches that contained two enamelled escutcheons. Because of their precious nature their exact weight, ten and a quarter ounces, is also recorded.

> This day M. Davy late mayre hath brow3te in & delyv*er*ed to M. Mayre now charged ... ij Collers of dragon heods & braunches of sylv*er with* ij Skochons enhameled p*ondentes* x unc*es* & j q*uarter* [—fo—] which were made Agaynst Cristmas last past for the Mynstrell*es* of the Toun at the Cost*es* & charg*es* of [the sed late Mayre &] c*er*ten of the good burg*esses* of the Toun[308]

By 1514/15 there is an additional collar being returned, and one must assume another wait in the group bringing the total to three. Similar records exist for most years where the mayor returns the collars before they are handed out again most likely at the time that other city officials are elected. This annual return of the collars and their precise weighing is not only a ceremonial ritual, but also indicates that the mayor is the person

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[304] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 235-38. Only Hunstanton received regular visits from them.

[305] KL/C/7/3, fol. 30v, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 46.

[306] This may have been one of the methods they used to finance themselves during the months that they were not being paid by the city.

[307] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 50, cf. KL/C/39/58.

[308] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 56-7, cf. KL/C/7/5, fol. 133.

with responsibility for safeguarding the precious collars. It could be taken as an indication of the view the burgesses had towards the waits themselves. It might have been felt that these waits, while good enough musicians to hold the position, were the type of person who might attempt to abscond with the collars, or at least part of them. There is, of course, no evidence to support such reasons for this ritual, and it is most likely to have been a simple ceremonial ritual that was not only an element in their safeguarding, but also created the waits as officials each year.

It is ceremony which is referred to when, in 1527/8, the mayor is recorded as delivering the collars to the named waits.[309] The waits' collars are not the only objects that the mayor had to return at the end of his period in office. He also returned the seal and the key of office at the same time.[310]

In 1528/9 William Goldsmyth is paid five shillings for repairing or replacing one of the collars.[311] This may play a part in the new wording of the records, which from 1531/2 onwards often state that each of the waits was bound for the value of the other collars. In 1537/8 the children of the waits were invested with the office as well.

> Also Thomas Newman Nicholis Howten with ther childer ben this day Amyttyd as our Waytes & the colours ben delyverd to them iche of them to be other3 surety [312]

The records continue regularly up to 1548/9 where there is a large gap in the mention of waits until 1580/1. Although it is past the scope of this study, the post-1550 records will be very briefly considered. When the records concerning waits return there are five of them mentioned. Nevertheless, there remain only three collars until the 1590's by which time they are called 'chaines'. New ones are made for the other waits. Five unspecified instruments are purchased in 1580/1,[313] and in 1583/4 they are called "wait*es*" and "trumpett*es*".[314] In 1593/4 the 'order for ye wait*es*' inventories the waits' instruments that belong to the city. This may be to make sure no confusion is made between those instruments that are the personal property of the waits and those that are the property of the town. They are said to be "a doble curtall a single Curtall twoo

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309 Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 58-9, cf. KL/C/7/5, fol. 267v.
310 Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 59, cf. KL/C/7/5, fol. 285v.
311 Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 59, cf. KL/C/39/75, verso.
312 Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 61, cf. KL/C/7/5, fol. 309.
313 Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 61, cf. KL/C/7/7, fol. 211v.
314 Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 62, cf. KL/C/7/7, fol. 263. This appears to be the "standard loud band of two or three shawms and a slide trumpet" in which waits were most commonly found, G. Richard Rastall, 'wait', p. 155.

lizerdines & a tenor hoboye".[315] The Malone Society notes that the curtall was a kind of bassoon, the lizerdine was a tenor variant of the serpent. More subjectively the Malone Society decides that these "five instruments of the Lynn waits must have produced a melancholy drone, though perhaps appropriate for solemn civic functions."[316] It is hoped that the waits found more room for creative and possibly lively melodies than the editors give them credit.[317]

There are other records, outside the temporal scope of this study, which help to explain the records that are dealt with here. These include the 'Order for the wait*es*' given in 1583/4 and 1593/4.[318] From these we learn that the late sixteenth century waits were meant to go through the town with their instruments every morning through the winter except Sunday, and attend upon the mayor on civic functions or at his request. On Sundays and holidays they were to play in the evenings on the bridge going to the market if the weather was fair. These are the types of activities, with variants, that the waits probably performed more or less continually from their first mention in 1362/3.

This study of the waits of King's Lynn has concentrated more thoroughly upon the early waits since much of that material had been overlooked by the Malone Society. In addition, the Malone Society's transcriptions in the late fifteenth century until their cut off date of 1642 are relatively accurate and complete. Hence, it was decided not to retranscribe all of these highly repetitive entries from the hall books (KL/C/7) and instead to concentrate on transcribing the earlier information for the first time. These waits are found to have been important members of society contributing to the spectacle of the local government. Through the example of William Wylde, it was shown that waits (at least in King's Lynn) were thought to be watchman and minstrels at the same time. This may also be the case in other similar sized municipalities.

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[315] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 66, cf. KL/C/7/8, fol. 35.
[316] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 66.
[317] It is noteworthy that the King's Lynn waits have re-established themselves recently under the leadership of Christopher Gutteridge. Their ensemble includes replicas of many of these instruments and the period melodies produced certainly disprove the editors belief in 'a melancholy drone'. This thesis has been of great benefit to their own research into the King's Lynn waits.
[318] KL/C/7/7, fol. 275, and KL/C/7/8, fol. 35, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 63-5.

Conclusion

The investigation of the historical situation of performance of music and drama is fraught with many obstacles, none more prevalent than the lack of detail in those records which do survive. In researching the drama and music of King's Lynn, one is continually struck by the artificiality inherent in the modern divisions of types of dramatic and musical performance. The Christmas play of 1444/5 was seen to have been very important to the town's Burgesses and was probably being used for a political agenda attempting to secure or retain the Lord Scales' favour. The surviving records made it impossible to know conclusively that a performance was given at Middleton, but it is likely. The ambiguity of the records was helpful in showing that the civic waits were both watchmen and musicians.

The limitations of extant records are challenged in the next section through the contextual examination of detailed records concerning a variety of so called 'paradramatic' activity. While they may not be considered inherently dramatic, the Corpus Christi processions, Bellman, and Dragon of King's Lynn, can be understood as spectacle. It is this idea that entertainment, spectacle and music are an inextricable part of life, and an essential aspect to late medieval life, so much so that the modern distinctions which are often made between types of performative activity are limiting and artificial.

Chapter Three: King's Lynn — Paradramatic Activity

Introduction

The differences between what are generally referred to as 'dramatic' activities and 'paradramatic' activities are difficult to quantify. What dramatic activities often embody through organised and sometimes scripted mimesis, is found in the sheer spectacle of paradramatic activities. These paradramatic activities are sometimes even more common in edited collections of dramatic records than those which are strictly 'dramatic'. Animal baitings, processions, jugglers and any number of local entertainments can be classed as paradramatic. This chapter examines the records from King's Lynn concerning three such activities. To begin with, the Corpus Christi Procession is examined in detail through a close reading of the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts. From this a discussion is developed concerning the Bellman of King's Lynn in both the guild and civic documents. This is followed by a brief consideration of the limited records concerning the King's Lynn Dragon.

The King's Lynn Corpus Christi Procession

The purpose of this section is not to study the nature of Corpus Christi processions in general, but to examine what can be understood about such processions and related activities from the account rolls of the King's Lynn Guild of Corpus Christi. Records concerning such processions survive in a great many communities, and a comparative study of events in a larger variety of communities would certainly be a beneficial work.[1] In addition, there are records concerning the Corpus Christi procession in King's Lynn documents other than the accounts of this guild. Nevertheless, a concentrated study of the Corpus Christi Guild accounts proves significantly more fruitful in providing information concerning aspects of the procession than any other surviving guild or civic accounts from King's Lynn.

In studying dramatic and paradramatic activity one is necessarily drawn into discussion of spectacle. It is in many senses spectacle itself that is being studied: those events which audiences viewed, or those activities which would attract the attention in

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[1] A study of this kind has been done briefly by Miri Rubin in *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For a view of the procession and plays as related to the structuralist conceptions of the social body, see M. James, 'Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval Town', *Past and Present*, 98 (1983), 3-29 (pp. 6-8).

a manner of viewing differing from that of the everyday. Any activity of a ritual nature in which people processed through town would, because of its immediate difference from normal forms of walking through town, attract attention from other townspeople not directly involved in the procession. This certainly is not 'drama' in the strictest sense because there is little that is mimetic or representational in the activity.[2] And yet, spectators are necessarily attracted into the space of public ritual since by their separation they help to confirm and to differentiate the activity taking place.

At one end of the scale of secular processional activity is that of 'wandering hawkers' selling goods while walking throughout the city. These merchants, "vocatis haukers ambulantibus" were banned by a civic ordinance on 14 January, 1424/5.[3] While this was an unorganised form of procession, it was certainly differentiated through public viewing since it would have been some of the spectators — one assumes the established merchants — who would have complained and helped to initiate this legislation. Without viewing, public ritual is not given significance in the minds of the populace. And yet, although the above example necessitates both procession and spectating, it does not embody an easily defined public ritual.

One activity more easily understood as having ritualistic and symbolic aspects is that of the bearing of the Eucharist to those unable to attend communion. The carrying of the sacrament to the sick and dying has many publicly constructed meanings. Its significance in the process of bringing together of the community in a display of civic pride is subsumed under the theological significance of the celebration of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist. Participation in a religious event could be seen as overshadowing simultaneous involvement in a civic one. As with any communal gathering, the importance of different meanings is only quantifiable on an individual basis. The processional mode is, by nature, unstable because it necessarily exemplifies social stratification.

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[2] An argument could be made that any processional activity is inherently representational within a modern context of performance theory, but it remains to be seen if this is applicable to the manner in which medieval people viewed their own processional activities.

[3] KL/C/7/2, fol. 20, cf. *The Making of King's Lynn: A Documentary Survey*, ed. by Dorothy M. Owen (London: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 1984), p. 264. Anyone caught was to be fined three shillings and four pence.

> In fact, ritual, and especially processional ritual, possesses an inherent destabilising element. The need to put into linear form social relations which are in their nature fluid and on-going exchanges, induced the choice of arbitrary format, one which necessarily distorts experiences.[4]

That the experiences of participants (whether spectators or processors) varied wildly is of little surprise. Much of the published work concerning Corpus Christi processions is interested in the relationships of the processions to Corpus Christi drama. While it is regrettable that the processions have rarely been studied as an embodiment of civic ritual in themselves, it is certainly understandable.[5] To literary scholars the relationships between the processions and the Corpus Christi cycles, and specifically the possibility of their development out of the Corpus Christi procession, are of interest because of its impact on our understanding of the drama itself.

In King's Lynn this relationship does not exist, and thus the whole complex series of arguments is wholly inapplicable. There is no evidence that King's Lynn ever organised large scale dramatic productions as a part of the Corpus Christi celebrations. Certainly, drama was performed, and it is of note that the first religious drama to be explicitly recorded as such in King's Lynn was performed on Corpus Christi day.[6] In 1385/6, the production of an Interlude of St Thomas the Martyr must have been of special interest to the Guild of Saint Thomas, Martyr (founded in 1272).[7] Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether that guild had any specific connection with the production, as their records do not survive. The Guild of Corpus Christi accounts have survived and it is through examining these accounts that we can come to a greater understanding of the Corpus Christi procession.

The specifics of the procession in King's Lynn must have changed greatly over time, but nevertheless certain continuous elements can be examined. The Guild of Corpus Christi accounts indicate that the tabernacle was carried in procession through

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[4] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 265.
[5] M. James' article (supra) is certainly an exception to this.
[6] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 38. See also Chapter Two.
[7] The circumstances of this guild are slightly confusing. The returns published by Westlake show two certificates for Guilds of Saint Thomas, Martyr, one with a date of 1272, one described as 'lately' (in 1389), to confuse matters there are also two Guilds of Saint Thomas of Canterbury both with no date provided, and one (at the 'church [sic] of Saint Nicholas') also called the Guild of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, founded in 1376, H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Guilds of Medieval England*, pp. 197-8. There is no way to be certain whether the play subject had any connection with these guilds, or was chosen because of the amount of interest in King's Lynn concerning Saint Thomas, or even if the play itself helped to rekindle dying interest in these specific guilds.

the streets about the town, as well as out of and around the church and Guild Hall.[8]

In York, the Guild of Corpus Christi had no part in the organisation of the play cycles, which were organised by the city council.[9] The procession was also organised by the city council, and:

> whatever the Corpus Christi Guild may have ordained for itself in 1408, in 1415 the procession was a civic affair regulated by the council in which the Guild had no special place.[10]

The Accounts of the Guild of Corpus Christi

In King's Lynn the Guild of Corpus Christi was founded in 1349, much earlier than in York. As it was founded for the purpose of making sure that the Eucharist that was being taken to the sick and dying was provided with sufficient lighting, it had at least a partial connection to the processional mode from the beginning.[11] When the Corpus Christi processions began in King's Lynn is unknown. They started shortly after the group's foundation and the guild was involved directly with the procession from the beginning, but the earlier records of the Guild do not survive. It is curious that no explicit mention of the procession is made in the accounts. There are records concerning the carrying of torches, hearse, tabernacle, and canopy during the festival which start from the first extant guild records of 1388/9. These elements are those traditionally expected as part of a Corpus Christi procession and as such are taken as inductive proof of its existence. It may be that the procession was considered such an inherent part of the celebrations, that it was subsumed under the term 'festum'. Rubin uses King's Lynn as one in a series of examples concerning the types of expenses incurred through Corpus Christi celebrations.

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[8] Possibilities for the route itself will be examined in detail later.
[9] A. Johnston, 'The Guild of Corpus Christi and the Procession of Corpus Christi in York', *Mediaeval Studies*, 38 (1976), p. 373.
[10] A. Johnston, 'The Guild of Corpus Christi', p. 376.
[11] This return, now barely legible, is not edited and is PRO C47/43/279, cf. H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Guilds of Mediaeval England*, and M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 236.

> The accounts of the King's Lynn Corpus Christi fraternity show in 1387-8[12] that expenses were incurred in the purchase of thread and nails for the hanging of clothes in the hall, in payment to bedesmen[13] for prayers, and to clerks for transporting the tabernacle from the church to the hall, as well as in the purchase of bread, ale, cheese and candles.[14]

More and more detail is given in each successive year, throughout the run of extant Guild of Corpus Christi accounts. For example, from 1438/9 onwards much more detailed descriptions of the purchases for the feast — the dinner the guild held — were noted, where simple summaries and payments to cooks were recorded previously.[15] In 1447/8 a new division is routinely made between expenses on the day of this feast, and those expenses on the Octave.[16] By 1460/1 the feast on the Octave is quite significantly more lavish than the dinner consumed on Corpus Christi day itself.[17] From 1492/3-1501/2 the records are no longer kept in rolls but in a single codex which combines minutes and accounts. Expenses to minstrels and other performers were routinely paid in a 'Datis Ministrallis' section until 1404/5 after which the section disappeared and they were included in the necessary expenses or sections dealing specifically with the feast.[18]

Sacrist and Bellringing

The sacrist in the King's Lynn Corpus Christi guild's accounts is quite often paid for 'pulsacione' and sometimes more explicitly for the ringing of the bells for the dead brethren; but sometimes it is for "pulsacione in dicto festo & Octabo".[19] It is quite possible that these do not refer to the bells in the church of St Margaret's, where the sacrist is often explicitly noted as being from, but may instead refer to a hand bell or bells. Yet, if they were both used for ringing in the church and in procession, there is no easy way to distinguish between the two. It is possible to distinguish certain instances of processional bellringing when the payment is coupled with the holding of

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[12] Rubin gets this date from Owen's edition of KL/GD/1 in *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp. 317-19. Owen is mistaken in her reading of the regnal years. Internal evidence and the fact that the accounts were rendered for Corpus Christi day help confirm the year as 1388/9.
[13] The bedeman is never referred to in the plural. Rubin surely means the singular bedeman and the repetition of the office throughout the accounts rather than implying more than one bedeman at a time.
[14] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 238-9.
[15] KL/GD/22.
[16] KL/GD/28.
[17] KL/GD/32.
[18] KL/GD/7.
[19] KL/GD/3.

torches, which is known to have taken place in procession. These payments could have been entered into the accounts without the activities necessarily having happened at the same place and time — the same problem that impedes a great deal of discussion of any compiled accounts. Torches and ringing also took place at the 'anniversariam' of John Hardyngham[20] and in mourning the death of King Henry IV,[21] showing that they were combined and used for a variety of commemoration.[22] The 'pulsacione' may simply refer to the common use of bells in obits.[23]

Nevertheless, it is tempting to believe that the sacrist was bellringing in procession simply because of the documentary proximity of the records concerning the carrying of the hearse or tabernacle throughout the town. In many rolls these payments to the sacrist for ringing the bells are immediately surrounded by payments for processional activities which were happening at the same time. Lending support to this are the payments for bellringing 'cum pane et cervisia' (with bread and ale), which are noted with other records concerning the procession. And yet, these might only indicate some sort of physical labour continuing over a meal time, or for such a duration that the guild felt obliged to pay for their employee's meal.

Another possibility is that the bellringing was specific to the special masses performed for the Guild of Corpus Christi throughout the octave of their celebrations. Bells were supposed to peal at the moment of the elevation of the host.[24] If this is the case, then it is confusing why it should be coupled with the holding of torches, commonly associated with the procession. It would certainly explain the 'pulsacione in dicto festo & Octabo', as masses were said, and hence bells at the elevation of the host would be needed, throughout the Octave. As it is a sacring bell that is rung at this time, and the sacrist's job included the custody of sacred vessels, relics and other moveable objects, then it is logical to pay the sacrist for the ringing of the bells. Similarly the chaplain, as celebrant, was often paid for saying the masses through the

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[20] KL/GD/5.
[21] KL/GD/12.
[22] It should be noted that since at least the thirteenth century King's Lynn had a number of families of bellmakers, and that the founding and exporting of bells from King's Lynn was a great source of income for a number of prominent citizens who supplied bells throughout East Anglia. Bearing this in mind, there would have been no shortage of a variety of bells for all occasions. Henry J. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, 2 vols (Norwich: Privately Printed, 1907; repr. Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1978), pp. 832-3.
[23] See for example, the brief discussion of this use for bells in Long Sutton, Lincolnshire, in Chapter Seven.
[24] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 58-9.

octave. Rubin describes a variety of uses of bells in relation to the procession.

> As at the mass, bells were rung, and accounts show that ringing during the procession was also provided in some places. ... In some cases clerics were hired for the job, such as William Pou, the sub-sexton of St Laurence's, Reading, who in 1508 was paid for ringing during the Corpus Christi procession. Bell-ringers were sometimes given a breakfast of bread and ale for their labours, as were other people whose work contributed to the procession.[25]

Tabernacle

Using the surviving records to come to an understanding about the actual physical nature of any of the objects carried in the procession is a highly tentative process. The records in question were not written to give us descriptions of the material objects with which they were concerned. This is certainly seen in the records concerning the tabernacle in which most of the payments refer to its being carried in the procession or the carrying of the canopy over it. Previous historians of King's Lynn have encountered difficulty when faced with the tabernacle in the records. In his *History of Lynn* William Richards footnotes that:

> Of this *Tabernacle* the author regrets that he can give no particular account. The above extract is the only record where he has met with any mention of it — It was probably a rich shrine enclosing an image of our Saviour.[26]

That Richards found little mention of it in the records indicates that he did not read the Corpus Christi accounts, where mention of it is quite common. The clergy were often paid to carry it, and in one instance there is a payment for "xvj sacerdot*ibus* portant*i* tab*er*nac*ulu*m cu*m* sac*r*amento p*er* villam iij^{s} iiij^{d}".[27]

There are a few records of repairs to the tabernacle which help us to understand something concerning its nature. A great deal of the, almost annual, work 'circa tab*er*nac*ulu*m' is carried out by John Steynour, son of William Steynour, or other members of his family. And although evidence based on surnames should be treated with scepticism, it is possible that John Steynour was responsible for cleaning up and decorating of the tabernacle prior to its annual use. These payments, while numerous,

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[25] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 248. It is worth noting that all of Rubin's examples are for people ringing during the procession or while the procession was going through the city. In these cases the ringing might have been non-processional, referring to the church's bells, which could have been rung for the duration of the procession.

[26] William Richards, *The History of Lynn, Civil, Ecclesiastical, Political, Commerical, Biographical, Municipal, and Military, From the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time .. To Which Is Prefixed a Copious Introductory Account of ... Marshland, Wisbeach, and the Fens* 2 vols (King's Lynn: W.G. Whittingham, 1812), p. 449, note '†'.

[27] KL/GD/19.

provide little extra information concerning the actual nature of the tabernacle.

At one time Steynour is said to be responsible "p*ro* emendac*ione* tab*er*nac*u*li".[28] This happened in 1402/3 when the tabernacle underwent major repairs and ornamentation. Within close documentary proximity of this payment John Burden was also paid "p*ro* emendac*ione* tab*er*nac*u*li".[29]

Quite near to these payments purchases of three shillings in "vermyl*ion*e", ten pence in "Goldef*o*ile", three pence in "bernys & cop*er*ose" as well as three pence in "oleo" were recorded.[30] While these may have been purchased for quite distinct uses they also might have indeed been intended for the work on the tabernacle. In 1400/1 both gold and silver foil were purchased and it is possible to envision a spectacle of bright red, green and shining gold and silver. Other objects which might have benefited from these are the Guild's altar, and any other number of wooden or cloth objects, but there is no mention of these in the section in question. In KL/GD/8 another repair to the tabernacle might be indicated.

> Et in p*or*tag*io* panni ultra herc*ie* viij^{d} Et div*er*sis Ministr*allis* in f*est*o & octab*o* xj^{s} viij^{d} Et Will*el*mo Wylde / vj^{s} viij^{d} Et sac*r*iste s*anc*te margar*ete* p*ro* pulsac*ion*e xij^{d} Et Bedemanno ville viij^{d} Et in croco vj^{d} Et in / oleo vermylon*e* & foile ij^{s} ij^{d} Et Steph*an*o Steynou*r* vj^{d} Et Joh*ann*i Steynou*r* p*ro* anno ultim*o* xx^{d} — ut in p*ar*ticul*a* / Joh*ann*is lakynghithe [31]

Although, no explicit mention of the tabernacle is made, Stephen and John Steynour were routinely paid in respect of work in connection with it. The combined payment for 'oleo vermylon*e* & foile' indicates the probability of their use together. The inclusion of 'croco' could be understood in a variety of ways, but is most likely for food preparation.[32]

There are few mentions of repairs to the tabernacle for some years, although someone was regularly paid 'pro labore circa tabernaculum'. The next set of repairs

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[28] KL/GD/5.

[29] KL/GD/5. It is relevant to note that Burden received only thirteen pence while Steynour received three shillings and four pence, most likely indicating that Steynour did significantly more work — or at least work of more value — on the tabernacle.

[30] Vermilion, a brilliant red pigment of cinnabar (red mercuric sulphide), 'bernys' from 'vernica': Varnish, 'cop*er*ose': copperas, iron sulphate, green vitriol. The oil could be of any type, and one possibility is that it is mixed with the pigments noted above. That they were used together is likely considering the records that follow, noting them all as one purchase. All of these are from KL/GD/5.

[31] KL/GD/8.

[32] 'croco' from *crocus*: saffron, or compound statements like *crocus ferum*: Iron Peroxide, yellow colour. Other possibilities include *crocus*: crook, hook, or *crocca*: crosier. As saffron was most certainly used in food preparation for the guild's feast, it is the most probable meaning. There is also the possibility that oil, vermillion and foil were used in producing an elaborate and decorated item for the feast.

that allow any conclusive exploration are in 1446/7.

> Et sol*utis* ij carpentar*is* p*ro* capc*ione* deorsu*m* & sursu*m*
> sublevac*ione* tab*er*nac*ulum* / ex convenc*ione* fac*to* in grosso — viij^{s}
> Et sol*utis* p*ro* clav*is* — viij^{d} Et sol*utis* Steph*ano* Smyth / p*ro*
> brod*eraria* d*ic*to tab*er*nac*u*lo — vj^{d} Et sol*utis* le Grabour p*ro*
> emendac*ione* d*ic*ti tab*er*nac*u*li xxxiiij^{d} / Et sol*utis* p*ro* le gildyng
> d*ic*ti tab*er*nac*u*li — v^{s} [33]

This section of the accounts greatly illuminates necessary physical properties of the tabernacle. Since carpenters were working on it, or the device to raise and lower it, we know that either it, or the manner by which it was erected in the church, involved a wooden construction. 'Sublevac*ione*' can refer either to the lifting up of something, or to that same thing's 'underpinning'.[34] It is possible that the nails were used for the tabernacle's erection in the church. The embroidery might have been for a covering or an altar cloth.

The meaning of 'le Grabour' is not as clear; it could simply be someone's name, or a corrupted foreign term. Or, it may be a variant of 'groppa' and hence 'groppare' which is a vocational term for the nailing of iron plates to the inner part of a cartwheel for added strength.[35] The 'Grabour' might simply have been someone who worked with iron, or iron plates. Another likely possibility is a variant of 'graver' that is, someone who 'engraves' things, also work which was often done in iron. If this was the case, then the nature of the grabour's profession would indicate that the body of the tabernacle was probably made of iron, but certainly some metal which would necessitate the 'gildyng' that was paid for next so as to give it the impressive appearance which would have been expected of it. Alternatively, it might be that this gilding was carried out by an engraver who then supplied it with decorative detail. As thirty four pence are spent solely on the tabernacle's 'emendac*ione*', and at least seventeen shillings in total, it may have been significantly altered, if not completely replaced.

As little more can be discovered concerning the physical reality of the tabernacle, an examination of the surviving records concerning its use is appropriate. One of the ways in which the tabernacle is routinely explicitly mentioned is as being carried 'cum sacramento'. As one of the main functions of the procession is, after all,

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[33] KL/GD/27.
[34] *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, ed. by R.E. Latham (London: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1980; repr., 1994), p. 459.
[35] R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, p. 217.

to carry Christ's body in a processional display, there would have been some means by which the host was visible to the spectators. This concurs with Rubin's description of numerous tabernacles, and with the some of the examples from miniatures which she includes.[36]

Most of these examples show monstrances in procession being carried by a single priest, and in each case the round disk of the host is evident, shining through the glass. Rubin's figure thirteen is the only one which actually shows a tabernacle, and depicts it as a model of a church on staves in which a window allows one to see the host inside. While it is possible that this was simply an iconographical convention in order to depict the reality of Christ's body inside the tabernacle, it is quite similar to the depictions of monstrances where the intent is to convey a glass case.

> In England closed vessels were sometimes used, but as elsewhere the expository moment called for a partly transparent vessel.[37]

If the tabernacle was indeed made of painted and gilded wood, with some iron, then it would have had some opening which could have been empty, or more probably, windowed with glass.[38]

Any description of the tabernacle based solely on these records is bound to be flawed but some speculation concerning its general appearance can be made. Owing to the amount spent on it, and the possible use of red and green pigments, as well as gold foil, it is unlikely that it was a simple monstrance. As carpenters were paid for its erection in the church, it was probably a large object. A large number of clergy were often paid for carrying it, and if it was only a monstrance, it would have been carried by one priest, as opposed to sixteen.[39] Nevertheless, 'carrying' in this sense may simply mean that sixteen priests were involved in its procession, not that sixteen priests were needed to physically carry it. It makes sense that it was a large decorated object, possibly in the shape of a church. If this was the case, it might have resembled St Margaret's as that was the parish church. It was wooden, with some metal, with glass windows showing the host and was painted in red and green, with some parts gilded with gold, and maybe silver, foil. This is at best a tentative image of what would have been the heart of this paradramatic spectacle.

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[36] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 250-262, figs. 11-16, but especially fig. 13.
[37] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 251.
[38] KL/GD/2.
[39] KL/GD/19.

Canopy

As a tabernacle becomes more and more ornate, it becomes more difficult to carry. In King's Lynn it may have been carried lengthways on two staves, as in Rubin's example, but there is no indication of staves of any sort having been used to carry it. Staves are noted as being used to carry the canopy over the tabernacle, and this also agrees with the illustrations mentioned above.

> The eucharist could not be handled by a lay person, so its receptacle was always carried by priests, but the canopy and flags around it were carried by layfolk, as if they were invented for this very end.[40]

The canopy in King's Lynn was an attractive and large covering that was carried over the tabernacle in processions. A record in 1403/4 mentions that "Et in p*or*tag*io* sillur[41] ultra tab*er*nac*ul*um viij[d]".[42] In 1432/3 "Et p*ro* portagio de le Syllour[43] supra tab*er*nac*ul*um iiij[d] [p*er* Joh*ann*em Wesyngham]".[44] A highly illegible inventory on the dorso of the roll from 1438/9 gives an exact description of the canopy.

> ...Item unu*m* palleu*m* cum iiij valenc*iis* / de rubeo pan*n*o de auro de damaske p*ro*ferrendo supra Tab*er*nac*ul*um i*n* festo corp*or*is *Christi*...[45]

Hence, we know that the canopy had four valences, was made of 'red damask cloth of gold', and that this was specifically the canopy that was carried over the tabernacle.[46] In attempting to find information about the tabernacle, it is important to avoid confusing the canopy with the cloths hung from the hearse, or around the tabernacle in

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[40] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 255.
[41] From 'celum': canopy.
[42] KL/GD/6.
[43] The Malone Society mistranscribed this as 'Syllom' and yet noted it as a canopy. The correct transcription of 'Syllour' strengthens this, as it is a known variant of 'celum' meaning 'canopy' (cf. R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, p. 79).
[44] The Malone Society does not edit this last section, KL/GD/19.
[45] This is in the midst of a partially legible inventory of ecclesiastical garments on the dorse of KL/GD/22. The Malone Society reads 'palleu*m*' as 'pall<i>u*m*' and 'sup*r*a' as 'sup*er*'. Harrod gives a partial translation of what was legible in the late nineteenth century: "One principal vestment of red cloth of gold with albe, amite, apparel, stole, fanon, and zone; another good vestment of red velvet with garters of blue, with albe amite, stole, fanon, and zone; and another red vestment with roses, with apparels of shields, albe, amite, stole, and zone; and another vestment, ancient, with two albes, two amites, two stoles two fanons and two zones; also one white vestment (ancient) with albe, amite, apparel, fanon, and zone for feast days; also three corporas cases with three corporals; also one pall with three valents of red damask cloth of gold for bearing above the tabernacle in the feast of Corpus Christi; also one surplice with sleeves and two altar towels of diaper of ancient date; also one good chalice of gilt weighing —." H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, 2 vols (King's Lynn: Thew & Son, 1874), p. 34.
[46] That the canopy is red is of little surprise as the liturgical colour of Corpus Christi was red in order to symbolise Christ's blood.

the church. These could explain the payment for "emend*acione* panni circa tab*er*nac*ulu*m iiij^{d}".[47] If the tabernacle was carried on staves, then, these staves might have been partially covered with a cloth, as in Rubin's example.[48] This would explain the idea of having cloth 'circa tab*er*nac*ulu*m'. In 1428/9 more detail is provided.

> Et in clav*is* empt*is* iij^{d} ^{ob} Et in vj uln*is* panni linei p*ro* le Steyned Clothis ligand*i* prec*ium* ulne v^{d} s*um*ma ij^{s} vj^{d} Et in / ffrenge p*ro* le takkys in ligatur*a* ij^{s} j^{d} [49]

The 'Steyned Clothis' might have been purchased from the 'Steynour' family, but there is no information to confirm this. The nails purchased could be used to suspend the fringe upon which the linen was hung to obscure the tabernacle from view until the mass. At other times these cloths were hung by means of hooks and pack thread. The tabernacle was also stored in the guild hall during part of the year, and surrounded by cloth at this point.

> Et sol*utis* p*ro* hamis ad pendend*um* le clothez in gilde aula — j^{d} ^{ob} / Et sol*utis* p*ro* clav*atione* le clothez in ye rooffe circa tab*er*nac*ulu*m — j^{d} ^{ob} Et sol*utis* p*ro* pakke threde le dict*i* / clothez — j^{d} [50]

One of the reasons this is important, is that the carrying of the tabernacle to the church from the guild hall might have been part of the procession. In the roll for 1392/3 there is a payment "p*ro* x Rigold tam p*ro* selur*a* d*ic*t*i* / tab*er*nac*uli*".[51] And slightly later in the same roll we have "Et de viij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* / iiij^{or} lanceis ad Celur*am* desup*er* corpus *Christi* deferendo in f*esto* p*redicto* Et de iij^{s} iiij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* say[52] ad celur*am* p*redict*am".[53] That four lances/staves were used to carry the canopy above the tabernacle and that the canopy itself had four valences, makes it probable that the valences covered the frame into the corners of which the staves were fitted.[54]

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[47] KL/GD/13.
[48] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 254, fig. 13.
[49] KL/GD/15.
[50] KL/GD/26.
[51] KL/GD/2. Rigolds are a variant of 'rig-holt', a type of wood, and planks of that wood. These ten planks could have formed a frame which staves then fitted into in order to facilitate its carrying.
[52] From *sagum*: 'say', usually a fine textured woollen material, sometimes erroneously used to refer to silk.
[53] KL/GD/2.
[54] This form of framework is recognisable in two of the illustrations provided by Rubin, p. 256, Fig. 14 (BN Lat. 865a, fol. 340ra. French missal of the fifteenth century) and p. 262, Fig. 16 (BL Harley 7026, fol. 13r. Lovel Lectionary of c. 1408).

> Corpus Christi processions enshrined common practices of eucharistic reservation and exposition; the host was carried in a costly and ornate vessel, carried by the clergy, and often covered by a canopy of rich material held up by staves which were handled by prominent laymen.[55]

Thus, it is very possible that the staves in King's Lynn, and thus the canopy, were carried by laymen. As has been seen, only clergy were allowed to carry the tabernacle, as it contained the host. This left the most desired positions as carrying the canopy, since that ensured a certain proximity to the sacrament. In a Corpus Christi procession, the honour of place was determined through one's proximity to the object of desire — the Corpus Christi itself.

> But the heart of the procession was the eucharist, the vessel containing it, those carrying it, the canopy over it, and the dignitaries, lay and ecclesiastical who surrounded it.[56]

Hearse

A canopy was also carried over the hearse. This was a frame designed to carry candles — often made of iron — and would have been used either in the church over the tombs of distinguished persons during commemorative services, or permanently fixed over a bier or tomb.[57] The canopy was not simply hung over the hearse, as was common when in use above tombs, but was specifically carried over the hearse during procession.

What can be discovered concerning the canopy over the hearse? It was not significantly different from that carried over the tabernacle. In the accounts for 1404/5 there is a payment for "in p*or*tag*io* / pann*o* deauro ult*r*a eand*em* viij^{d}".[58] Similar payments are recorded numerous times, for example "Et in p*or*tag*io* pann*i* ult*r*a herc*ie* viij^{d}".[59] This is repaired in 1409/10 and recorded "Et in emendic*ione* coop*er*torij ult*r*a her*ciam* / emp*tis* ij^{s} iij^{d}".[60]

In 1407/8 the accounts mention "Et in c*er*visia exp*ens*a circa / deposic*i*onem hercie vij^{d} Et in clav*is* emp*tis* ad id*em* ij^{d} Et in vadiis uni*us* carpentari ib*ide*m xij^{d}".[61]

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[55] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 247-8.
[56] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 251.
[57] In both cases it would sometimes also have been used to support other coverings, palls, etc. In this case the tomb could be seen as Christ's in the form of sacrament contained inside the tabernacle. This might be the equivalent of the 'rowell' recorded in the churchwardens' accounts for Tilney All Saints, see Chapter Six.
[58] KL/GD/7.
[59] KL/GD/8.
[60] KL/GD/10.
[61] KL/GD/9.

From this we learn that the hearse was 'lowered' or 'situated', whereas at other times it is mentioned as having been 'erected'. We can infer from these records that the hearse was of substantial size, and that it was fixed in the church in a removeable, but sturdy, manner.[62] That wages were paid to a carpenter, and nails were purchased could mean that the hearse was constructed from wood. The wages for "uni*us* carpentarii rep*ar*anti herciam iij^{s} iij^{d}"[63] are mentioned in 1412/13 adding support to the idea of a wooden hearse. The most detailed information concerning the hearse is in 1429/30 when a section of the accounts was devoted to repairs of houses and the hearse in the church.

> Reper*acione* domor*um* & / hercie in eccl*es*ia[64]
> In rep*arac*i*one* domor*um* Et in prim*is* solut*is* p*ro* m*er*emio empt*o* p*ro* hercia in eccl*es*ia rep*ar*and*o* Et divers*is* n*eccessaria* de ferr*o* ad id*em* iij^{s} Et p*ro* clav*is* empt*is* ad id*em* xiiij[^{d}][65] / Et p*ro* Glew empt*o* ad id*em* iiij^{d} Et in portag*io* hercie ex*tr*a eccl*es*iam infra quandam domu ad op*er*and*um* vj^{d} Et in locacione d*ic*te dom*us* iiij^{d} Et in stipend*io* ij carpentar*ii* / op*er*anti ib*id*em p*er* v dies & dimid*ium* & capien*s* p*er* diem xiij^{d} s*um*ma v^{s} xj$^{d\ ob}$ Et in pictinac*ione* p*re*dict*i* herc*ie* xviij^{s} iiij^{d} ...[66] Et p*ro* ij sparrys empt*is* p*ro* scalis inde faciend*o* p*ro* herc*ia* in eccl*es*ia cum fact*ura* dict*e* scal*is* iij^{s} v^{d} ut in p*ar*cell*a* / supradict*i* Will*elm*i [67]

We can glean a great deal of information from this single section. Firstly, that it obviously was the hearse in the church which is being repaired. Secondly, that '*mer*emio' was needed makes it certain that the hearse was at least partially of wooden construction. But, iron was also needed, as were both nails and glue, indicating that it was of some composite construction. The hearse was taken out of the church to a workshop in order to be worked on, and the wages for five and a half days are to a carpenter, making it again likely that it was mostly wooden. There is also a payment for painting the hearse which informs us as to its decoration. Two 'sparrys' are bought for 'scalis'. These 'scalis' could have been a number of things. One of the possible meanings (for 'scala verne') is that of a windlass.[68] If the hearse was hung over the altar and was to be raised or lowered, then it might be the 'sparrys' which supported it.

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[62] Payments such as these are found often throughout the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts, for example, the payments in KL/GD/7 and KL/GD/9.
[63] KL/GD/12.
[64] Harrod's nineteenth century note underneath this marginal division shows a confusion (that he demonstrates in a number of mistranslations throughout the archives) with 'hercie', which he omits to translate.
[65] The pence sign is supplied in comparison to other payments for nails. The original sign, if provided, is illegible at the righthand, damaged, edge of the roll.
[66] Ellipsis of payments relating solely to house repairs.
[67] KL/GD/16.
[68] R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, p. 421.

Another, much more likely meaning, is that of a ladder, which would certainly be useful in hanging cloths and hearses, amongst other things from the roof of the church.[69] The hearse was most likely of wooden construction with some iron. It was nailed, glued, painted, and possibly supported or installed with two 'sparrys'.

There are a number of payments concerning the moving or carrying of the hearse, but two in the records of 1412/13, shed light on its involvement in the procession. In the first it is stated that "Et in p*ortagio* h*er*cie usq*ue* ad eccl*es*iam & econv*er*so xvj^{d}".[70] This suggests that the hearse was brought up to the church from another location, presumably, the guildhall. The other payment for carrying of the hearse asserts "Et in p*ortagio* h*er*cie circa villa*m* viij^{d}".[71] This would indicate that the hearse, probably as part of the Corpus Christi procession, was definitely carried through the town.

Lights, Torches and Candles

Once left in the church there were 'luminis', that is lights or in this case candles, burning on it throughout the year. There are almost yearly payments for the wax, and the 'sustentacione' of normally two lights around the hearse. This was taken care of by the friars, for example, "Item ff*rat*rib*us* p*redictibus* lenn*e* p*ro* sustentac*ione* ij luminis c*ir*ca herciam L^{s}".[72] Later, wax was supplied through an agreement with a local wax chandler.

> An agreement of 1449 made by the master of the Corpus Christi fraternity of King's Lynn, John Pygot, regulated the supply of wax candles by a local chandler, William Marche, who was to provide candles out of the company's stock of wax which was deposited with him; he was paid 5 marks and 10s for his work.[73]

This indenture was edited by Mackerell but a new transcription has been made. This agreement, KL/GD/33A (dated as from Wednesday, 12 March, 1449) details not only the supply of wax, but the lights which were to be provided about the tabernacle and that he was to set up the hearse himself.

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[69] To modern readers it is strange to need to purchase the wood to make a ladder instead of simply buying a ready made ladder from the carpenter, but this was commonplace.
[70] KL/GD/12.
[71] KL/GD/12.
[72] KL/GD/15.
[73] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 235. Rubin gathers this from Mackerell's translation of the document. B. Mackerell, *History and Antiquities of ... King's Lynn* (London: [n.pub], 1738), pp. 254-5, a new transcription of the original KL/GD/33A has been made and is include in Appendix One, as well as being quoted below.

> This indenture made Witnesseth that John Pygot burgess & merchant of Lynne Byshope maister of / the cumpany of Corpus *Christi* in Lynne aforeseid hath delivered to William March WexChaundeler / of Lynne C and vj l*ibra* in clene Wex v[^xx] and xii l*ibra* for the C and in Torches half C and xxj l*ibra* of / Wex and in x grete chapterelles xvij l*ibra* & half a l*ibra* Wex & Rosyn and in smale Chapterell / xj l*ibra* Wex and rosyn To have the kepyng of the same Weyght ^[of Wex] duryng the term of x yeers / the seid William to fynd every yeer duryng hys seid terme as well all the lyghtes about ye[74] / tabernacle of Corpus *Christi* in ye chirche of seynt Mergaret in Lynne as the lyghtes of all ye / torches which the seid company spendeth or shal spende every yeer durynge ye seid terme And the seid William to sette up every yeer the heerse of ye said Cumpany in ye chirche / beforeseid and take it down upon his owne costs and expenses as it hath ben doon & used / aforne this tyme and in ye end of the seid terme the seid William to delivere ageyne the / seyd Weyght of Wex torches and Chapterell to the mayster of the seyd Cumpany for the / tyme beeng for the whyche lyghtmaking & fyndyng every yeere the seid William shal have / of the maister and Company v marks and x^s^ of good money of Inglond to be paid to ye seid William every yeer in ye Utasse of the feste of corpus *Christi* Into Witness hereof ye parties / aforesaid to these indentures alternatly have sette theyr seales Written atte lynne forseid / on wednysday the feste of Seynt Gregory the Pope The yeer of the Regne of Kyng / Herry the sixth after the conquest xxvij

The lights in procession, on the hearse and around the tabernacle, are significant in that their purpose is to keep the sacrament illuminated. In some places the viaticum was carried to the sick, or to those on their deathbed, which indicates another possible use for the hearse outside of either strictly processional uses or uses *in ecclesia*. In these situations it was considered necessary to keep the Eucharist both protected and well illuminated, and it is for this reason that the Guild of Corpus Christi in King's Lynn was originally founded.

> Attempts were made to keep the eucharist safe and well-lit wherever it was. Lighting was thus a basic feature of eucharistic interest on the part of Corpus Christi fraternities: ten of the forty-four Corpus Christi fraternities recorded in 1389 made special provision for elevation lights. In some places entry fees were paid in wax candles, and a constant flow of wax was ensured through fines in kind.[75]

The body of Christ was carried in a vessel that was illuminated either by carried torches or a hearse of candles. The torches, are of importance, because within the references to them it is possible to glean further information concerning a variety of

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[74] With this and all other uses of the word 'ye' in this document, the original contains a 'y' with a suspension mark above it. In some cases it was difficult to tell wether the mark above it was an abbreviation mark or was a very small 'e'. (The document is very small and has been folded several times.) It has been edited as a suspension in every case, doubtless the 'y' mark has orginated from a standard thorn 'þ' character

[75] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 235.

processional activity. Being in close proximity to the sacrament was one of the more desirable aspects of participation in a Corpus Christi procession. It has already been mentioned that the staves supporting the canopy may have been carried by laymen because of this desired propinquity. They were not as fortunate with the torches, which, as with the tabernacle, are recorded as having been carried by the clergy.[76]

There is more than one type of torch mentioned in the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts. Firstly, there are those carried in funerary processions and masses for dead brethren. For example, they were carried "ad exeq*uias* & missam pro a*nim*a Mathei de Tilneye — / xiiij^{d}".[77] Ringing and the holding of torches took place "ad anniv*ersar*i*am* Joh*ann*is hardyngh*a*m capell*ann*i xiiij^{d}".[78] Although these are likely to have been very common uses for them, the mention of torches utilised explicitly in these ways only appears a few times in the accounts and hence is irregular.[79]

Another use of torches in the accounts is as a term large candles, but their use is not specified and their use as votive lights is most probable. As Almerico Treke is paid for making torches (of wax), and "p*ro* herc*ia* cu*m* torches"[80] other mentions of torches made of wax could be for candles for the hearse. These are numerous and normally phrased as a payment "in cera emp*tis* cu*m* fac*tur*a eiusd*em* in torch*is*".[81] If these payments were indeed for candles for the hearse, there might have been eight places for large candles on the hearse as a payment in 1425/6 is for "viij torch*is* ponder*antes* vj petras de petra iiij^{s} viij^{d} s*um*ma xxx^{s} iiij^{d}".[82] A later payment is for much larger candles: in 1428/9 a payment is recorded "p*ro* vj torch*is* de nov*a* fact*ura* ponder*antes* Lxxx lib*ras* & dimid*io* prec*io* lib*ra* v^{d} s*um*ma xxxiij^{s} viij^{d}".[83] If the hearse was portable then candles of such a weight are very heavy for a portable hearse and it is more likely they were intended as votive candles in the church.

In 1405/6 there is a record in which "in clij lbs cere empt*is* p*ro* torch*is* inde

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[76] KL/GD/1.
[77] KL/GD/1.
[78] KL/GD/5.
[79] e.g. KL/GD/33, fol. 6v.
[80] KL/GD/22.
[81] KL/GD/11.
[82] KL/GD/13. Assuming the accounts are correct, then the Guild of Corpus Christi paid for six and one half stone, not six stone, worth of candles. If the extra included is for labour, or some other expense, and it was indeed six stone worth, then each candle was three quarters of a stone, otherwise it was slightly more — almost one stone.
[83] KL/GD/15. It is possible to infer a number of things from this entry. Firstly, not all torches are 'de nov*a* fact*ura*' (others presumably are made from wax reclaimed from old candles, and are hence a lower quality). Moreover, if six torches weighed eighty and a half pounds, then each torch must have weighed almost thirteen and a half pounds — also almost one stone.

faciendo ad usum societatis Lxxiiij^{s} viij^{d}".[84] The 'ad usum societatis' suggests the possibility that they were simply purchased for the general use of the guild. But, not all mentions of torches could have been for candles of this size, as the amounts spent do not correspond. For example "in factura / xviij torchas vj^{s} viij^{d}",[85] must have been for smaller candles, or torches in the more familiar sense, unless, of course, this was just the cost for making the large candles. This is supported by a record for "in factura dicti ceram in xij / torchas iiij^{s} ix^{d}".[86] In this case the 'dicti ceram' was in fact one hundred and five and a half, pounds of wax, and required "j Stone Weykes pro torchis faciendis ij^{s}".[87] One stone's worth of wicks must have either made a lot of candles, or as in this case, twelve very large candles.

Torches or candles, were not only kept before the altar in the church, and used at guild events, but also carried in the Corpus Christi procession. There are a number of payments for "portantibus les torches"[88] by themselves, but they were also coupled with the carrying of the tabernacle.[89] The tabernacle and torches are carried "in ecclesiam & abinde in aulam",[90] and at another time just the torches were carried "usque ecclesiam".[91] More commonly the payments are for holding, that is "in tenura",[92] or "pro tencione",[93] of torches. It has been assumed that these torches were held in procession but there is no specific documentary evidence to support this other than the payments for their holding and their carrying. The torches, whatever their size, shape, or specific method of use, were designed to illuminate the eucharist and it is their connection with the sacrament which increases their importance to those involved with the Corpus Christi procession.

Gesyne

Some confusion created by the Malone Society's editing of the records can be cleared up concerning the mention of a "Gesyn" supported by four "Copill Sparres" for

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[84] KL/GD/8. If these torches weighed just under one stone, then there would have been eleven of them.
[85] KL/GD/10.
[86] KL/GD/14.
[87] KL/GD/14.
[88] KL/GD/33, fol. 8v.
[89] e.g. KL/GD/3.
[90] KL/GD/1.
[91] KL/GD/3.
[92] KL/GD/12.
[93] KL/GD/27.

the Corpus Christi procession in 1465/6.[94] The Malone Society edits it presumably because of the mention of four supports, and a footnote indicates their belief that it might be a canopy for the procession. As we have seen, the canopy was kept by the Guild of Corpus Christi not the city itself. An earlier set of payments in 1457/8, edited by the Malone Society specifically indicate that it was the Mayor and Community which paid for a light hung before the "Jesyn".[95] To hang lights before a canopy would be an irregular if not dangerous activity.

The Church of St Margaret's had a Chapel of the Gesyne (or "Gysine") by the early 1300's, which was inside the nave at the northeast end.[96] The term 'Gesyne' originates from the Old French word for childbirth ('gésir') and the chapel was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. It makes more sense that it was the treasure or centrepiece of this chapel which was carried and Harrod's belief that it was a depiction of the birth of Christ agrees with this hypothesis.[97] The carrying of images depicting important segments from biblical narratives supports some scholars' beliefs on ways in which the large cycle plays may have originated.[98] Banners were certainly carried by various guilds, and the Guild of Saint Anthony decreed in 1488 "that the ban*er* be born on holi Thursday and Corpus *Christi* Day at ye skyvens cost*es* or to lese I lb. Wax".[99]

The 'Chapel of the Gesyne' is described in an account for the sale of a piece of land next to St Margaret's Church. Sir Thomas Beaupré, of Outwell, conveyed to Richard Rede and Robert Rightwise a piece of land which ran:

> in length between the stile by which the church of St Margaret's was entered, at a certain chapel of the Blessed Mary called 'Gyssyne' to the east, and another stile next the conduit which leads to the same church west.[100]

It is in this chapel that the tabernacle, and also have housed the guild's hearse of candle, would have been kept. This same piece of land was, in 1365, passed onto the Mayor and Burgesses.

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[94] KL/C39/60. cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 52.
[95] KL/C39/60. cf. H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 89.
[96] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 28.
[97] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 15.
[98] For example, J. W. Harris, *Medieval Theatre in Context: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 77, amongst many others who have voiced this theory.
[99] KL/GD/78, cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 54.
[100] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 14.

> In the Conveyance to the Mayor and Burgesses there is greater precision in the description; the second stile is stated to be next the conduit and leading to the church by the chief door of the same church, namely, on the north part of the same, towards the west; and the piece of land contains in length between the two stiles aforesaid, 68 feet, and between the king's way and the cemetery wall, 9 feet. ... In the Chamberlain's Accounts of the 35th and 36th Henry VI., and 5th and 6th Edward IV., are payments for a light before the 'Gesyne,' and for spars to carry it in the Corpus Christi procession. I conclude it was a representation of the Birth of our Lord.[101]

The use of the 'gesyne' in procession is discussed by Hillen who is relying on Harrod, but is unsure whether it or the symbol of the Guild of the Holy Trinity would have been carried in processions.

> During the magnificent pageants on feast-days the incomparably gorgeous "Gesyne" — a representation of the birth of our Lord (Harrod), or the grand silver emblem of the Trinity, weighing 51 ounces, would be borne solemnly through the streets by the officials of the Guild of the Holy Trinity.[102]

The 'gesyne' would have been borne in the Corpus Christi procession and was probably either a sculpture or painting of the the birth of Christ. The Guild of the Holy Trinity's emblem would have been carried in any other important civic procession as an indication of the power of the merchants of the city.

The Procession Itself

That the procession, however religious in nature, should evince the power relationships inherent in civic government is of no surprise. As the feast grew in popularity the guild and town eventually established the Corpus Christi procession, but what did this procession look like? A general description of the activities on the feast of Corpus Christi is provided by Mervyn James.

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[101] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 14-15.
[102] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 814.

> What happened on Corpus Christi Day was that first of all a mass took place, after which the congregation formed a procession in which the Corpus Christi, the Body of Christ, in the form of the host consecrated at the mass, was ceremonially carried through the principal thoroughfare of the place where the feast was being celebrated. It was attended by clergy and layfolk, and in the larger towns the mayor, aldermen, councillors and other municipal officials took a prominent part in the proceedings. The gilds were also required to attend, dressed in their gild uniform, or livery; and these processed in accordance with a carefully defined order of precedence, the humbler crafts going first, the wealthier and more important, in ascending order, coming behind them. Last of all came the aldermen, councillors, sheriffs: the town magistracy, in fact; and last of all marching next to the host with its attendant clergy came the mayor. The procession made its way to some other church at the other end of the processional route, where the host was deposited, and the religious side of the celebrations were completed. Feasting and other kinds of more secular celebration then followed.[103]

This description does not tell us much about the situation in King's Lynn. It is likely that the procession occurred after an initial mass at St Margaret's. No record of the 'carefully defined order of precedence' has been found. It does make sense that the procession concluded with the most important participants, the sacrament, clergy, and mayor, but this cannot be documented. That it went to St Nicholas' Chapel is certainly a possibility, but, as of yet, no indication of this has been found. When the host was not being carried to the sick, but was in procession for the theological advantage of the whole city, what route did this procession take? Rubin paints a picture of how the approaching procession would have looked.

> The procession opened with the carrying of a cross, which as Durandus reminds us in the *Rationale*, warded off the devil. As at the mass, bells were rung, and accounts show that ringing during the procession was also provided in some places. ... Procession routes were strewn with grass and sawdust to reduce slipperiness, and, as the procession progressed often with flowers from the hands of children. This prepared the route, and heralded the arrival of the body of participants.[104]

Route of the Procession

The route which was taken is uncertain, and no mention of it has been found in the civic documents. The Guild of Corpus Christi accounts contain a number of brief mentions of processional items being carried to the church, and sometimes mention the same items being carried to the Guild hall. For example, in 1388/9:

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[103] M. James, 'Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval Town', p. 5. James appears to have conflated and condensed descriptions by William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages: Western European Stage Conditions, c. 800-1576* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 96, and M.L. Spencer, *Corpus Christi Pageants* (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1911), p. 66.
[104] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 248.

> Item dat*is* cl*eri*cis portant*ibus* tab*er*nac*ulum* & torch*as* in ecc*les*iam & abind*e* in aul*am* — xij[d] [105]

That the hearse was carried "usq*ue* ad eccl*es*iam & econv*er*so" has already been mentioned and adds credence to the idea that part of the procession was from the guild hall to the church.[106] That there are many payments for such items being carried 'circam villam' would indicate that the procession went through or about the city, not around the walls.[107]

> Processional routes differed greatly; parochial processions began at the church and walked around to significant places in the parish, and in villages they most frequently followed the boundaries. But the more complex the processing body and the more inclusive the procession, the more varied the narrative unfurled on the processional way which framed the social act. Itineraries fall into two main categories, those *demarcating* territories and those *linking* them.[108]

While it was common to 'beat the boundaries' of villages in a communal procession, there is no indication of that taking place in King's Lynn. Except for Rogation processions, the 'linking' type of procession was far more common in English cities.[109] If such a procession was intended to join major spheres of influence and form a processional link from one important location to the other, then by understanding the important locations of King's Lynn some of the stops on the Corpus Christi procession's route should be suggested. The Sarum processional provides one suggestion.

> This indicated for religious houses and parishes which followed the Use, that Corpus Christi should be celebrated with banners, reliquaries and silk copes, with a procession down the middle of the choir, out of the west door, around the church and back through the same door to the altar.[110]

The suggestion of the accounts is that instead of simply going around the church, the procession continued 'circam villam'. As the procession would leave by the west door, it would already be adjacent to the Saturday Market. As the markets were important municipal locations, they would most likely have processed from the

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[105] KL/GD/1.
[106] KL/GD/12.
[107] One aspect of the problem in the interpretation of these records is how one reads 'circa'. If defined as 'around' then a route tracing the city walls might be considered. If it means 'about', then a route joining various important landmarks within the city could be what was intended. If it simply means 'through' then a more linear procession is possible.
[108] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 267.
[109] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 268. In Chapters Six and Seven, the small rural processions' routes, especially rogation processions, are thought to have followed a route of boundary demarcation.
[110] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 246.

Saturday Market to the Tuesday Market. The former was important as it was right next to the church, and was legalised as the only place one could sell meat in the city, the latter, being much larger, was the centre of the town's commercial activity. If they did venture in the direction of the Tuesday Market, they would almost certainly have gone via Wingate[111] and passed the hall of the Guild of the Holy Trinity (the Guild Merchant) and continued towards the Guildhall of the Guild of Saint George. If the procession route went in this direction it is likely that it went through the Tuesday Market possibly to St Nicholas' chapel for further services. It would be logical for them to have processed back via the Corpus Christi guildhall and Parker believes that the Hall of Corpus Christi once existed on Checker lane.[112] Hillen firmly believed that the old site for the hall was on the northwest corner of Codling Lane.[113] This discrepancy can be explained since Hillen is talking about the 'new' hall (fifteenth century) and Parker may be referring to the 'old' hall but she does not cite any evidence for her claim.[114] If Hillen is right, and the procession did return from the direction of St Nicholas', then a direct route down Listergate and Webster Row[115] would lead over Baxter's Bridge and down Baxter's Row[116] to return past Hillen's suggested location.[117]

The civic hall books often make mention of the Corpus Christi hall but do not mention its exact location. This is understandable, as it would have been a landmark with which everyone was familiar. For example, they never describe where the Tuesday Marketplace was — it is just known and still exists today. Similarly, one ordinance mentions that victuals and coal which were brought into the city by outsiders

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[111] Believed to derive from variation of windingate, referring to the winding nature of this street built on reclaimed land following what was the waterfront in the early thirteenth century, it is now called Queens road.

[112] Vanessa Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Century* (Phillimore: London and Chichester, 1971), p. 93. Thi is now King's Street. For maps of King's Lynn see plate 1 and 2 of Parker's study and pages 20, 23, 28 and 34-5 for various historical maps of the town.

[113] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 815-17. Codling Lane is now Tower Place.

[114] Parker may have reason to believe that the Guild of Corpus Christi at some time used the Guildhall of the Guild of St George, but she does not provide references to support this. Hillen's logic, while impressive and evincing a great deal of documentary research, involves the comparison of documents spanning several centuries which might, in turn, invalidate it. Further corroboration of his theories has not yet been found.

[115] Now Chapel Street and Broad Street respectively.

[116] Now Tower Street.

[117] Copyright permission has not been granted to reproduced a seventeenth century map of King's Lynn, but it is reproduced along with plans of the town at different periods in Vanessa Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Century*, plates 1 and 2, and pp. 20, 23, 28 and 34-5.

were only to be sold to burgessses in the hall of the Guild of Corpus Christi between two and four in the afternoon, but does not mention the location of this hall.[118]

Funding the Procession

> The rules of reservation which prevailed in the church, and when the eucharist was taken to the sick, applied also in the procession; the consecrated host on parade was kept in a precious vessel.[119]

That this vessel was precious is not in doubt, the repair costs mentioned above help to indicate the amount of money which was spent each year on the procession and its related trappings. Some aspects of these trappings give the impression that the Corpus Christi procession had strong aspects of civic pride that could have overshadowed the religious character of the celebrations. The religious nature of the Corpus Christi procession meant that it was not only a celebration of civic pride, but of communal religious belief.[120] As the Corpus Christi procession was supposed to be for all members of the town, not just the Guild of Corpus Christi, then it is logical that the Guild did not have to pay all the expenses.

The Guild of Corpus Christi was not alone in funding the Corpus Christi procession. Civic contribution was enshrined in a number of craft ordinances. When new members joined who were not already burgesses, or members infringed the craft's regulations, they paid a fine which went towards the Corpus Christi procession. Amongst other ordinances, those for the craft of tailors read:

> ... and / *every* persone so newe come and amitted and Wilbe no burgeys for his newe settyng uppe shal paye to / the meyre xl^{d} to the comons -[of lenn] xl^{d} and to the seid hedesmen xl^{d} which 40^{d} shal go to the / sustentacion of the p*ro*cession upon Corpus *Christi* day. And yf he wil be burgeys than he to pay but / xl^{d} for his newe settyng uppe to the seid hedesmen which shal goto the seid p*ro*cession ...[121]

Whether they were prepared to become a burgess or not, forty pence went towards the Corpus Christi procession. This civic involvement to help ensure the perpetuation of the procession indicates its value in the minds, not only of civic officials, but of craft members. The tailors had other regulations that benefited the procession as well.

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[118] KL/C/7/3, fol. 169v. Note Owen mislabels this as simply fol. 169.
[119] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 251.
[120] That it was also an arena for social demarcation and secular altercations may appear contradictory to its religious purpose from within a modern framework, yet in the strong religious climate of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this would not necessarily have been perceived as incongruous.
[121] KL/C/7/3, fol. 283v, cf. Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 267. A new transcription of this document is to be found in Appendix One.

> Thus in King's Lynn a portion of the fines levied from craft members for infringement of craft regulations were allocated for maintenance of the Corpus Christi procession. The statutes of the Tailors of Lynn of 1449 show that 40^{d} of the entry fee for a non-burgess went towards 'sustentacion' of the procession, as did the 40^{d} fine for keeping foreign apprentices, and the 40^{d} fine for slander against another member's work [122]

What the document in fact says is that "And also what persone of the / seid crafte kepe any prentys With in the town*e* from this tyme forward And be no burgeys shal / paye to the sustentacion of the seid p*ro*cession on Corpus *Christ*i day xl^{d}".[123] And "And yf any persone of the seid crafte slaundre any / man of such dedis so doon ... and to forfete as often as he is founden / so fauty xl^{d} Which shal go to ye seid p*ro*cession upon corpus *Christ*i day".[124] While the statutes of the Tailors of King's Lynn were not edited by the Malone Society, it did edit a portion of the (significantly later) regulations for the Carpenters of King's Lynn. This document has been retranscribed and shows that supporting the Corpus Christi procession was an integral part of becoming a member of the guild.

> ...[125] Sires ye shull dewly & trewly make serch of your / craft of all dwellers withinne the town at this tyme & fro this tyme forward no newe cum p*er*sones / set vp the seid Crafte but if he haue sufficient cunnyng Whos Abilitie & cunnyng shalbe det*er*mened / by the aduyce of the seid hedesmen or wardenes of the seid crafte And eu*er*y Englysshe / p*er*sone so newe come and admitted to set vp and wilbe no burgeys shall paye to the / mayr for his newe settyng vp iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the commons iij^{s} iiij^{d} and to the seid hedismen / iij^{s} iiij^{d} Which iij^{s} iiij^{d} shall goo to the sustentacion of the p*ro*cession on corpus *Christ*i / daye And yf he wilbe a burgeys than he to paye but iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the seid hedismen / which shall go to the seid p*ro*cessyon...[126]

Most guilds donated time, money, or materials towards the procession. The skinners and the sailors were rewarded financially in 1461/2 for their participation.[127] In 1468, the Guild of Saint Anthony ruled that it should provide two white torches for Corpus Christi day.[128] As well numerous records have this guild paying for the "berying of ye shaft on halowmesday and Corpus C*hrist*i day".[129] These payments are almost certainly to vexillators whose jobs included banner carrying, keeping the procession in

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[122] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 261.
[123] KL/C/7/3, fol. 283v. cf. Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 267.
[124] KL/C/7/3, fol. 283v. cf. Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 267.
[125] The Latin preface of this document has also been edited, see Appendix One.
[126] The document continues with various other ordinances for members of the craft, and their headsmen, cf. KL/C/7/5 pp. 15-6.
[127] KL/C39/59. cf. Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 51.
[128] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 52.
[129] The Malone Society notes these payments but does not edit them, p. 52, note 2.

order, and possibly setting the pace.[130] Thus, while the city authorities organised the procession, the component parts of its whole formation were solicited from numerous different sources. This is comparable to processions in other locations, especially the apparent tradition of one specific guild providing a certain aspect or component for the procession over a number of years — the payments for vexillators run for thirty years through the records of the Guild of Saint Anthony.[131]

Minstrels and Entertainers in the Procession

The problem of who provided what is further highlighted when an examination of minstrels involved with the procession is undertaken. Except for in the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts, no records from King's Lynn have been found to explicitly connect minstrels to the procession, or the Corpus Christi celebrations at all. In the accounts of the Guild of Corpus Christi, the function of the minstrels is not specified. It is often noted that they were hired for the feast, the octave, or some combination of the two, but whether they were hired for participation in the procession, or the celebrations afterwards is never made clear. Whether they were actually paid for playing their instruments is not specified, nor, if they did play, the length of time they entertained. While the former is to be assumed in most cases, the latter is usually unknown.

Over the range of accounts of the Guild of Corpus Christi, the number, variety, and terminology for entertainers is greatly varied — they are listed, in various guises, for almost every year that accounts remain. 'Minstrels' (and related generalised terms) are the most common, while specified entertainers in order of most numerous appearances are trumpeters (7 instances), fiddlers and harpers (both 4), citharizanti (3)[132], and luters, mimes, pipers, taberers, and waits[133] have one occurrence each. The few references to singers points to a strictly ecclesiastical function in singing masses

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[130] While this cannot be known for certain in the instance of King's Lynn, it is most probable in comparison with statutes from York, cf. Johnston, 'The guild of Corpus Christi and the procession of Corpus Christi in York', *Mediaeval Studies*, 38 (1976), p. 374.

[131] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 52, note 2. It could be, of course, that these were for a procession that the Guild of Saint Anthony organised itself, but there are no records indicating that they did.

[132] The records for 'harpers' and citharizanti have been separated for these statistics, since cithara can refer to a number of stringed instruments. If they are indeed payments to harpers, then there are seven instances of harpers or harp-related payments.

[133] William Wylde and other named waits not edited by the Malone Society have not been included, if they were it would give waits at least a total of twelve instances.

for the guild, and more than one payment specifies the clergy as the singers.[134] And yet, in another instance a payment is made to "cuid*a*m mulieri"[135] for singing. It is not mentioned when or as part of what celebration this woman was singing.

In respect to the problem of their function, since many of the minstrels are paid for labour on the octave of the feast, they could be assumed to have little or no part in the procession. They could have been paid on the octave (or under the expenses of such) for their services over the entire festival, including the procession.[136] The 'standard loud band' of a group of waits would have been perfect in procession, and waits were often used for entrances, exits, and civic processions. A group of trumpeters would also have formed an impressive addition to a procession, both attracting the attention of the spectators along the route, and heralding the approaching to procession to those further ahead. If the sacrist was ringing the bell in procession and not just at mass, or even if the church bells were ringing for the duration of the procession, the ensuing musical cacophony would have been a spectacle in itself.

If these entertainers were not used in the procession, then they must have been used on Corpus Christi day and the celebrations which followed such as the meal on the Octave. This was the most common occurrence as, when the payments become separated into expenses for the feast and the octave, the minstrels are more commonly recorded in the octave — when the guild's feast took place. This is an uncertain deduction as the expense could indicate only the time at which the minstrels were paid, not when the expense was incurred. There are a number of instances in which terms of employment are made more explicit. For example, "Et iiij / ministrall*is* ib*idem* int*er*essent*ibus* in die f*esti* & in Octab*o* xv^{s} iiij^{d}".[137] This indicates that minstrels were at least used both on the day of the feast, and also on the day of the octave, but could also be interpreted to mean that they were used for a whole series of events and celebrations throughout the octave.

Many of the records for minstrels specify more than a single minstrel. From this, we can understand that the job required much more entertainment than a single

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[134] cf. KL/GD/3 and KL/GD/33, fol. 8v.
[135] KL/GD/33, fol. 6v.
[136] Some of these entertainers, such as mimes, certainly had no place in a procession, but the payment 'p*ro* Mimis' refer generally to minstrels. In addition, the popular use of harpers, which when considered in procession, were also impractical owing to the low volume produced by most portable harps. While metal strung harps make a louder and a more easily heard sound, there is no evidence that these were in use, and still would not have been suitable for use in a procession.
[137] KL/GD/13. The Malone Society does not edit this.

minstrel could provide. Often three or four minstrels were hired and their cost recorded as a single expense. It cannot be known whether this is an indication that the minstrels performed together or separately. An extreme example is found in the records of 1446/7 when a single payment of eleven shillings is made to "iij mynstrell*is* ij harpou*r*is j pip*er* j taberer".[138] While it would certainly have been a satisfactory fee, if we assume an even division between performers, it is comparatively less than other smaller groups of minstrels received in surrounding years. Another assumption that can be made based on the above payment is that, in the treasurer's mind at least, 'minstrels' were separate from harpers, pipers and taberers. Whatever the exact tasks of these performers, it is probable that some of them must have performed at the feast.

The Feast of Corpus Christi

The information concerning the guild's feast — meaning the actual meal the guild held — is very detailed in the later accounts. Its relevance to dramatic activity is as the very context in which the performers discussed above worked. It has already been mentioned that from 1438/9 onwards much more detailed descriptions of the purchases for the feast are recorded, whereas previously simple summaries and payments to cooks are all that were noted.[139] In 1447/8 a new division was routinely made between expenses on the day of the feast and those expenses on the Octave.[140] By 1460/1 the feast on the Octave has become more lavish than the smaller meal consumed on the feast day itself.[141]

The most commonly repeated payment is that for what was drunk. Ale and beer, in various forms, were the most common but wine was also purchased. The types of ale are specified as good or strong, medium, and small.[142] The wine that was purchased might have been intended for the special masses said throughout the octave, "Et in vini p*ro* celebr*anti* missar*um* & al*iis* expen*sis* p*er* capell*am* ib*idem* iij^{s} / ut in p*artic*u*la* eiusd*em* Ade".[143] Other beverages are recorded, such as pear juice, milk, and

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[138] KL/GD/27.
[139] KL/GD/22.
[140] KL/GD/28.
[141] KL/GD/32.
[142] The process of making ale in this period often involved the use of the same mash a number of times, the first being the strongest, the last being the weakest or 'small' ale.
[143] KL/GD/5. It would be difficult to attempt to deduce much about the degree of alcohol consumption given the terse nature of these records, but often as much strong (higher alcohol) ale was purchased for an evening as weak or small ale.

verjuice, which were more likely used in cooking.

That the feast became progressively more lavish is suggested by the last half of the run of accounts — more varieties of food were introduced and a greater number of condiments, herbs and spices were used in their preparation.[144] In most years, grain was purchased and ground and then payments were recorded "p*ro* bultyng & bakyng".[145] It might have been more cost effective to purchase grain, have it ground, sifted, and then bake it, rather than place a single large order with one of the numerous local bakers. And yet, in most cases it was only one or two bushels of grain which were purchased showing that a limited amount of baked goods were produced. Other baked goods or baking ingredients purchased include wastel bread, preground flour, and barley.

Beef and lamb were purchased almost every year for which detailed food accounts exist, and quite often pork, chicken, eggs and fowl were also bought. In an number of instances at least one hundred eggs were purchased solely for the feast. On some occasions the guild members took advantage of the rich supply of seafood available to them and a number of varieties of fish, crabs, and other seafood are found throughout the records.

A variety of herbs, spices, and condiments including ginger, cinnamon, powdered lumbard, mustard, salt, pepper, and various unspecified 'salsciamentis' were used throughout the later accounts. A variety of fruits and nuts were purchased, but when specified the most common were raisins, currants, dates, and almonds.

In 1437/8 there is an intriguing payment for the breakfast of twenty four persons at the inn of Margaret Frank. "Item Joh*an*nes Assheden sol*utis* p*ro* jantac*u*lo facto p*ro* xxiiij p*er*sonar*um* ville lenn*e* ad domu*m* Margarete ffranke xxiiij^{s}".[146] This breakfast was certainly the meal for the city's council of 'Twenty Four' as similar payments appear sporadically throughout the accounts.[147] That these are the jurats of the city council is shown conclusively through a payment the very next year in which the same John Assheden is paid "pro Jantac*u*lo facto p*ro* xxiiij Jurat*is* ville lenn*e* ad hospic*ium* margarete ffrank". Guild of Corpus Christi possibly treated the jurats of the

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[144] Salsciamentum, mustard, vinegar, salt, etc.
[145] KL/GD/29a. 'Bultying', that is, bolting: To sift with a bolting cloth.
[146] KL/GD/22.
[147] Margaret Frank is known to have owned an inn or tavern, and taken on her own apprentices. She is mentioned throughout the records of this period, and her establishment was frequented by both civic dignitaries and actors, cf. KL/C/39/55 and also Chapter Two.

town to breakfast prior to their involvement in the Corpus Christi procession. If this is the case, then it gives us a great deal of information concerning who actually took part in the procession, as the jurats for most years are recorded in the city's hall books.[148]

There are many other items of interest contained in records of foodstuffs purchased by the Guild of Corpus Christi. It may be possible to establish approximate numbers who attended the feasts or attempt to explain in what dishes the various ingredients might have been combined according to recipes of the period. It is not the purpose of this work to fully examine these aspects and the transcriptions concerning them have been included to provide both a context to the dramatic records and the material for later scholars to investigate.

Corpus Christi Procession: Conclusions.

This section has examined the accounts of the Guild of Corpus Christi in detail with the aim of exploring what we can discover concerning the King's Lynn Corpus Christi procession. General ideas of how one defines a procession, and what place a procession holds with respect to ritual, have also been discussed. It was shown that other activities on Corpus Christi day sometimes included the production of drama, but that this was not a main component of the celebrations in King's Lynn. As another possible processional activity, payments to the sacrist for bellringing were examined and the use of bells in Corpus Christi celebrations in general was explored. The surviving information concerning the tabernacle, as one of the most important aspects of the procession, was examined in order to come to arrive at some conclusions concerning what it would have looked like.

In discussing many aspects of the Corpus Christi procession through the records of the Guild of Corpus Christi, various individual concerns were addressed. And, although what Corpus Christi processions involved has been discussed, it is problematic to attempt to present a fully synthesised view of what the procession in King's Lynn looked like at any given time. Any formulation of this is, theoretically flawed because it would necessitate the inclusion of completely hypothetical elements.

Nevertheless, a general descriptive summary is possible; the hypothetical procession would have left St Margaret's church after the elevated host had been placed inside. It might have gone down Wingate, which would have been lined with

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[148] e.g. KL/C/7/1-KL/C/7/3.

people and windows would be filled with those looking in the direction of the church. The street might have been strewn with grass and rushes, and as the procession approached some people might have thrown flower petals down from the second-story windows. The procession would have begun with three trumpeters heralding its approach and vexillators with long white staves. It would have been led by a priest carrying a cross, crucifix, or a "cross-crosslet fitché or".[149] He would have been followed by a number of masters and skevyns of various guilds, each in their guild livery. Some of these would have been carrying the prized possessions of their guilds, others simply white torches. In turn, the town's sergeant-at-arms would have come carrying 'King John's sword'. After this civic emblem would have come a number of the town's officers and then the Aldermen. These would have been followed by the mayor, carrying the town's mace and wearing his chain of office. He would have been flanked by two more vexillators with white staves. After him there could have been a number of singing clergy, and the attractive canopy made of beautiful embroidered red damask cloth of gold being carried on four staves by the clergy, covered with decorative valences. Underneath the canopy would have been the prior and four clergy who were carrying the tabernacle, possibly in the form of a model of the church on two staves. It was golden with portions that were red and green, and contained a window of clear glass that allowed one to see the consecrated host inside. Following this would have been the sacrist who rang a handbell, followed closely by a great hearse of candles, also carried by priests, which was also protected by a canopy similar to the first one. Following this there would have been a priest carrying a large ornate painting or sculpture of the Blessed Virgin Mary giving birth to Christ. After this the procession could have been followed by a number of other respected civic officials as well as some visiting noblemen and their wives, with the end of the procession being brought up by the city waits — playing a lively tune.

The Bellman

The civic position of the 'bellman' in King's Lynn was first noticed while transcribing the records for the Guild of Corpus Christi. It appears consistently in these records and shows that the bellman was recorded by a variety of different types

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[149] This is part of the blazon of the city and is a gold cross in which each terminal also forms a cross, cf. H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 30-1.

of terminology over time, while his job remained the same. The terms by which the bellman was known include 'bedeman(num)', 'bellman(num)', 'remeannus', and 'proclamator'.[150] As will be shown, they were all different terms for the same position. For clarity, the term 'bellman' will be used in discussion except for the purposes of differentiation.

As others in the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts the bellman was paid for specific duties he performed. Most often, these consisted of processing through town in order to pray for the souls of the dead brethren of the guild. Yet, the role of the bellman was a civic position and the accounts refer to him a number of times as 'bedemanno ville'. Harrod found that "among the officers elected every year was the Bedeman, or I should perhaps say that an officer so called was elected on some of the yearly elections".[151] He also states that:

> The Bellman, or as he is called in the early Accounts, the Bedeman of the Town, gets a yearly stipend for his proclamation through the town, as he also did from the other guilds.[152]

Harrod provides a footnote with the only reference found in other guild books to the bellman. He notes, "The Bellman to have a list of the names of benefactors, and Thomas Toylet to be remembered when the *Bellman goeth about*. — Rules of St. Giles and St. Julian's Guild".[153] St Giles and Julian, the Guild of Corpus Christi, and the civic authorities are the only bodies whose records have been found by this study to contain information concerning this position in King's Lynn.[154]

We shall begin by examining what one can discover concerning the bellman from the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts before progressing to the civic accounts and hall books. From examining these rich sources of information it is hoped that a significantly clearer picture concerning the activities of this civic employee is revealed. The act of processing through town, as discussed with reference to the Corpus Christi procession, was an inherently performative activity. Thus, the city bellman should be considered just as relevant to the context of the town's entertainment as processions, waits, and events of public spectacle. If the bellman processed through town not only saying prayers for the dead, but making public announcements and proclamations, then

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[150] These terms appear in both English and Latin accounts and in a variety of spellings.
[151] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 63.
[152] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 33-4.
[153] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 34, note 7.
[154] It would make sense for records concerning the bellman also to appear in the Guild of Holy Trinity records, but no mention of him has been found.

he would have been an integral part of the social and dramatic context of King's Lynn.

As Harrod notes, the terminology for the bellman changes. If we examine the Corpus Christi Guild accounts in detail it is found that this happens after 1425/6 which is the last time he is called a 'bedeman', and in the next extant roll (1427/8) the record reads: "Et Joh*ann*i Belleman custod*ienti* / portas & eunti p*er* villam p*ro* oracione defun*ct*or*um* viij^{d}".[155] Throughout these accounts he is paid for the same activities as the earlier bellman, and this change of name is either related to John Bellman, who took the job at this time, or it is possible that his surname actually reflects the activities undertaken. That is, the bellman's procession through town might have been announced by his ringing of a bell. In addition, he may have taken part in the funeral processions in which a funeral bell was rung in procession before the approaching coffin.

Shortly before this change in terminology an interesting addition is recorded in the Corpus Christi accounts concerning the bellman's job. In 1412/13 a record states that, "Et Bedemanno ville tam p*ro* / labore suo q*u*am p*ro* custod*ienti* porte vj^{d}".[156] In the next extant roll (1425/6) the payments are separated, but consecutive, "Et Bedemanno iiij^{d} Et cust*odienti* port*as* iiij^{d}".[157] It is in the following roll, that the terminology concerning him changes, and these two jobs finally merge in the mind of those recording the Guild's accounts. A short time after the 'bedeman' began guarding doors his title changed to that of 'bellman', presumably, if this was not indeed because of the coincidence of John Bellman's name, it was to denote the change in function, and a burgeoning secularisation of his task. The position might have had successively less to do with the capacity of a 'bedeman' (reading the bederoll, saying prayers, taking part in funerary processions and services) and progressively more to do with the secular role of a bellman. Harrod finds that the title of bedeman and bellman are interchangeable in the civic records by 1381.

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[155] KL/GD/14.
[156] KL/GD/12.
[157] KL/GD/13.

> In the 6th year of Richard II. — "And as Bedeman Thomas Bellman" 7th Year — "And as Bedeman Thomas Bedeman" But in the 5th year it stands — "Thomas de Sutton as Keeper of the Bell." Thomas de Sutton, Thomas Bellman and Thomas Bedeman were all the same person. The Bellman was called Bedeman from going about with the Bede Roll.[158]

Traditional definitions assume that a bellman processed through town making public announcements, attracting attention through the ringing of a bell — the predecessor to the town crier, a paradramatic performer integral to the corporation's self fashioned image. This use of the word and this function of the position date from at least the end of the fourteenth century. A 'bedeman' in this period refers to someone who is employed to tell beads, that is say prayers, on behalf of his benefactors, but also once meant a messenger.[159] Both were paid for going through town and for praying for the souls of the dead. The 'bedeman' is paid once for "oranti p*er* tot*u*m villam lenn*e*",[160] once for "p*ro*nunciac*io*n*e* sua circa villa*m*"[161] and for a number of less specific instances. In King's Lynn, these two related but separate professions merged into one.

When the term changes to 'bellman', he is usually paid for 'custod*ienti* portas & eunt*i* p*er* villam' in order to say prayers for the dead. Which doors were being specifically referred to is unknown — it cannot have been the gates to the city, which, by this time, had civic appointed gate guards. It could refer to the doors of the guildhalls, either in the evening, or during a guild meeting. If that was the case, the emphasis might have been less on a functioning as a 'watchman' and more as that of 'ticket taker' or 'bouncer' letting only guild members into the guild hall; 'cust*odienti* port*as*' at a guild function. And yet, there is nothing which would clearly indicate this. Another possibility is that the bellman did function similarly to a watchman and he made sure all was secure in the evening not only at the guild hall, but specific brethren's houses (i.e. the master, deacon, clerk, etc.) or properties owned by the corporation. Nevertheless, there is no information present in these records to substantiate a more complete understanding of his duties.

To add to the confusion, the term 'bellman' continues in the Guild of Corpus

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[158] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 63. The fifth through to the seventh regnal years of Richard II are 1381-1384. Harrod's source is Lynn's Red Register, cf. *The Red Register of King's Lynn: Transcribed by R. F. Isaacson*, ed. by Holcombe Ingleby (King's Lynn: Thew & Son, 1919-1922).

[159] 'Bedeman': variant of 'Beadsman', hence a man who 'says beads' i.e. prayers.

[160] KL/GD/1.

[161] KL/GD/5.

Christi records until 1434/5[162] at which point it falls out of use and in the next roll the term 'remeannus' makes its first appearance.[163] Although it is used a number of times, no explanatory detail is given concerning the term until 1459/60 when the record reads "Item sol*utis* Remeano ville p*ro* circuitu suo ad orand*um* / p*ro* animabus ff*ratrum* &c*etera* iiij^{d}".[164] This indicates that the term had a meaning that was obvious to both those writing the account and those expected to read it, and hence needed no explanation. Although it is used regularly until the end of the surviving accounts, no further mention is made of 'custod*ienti* portas' in relation to the bellman. This implies that the term had been used for the same position the bedeman had held originally, or that this aspect was either assumed or gradually lost from the duties.

A comparison of a financial nature shows that generally the bedeman, John Bellman, and the 'remeannus' were all paid on average eight pence for their year's work where both the guarding of doors and the processing through town to say prayers for the dead were mentioned. This supports the idea that their work was the same, and the change in terms is simply a lexical shift over time. It indicates the possibility that the payments in the guild records were not for a fulltime profession but for a job which was a means of supplementing an income.[165]

While 'bedeman' and 'bellman' are easily understood terms the etymology for 'remeannus' is not so clear. It might be related to the function of remembering the dead, and hence 'rememoratio', that is remembrance. Indeed it could be somehow derived from 'rememorator' (or 'rememorantarius' or 'remembrancarius') all meaning remembrancer or recorder.[166]

The term 'remeannus' has not been found in any available dictionary.[167] It may in fact be a neuter 'remeannum' but as the nominative or any plural cases that would help to indicate its grammatical gender have not survived this cannot be established.[168] And while it is more likely to have been a Medieval Latin coining, since it does not

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[162] KL/GD/20.
[163] KL/GD/21, the first usage in the civic accounts isn't until 1459 (KL/C/7/4, p. 137).
[164] KL/GD/30.
[165] This is substantiated by the Chamberlains' accounts for King's Lynn showing him as being paid an average of 8 shillings a year.
[166] R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, p. 401.
[167] It should be briefly noted that the transcription of this word is accurate and has been checked by the King's Lynn archivist, Professor Meredith, and several others. Dozens of quite legible examples make an error of transcription highly unlikely. Dictionaries checked include standard sources of Classical and Medieval Latin, English and Middle English.
[168] The word is usually found in the ablative singular in the civic accounts ('In remean*no*...') and in the dative singular in the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts ("Item sol*utis* Remeano').

appear in the records until the mid-fifteenth century there is the possibility that it is a Latinisation of an English word. There is a Middle English word 'reme' meaning 'to cry, or shout out' coming from the Old English 'hréman' that had an implicit connection to lamentation. As part of the job of the bellman was that of a town crier — proclaiming civic announcements and funerary services — then there is a possible relation. It may be that 'remeannus' was backformed from English on the model of 'bedemannum'.[169] A 'reme-man' becomes a 'rememannum' and because of difficulty in use eventually is condensed to 'remeannum' with the removal of the peneultimate 'm'. While this is a possible theory, it would only be plausible if there was proof of its usage before the contraction.[170]

Examination of extant civic documents finds records which are much less detailed concerning the bellman but which appear with a greater degree of regularity. In the chamberlain's accounts, from KL/C/39/28 to KL/C/39/38 (1367/8-1380/1), for example, Thomas Bedeman is paid eight shillings 'p*ro* feod*o* suo'. The payments were always made with the other civic officers, indicating that the Bellman was an official civic position. Its status was commensurate with those of the various gate guards with whose payments his is often grouped.[171] In KL/C/39/28 (1366/7) John Belleman is paid his eight shillings for "Custod*ienti* Aule gild p*ro* eod*e*m". It is common for the bellman to have taken on other jobs, for example, John Blythe in KL/C/7/3 (fol. 159) who was both a bellman and guard of the Doucehill Gates.[172]

The hall books of the corporation provide a detailed list of the election of this and other civic officers. The names of the earliest bellmen are gleaned from the Red Register of King's Lynn. In briefly surveying who held the post at what time, any perceptible traditions of appointment can be discussed. From at least 1381/2 to 1386/7, Thomas de Sutton was known variously as the keeper of the bell, the bedeman and bellman. In 1389/90, John de Bery was the bedeman.

While there is a lack of references for about a decade, when they return John

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[169] The double 'n', it should be mentioned, is used only in sometimes in the accounts of King's Lynn and not in others. It is provided here as a standardisation in comparison with the more frequent 'bedemannum'.

[170] Discussion with Edmund Weiner, one of the chief editors for the *OED*, has led to the conclusion that a Medieval Latin root is more probable than this Middle English backformation.

[171] For an example transcription of an entire 'Feoda Soluto' section see KL/C/39 35 in Appendix One.

[172] In this case, although John Belleman was at one point the bellman, he could have taken up a new civic position but was still known by his previous trade name. Other than various names of the early bellmen, the chamberlains' accounts provide little detail concerning what specific duties the job might have included.

Mordon is found to hold the position of bellman every year from 1412/3-1437/8, except 1430/1 in which William Kelom held it and Kelom returns for 1446/7 to 1451/2. While John Bullok has the position for 1438/9, and Henry Lombe has it for 1443/4, John Blythe holds it from 1439/40 to 1442/3. There is a pattern that one or two people hold the office for a single year each, and then another person is found who holds it for a number of years. It is tempting to read this as a trend indicating that the people who held the job for a long time did so because they were good at it, or retained their popularity with the electing jurats, and those who did not, were not elected again. Thus, a number of bad or unpopular bellmen being elected before one who was popular or good at his job. Yet, this pattern could simply indicate that the nature of the employment did not suit all those who undertook it amongst any other number of external circumstances that interfered with their continued employment. Although more documents survive than in other places, the perceived pattern is still methodologically skewed by a lack of extant records.

There is a slightly confusing run of people from 1452/3 to 1457/8 that deviates from this pattern. These people might indeed have been the same person or three people with the same first name. In 1452/3 Alan Porter helds the position and was followed by Alan Palmer (1453/4). And then Alan Cook (1454/5, 1456/7) who alternates with the returning Alan Porter (1455/6, 1457/8). Alan is certainly not one of the most common name in the accounts of this period, but it is certainly not rare. There is no conclusive way in which we can establish whether these were the same person, or not. If these were indeed the same Alan, then it is a good indication that the bellman undertook other employment and was known to do so. This has already been shown and other professions have been noted when describing the bellman. This Alan Palmer may have been related to John Palmer, a weaver, who held the office from 1513/14 to 1535/6, with John possibly following in his father's footsteps.[173]

Similarly, John Morden may have been related to the Thomas Morden who was Town Clerk in 1374/5 and often member of parliament for King's Lynn from 1377/8 to 1388/9. Without accurate parish records indicating births, marriages or baptisms, which do not survive for this early a date in King's Lynn, it would be difficult to argue any relationship between these men. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that a

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[173] No actual connection between the two Palmer men is necessarily being argued for. The Palmers were a well known family in King's Lynn at this time with relatives in a variety of professions.

variety of bellmen and other lesser civic officers have the same names as the more important ones. Even if it were indeed possible to follow up every connection and it was shown that rich men encouraged other rich men to elect their sons, sons-in-law or friends to civic office, nothing unusual or unexpected would be explained. That a highly complex social and political system existed through a network of friends and relations, and that this manifested itself in the election of civic officers, is of little surprise. It is especially not unpredictable given the highly politicised nature of King's Lynn society at this time.[174]

Other bellmen who held the position over a number of years include Hamond Hunt, a tailor who held the office from 1458/9 to 1465/6 and 1468/9 to 1470/1, John Lister[175] from 1475/6 to 1493/4, John Nesse from 1500/1 to 1512/3, John Palmer (as mentioned) from 1513/14 to 1535/6, and John Turner from 1536/7 to 1544/5.

Although the regular form given in the hall books contains very little detail, consisting of an entry such as "In le Belman — Joh*an*ni Mordon"[176] there are a number of entries which assist in giving greater detail concerning the nature of the bellman's activities. As has already been noted there are various entries indicating that the bellman regularly undertook other employment. This argues that the duties of the position were either irregular or could be performed outside the demands of other jobs.

As a job of ritual importance (not only in the funerary aspects, but also in the creation of civic self image) there might have been some prestige associated with the office of bellman. None of the people who held the position rose to hold much more prestigious positions such as the recorder, mayor or guildmasters. (Although, the bellman John Blythe is occassionally listed as a 'Jurat' in a similar manner to the way in which the more superior civic officers commonly were.)[177] The exception to this is the very unlikely possibility that John Palmer, the bellman from 1513/14 to 1535/6, could have been the same John Palmer who was mayor in 1503/4.[178]

The bellman's job included more diverse occupations as time progressed, and he became something of an 'oddjob' man. A number of records from the early

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[174] For a study of politics in fourteenth and fifteenth century King's Lynn, see Michael D. Myers, *Well-Nigh Ruined?: Violence in King's Lynn 1380-1420* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1996).

[175] Lister is only one form of the name more commonly given as Lyster and Lytster.

[176] KL/C/7/3, fol. 29 (29 August, 1433).

[177] e.g. KL/C/7/3, fol. 180.

[178] It would be extremely surprising to find evidence indicating such a social 'backwards step' and no documentation exists to support this.

sixteenth century provide further information concerning the conditions by which they were employed. The first states:

> In Remean*no* ville Ric*ardu*m fflowre sub *con*dic*ione* q*uo*d conducet domu*m* de Co*mun*itate [179]

Richard Flower was given the job with the condition that he will 'conducet domu*m* de Co*mun*itate'. The specific meaning of this last phrase is debatable, but it is most likely that he was to keep safe or be a caretaker for properties owned by the civic government.[180] A less likely alternative might be that he was to provide safe conduct to the guildhalls, but even in the most socially and politically violent periods in the history of King's Lynn, this would have been an unlikely precaution to stipulate.

The next record that provides illuminating detail states that John Nesse could hold the position again as long as he not only kept the holdings of the community but also the common fleet better than the previous years.

> In Remean*no* ville Joh*ann*em Nesse sub condic*ione*s q*uo*d / erit fidel*iter* tenens Co*mun*itat*is* & soluet ut soluit Annis p*reteriter* & q*uo*d custod*ientes* co*mmunitat*em rivolam melior q*ua*m Annis p*reteriter* [181]

'Rivola' has been interpreted as 'fleet' given the number of streams and inlets named as such in King's Lynn. It is more likely that he was to keep the sewer gutters running down the middle of the main streets into the fleets clear from debris causing obstructions.

It should not be assumed that the conditions or parameters of the job entailed for one year were necessarily a valid description of the duties for the job in other years. Nevertheless, there was an implicit connection of some sort to the custodianship of buildings owned by the town.

> In remean*no* Joh*ann*em Palmer Wever Et condic*ione* q*uo*d solv*it* p*ro* iij[^*ibus*] ten*ementis* / in Baxterrowe nuper in tenura Joh*ann*is Nesse xxvj^{s} viij^{d} Annual*e* firme [182]

In this case we find that John Palmer, ordinarily a weaver, is paid in regard to three holdings in Baxter Row held by a previous Bellman, John Nesse. If Palmer was paid twenty six shillings and eight pence for his trouble, then it is most likely that he was not also given these properties, although he might have been given free lodging in one

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[179] KL/C/7/5, p. 62.
[180] 'Co*mun*itate' is used quite commonly in the chamberlains' accounts and the hall books to refer to matters of civic possession, whereas 'villa' is used to refer to the town as a whole.
[181] KL/C/7/5, p. 80.
[182] KL/C/7/5, p. 131.

of them. Yet, 'firme' does not only mean payment, but also more commonly 'rent' sometimes for a farm. Baxter Row is an unlikely place for a farm since it is in the middle of the merchant district — thus the likely possibility that he was to have had these buildings at the amount specified. This could relate back to the earlier idea of the bellman's guarding of doors and property.

That the bellman was a respected civic officer is in little doubt, nevertheless it is further substantiated by the purchase of livery for him in 1531/2.

> This daye also the mayer & Aldermen & comencounsell have aggreid that John Palmer Belman shal from hensforth / have a lyv*ery* to the value of xiij^{s} iiij^{d} so longe as the Court*es* shal remayn in the townz hand*es* & he to s*erve* / same Court as kryer to it [183]

This record is not as important for its agreement to purchase his livery as it is for the mention that he serves the town 'Court' as a 'kryer'. This reminds us once again of the necessarily performative nature of his duties. The processional and proclamatory natures of the bellman's duties may always have been present but simply assumed and thus not noted. The conditions then applied to his employment were not be definitive in themselves, but only additional responsibilities. As well, it is interesting to note the uncertainty at the time that the current obligations of local government were going to be stable: "so longe as the Court*es* shal remayn in the townz hand*es*".[184]

It should be assumed that the bellman carried out the normal duties relating to his job — the processional announcement of town meetings, decisions, important news and commemorating deaths. It is unknown how long the last element of these duties, that of remembering the dead, was continued. Eventually, after the 'bedeman' became a 'bellman', he might have stopped being associated with the 'bederoll' and his use as one who commemorated the dead and prayed for their souls ended.

The last extract of significant interest concerning the bellman is in 1535/6 when, again, additional duties of the bellman are noted.

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[183] KL/C/7/5, p. 280Av. This partial folio bound in at this point was unfoliated and, as it follows fol. 280, the foliation of 280A/280Av was agreed by the archivist.

[184] KL/C/7/5, p. 280Av. It is a blunt reminder of how evident the turbulent nature of the organisation of the political system was to the members of local governing bodies. In just over a decade Henry VIII would dissolve all the remaining guilds in King's Lynn, and give the majority of their property to the corporation, completely reorganising the town's governing structure.

> This day the mayer & aldermen have elect & chosen John Turnour in Belman & kep*er* of the drayn*es*[185] to Gaywod / & to se the swyn & catell so orderd thatt non [—of—] be sufferid to passe by the Stretes to the / noysanns of the Inh*ab*intannt*es* in as ample weyse as John Palm*er* late Belman hadde the samme office[186]

That the bellman now also became both the keeper of the drains, swine and cattle so that they did not become a nuisance to the inhabitants should not be thought to have happened suddenly. As seen earlier, one of the conditions of John Nesse's employment was the "custod*ientes* co*mmunitat*em rivolam melior q*uam* Annis p*reteriter*"[187] indicating that the keeping of the sewers, or fleets, was something which had been associated with the office since the beginning of the sixteenth century. The keeping of swine might be in reference to collecting or removing stray pigs and cattle from the street, but could also refer to the way in which the swine and cattle were brought into the market. A bull pen is known to have existed in the Tuesday Marketplace in the sixteenth century.[188]

There has, unfortunately, only been time and space for a cursory examination of the nature of this interesting civic position. Many questions concerning the bellman remain unanswered. Why did the terminology change? What were the specific duties of the bellman and to what degree were these performative? When was the act of commemoration lost from those duties? In what ways did the bellmen interact with, and represent, the civic authorities? Did, or did not, a system of patronage for lesser members of the corporate elite exist in the electing of minor officers? One fact that is safe to conclude is that in a time of explicit corporate self fashioning the patronage to this lesser, but necessarily performative civic officer, helped to define the manner in which the town viewed itself.

The King's Lynn Dragon

The use of 'dragons' in civic and guild processions is a common occurence in many places in England. Payments for their rental and maintenance, as well as for their operator's time have been noted in many of the *Records of Early English Drama*

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[185] The reading of the 'e' is uncertain, 'drayn*nes*' could also be intended, a small space with a very faint ink mark above exists at the position of the expanded letter. Neither the archivist nor I could distinguish the letter(s) clearly. While the spelling is questionable, the reading of the word, nevertheless, is certain.
[186] KL/C/7/5, p. 301.
[187] KL/C/7/5, p. 80.
[188] An enclosure for cattle is mentioned in a variety of civic documents, and shown on the earliest map of King's Lynn as in the Tuesday Marketplace, where it may have existed, but earlier references to the bullstake relate to St Margaret's Place.

volumes, including those for Chester, Coventry, Devon, Gloucester, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne and Norwich (1540-1642). These dragons were carried, wheeled or worn by someone: half costume and half machine.

Of all the processional dragons known about the one for which the most incidental expenses are recorded is from Norwich. Not only are numerous payment for the operator recorded, but payments for cloth, hoops and other construction materials, as well as decorations of fur, tails, ribbons and braid, which give the impression that these dragons were quite elaborate affairs.[189] Some eighteenth and nineteenth century dragon costumes survive to this day in Norwich, and if the earlier ones were of a similar type, they were very mechanically complex, involving wings that flapped and mouths that breathed fire and smoke.[190] There is a wheeled dragon in the *Luttrell Psalter*,[191] which could be a pageant dragon familiar to the artist.[192]

The first mention of the Dragon in the records of King's Lynn is in a congregation book of 1501/2 in which a burgess by the name of Thomas Bowesey is paid twenty shillings for the "rent of the dragon".[193] This payment is not listed with the other rentals, and although might have been because it was of an unusual character, it may simply have been because "yt is payed in thaccompte of Iohn Beulys late chamberleyn of lenn".[194] It would be a mistake to assume automatically that this is a processional dragon similar to Norwich's. Other possibilities exist, it could be referring to an inn called 'The Dragon'. No other record of something else with this name has survived, and this would be unusual given the comparative abundance of records surviving at King's Lynn. A later payment notes that "Thomas messe hath receeud this daye a Harness of clothe of gold & a Dragon to be kept to thuse of the Co*m*ens".[195] This implies the use of a processional dragon having been listed in an inventory forty seven years (1548/9) after the first payment. Whether this is for the same physical 'dragon' is unknown. An earlier King's Lynn archivist, Henry Harrod,

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[189] David Galloway *REED: Norwich 1540-1642* (Toronto: Records of Early English Drama, University of Toronto Press, 1984).
[190] Norwich's Dragon was called 'Snap'. Richard Lane, *Snap: The Norwich Dragon* (Norwich: Trend Litho, 1976), contains pictures of the surviving dragons, and much useful historical information.
[191] BL Additional MS 42130, fol. 184.
[192] Peter Meredith and John Marshall, 'The Wheeled Dragon in the *Luttrell Psalter*' *METh*, 2:2 (1980), 71-3.
[193] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 56.
[194] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 56. John Beulys had been chamberlain the previous year.
[195] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 61.

believed this to be part of the "spoils of the Guilds".[196] King's Lynn had both a Guild of St Margaret, as well as a Guild of St George the Martyr, both of which are obvious candidates for the origin of the dragon. Unfortunately, no records from these guilds survive.

The dragon motif is one which is inherent in the civic possessions of King's Lynn. The legend of St Margaret involves a dragon and the parish church is dedicated to her. The civic emblem is a dragon, and dragons' heads are found on the city's coat of arms. The blazon for the arms is "Asure, three dragons heads erased and erect, the jaws of each pierced with a cross-crosslet fitché or."[197] As mentioned in Chapter Two, the King's Lynn waits had enameled collars or 'Scochons' of dragon's heads, which are first mentioned in 1513/4.[198]

Little more can be known for certain concerning the dragon of King's Lynn. If it had played a central part in the processions, one would have expected to have found more references for its repair and operation, as in Norwich. This is entirely dependent on the unpredicable nature of the documents.

Conclusion

This chapter discussing the paradramatic activity in King's Lynn has continued from the previous one which described various aspects of the dramatic context from the rich and diverse instances of cultural expression found in the numerous surviving King's Lynn documents.

The differences between paradramatic and dramatic activity have been evident in the two chapters on King's Lynn. Travelling performers and the town waits in the last chapter can be compared with the equally performative acts of the bellman and Corpus Christi procession of this chapter. A very direct and physical approach to the procession was taken through the examination of the tabernacle, canopy, hearse and lights of the procession. The funding and route of the procession were studied in the context of the entertainment and guild feast.

These two chapters on King's Lynn have studied a number of dramatic and paradramatic activities through a number of types of documents from the King's Lynn archives. This has allowed a contextual cross comparison of information concerning

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[196] H. Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, p. 121.
[197] H. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, pp. 30-1.
[198] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 56.

individual events and entertainment, as well as the discussion of the context from which these were raised. King's Lynn has been found to be full of a rich and varied culture of entertainment, a large portion of which is centred around the formulation and delineation of civic self identity.

Chapter Four: Snettisham — Churchwardens' Accounts

Introduction

This chapter differs from the previous two concerning dramatic activity in King's Lynn as it constitutes a change of methodology. Whereas Chapters Two and Three attempted to make connections between documents and discover the social and documentary context of the activities, this chapter takes a more narrowed approach. In King's Lynn, researchers are fortunate in having a wealth of surviving primary documents and secondary material. In the case of Snettisham, a small rural village, there is significantly less secondary material and almost no extant primary documents. One document which does survive is a single volume of churchwardens' accounts dating from 1467/8 to 1581/2.[1] Other than seventeenth century field maps very little other primary documentary evidence survives.[2] Secondary material specifically dedicated to the history of Snettisham is, unsurprisingly, also very sparse.

Unlike King's Lynn, where the variety of documents encouraged an understanding of the town's history and institutions in order to facilitate cross-documentary comparison, this is not necessary or feasible with small rural villages such as Snettisham. Those details which are important to the study are discussed as they appear, nevertheless, some general details should be mentioned. Snettisham church itself is dedicated to Blessed Virgin Mary and normally had two

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[1] The document is deposited in the Norfolk Record Office as NRO: PD 24/1, and it is accompanied by a very unreliable twentieth century transcription, with the same classmark. Fresh transcriptions are provided in in Appendix Two, and are organised chronologically. Owing to the state of the manuscript, references are given with both the date and folio number. Strangely, J. Charles Cox states that: "There is a folio volume of wardens' accounts of Snettisham, extending from 1474 to 1536 and another from 1588 to 1661. They are both in the library of Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk." J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the fourteenth century to the close of the seventeenth century* (London: Methuen, 1913), p. 36. When the Lestrange family of Hunstanton Hall deposited the records in the Norfolk Record Office they were a single volume dating from 1467/8-1581/2, where the later folios have gone is unknown. The accounts were generally rendered every Lady Day (25 March).

[2] There are two maps, the first of which is too fragile to be available for public access, so was not able to be consulted. They are classified as NRO: Lestrange EP4 and NRO: Lestrange OA4 respectively.

churchwardens.[3] There were a handful of religious guilds and a guildhall in the town. There were a number of Lords who held lands within the boundaries of Snettisham, and even the city of King's Lynn owned land there.[4]

There are also records of a number of court cases which provide references to Snettisham during the period. The most interesting of these called one of the churchwardens, William Green, as a witness and provides information concerning the use of candles for Plough Monday, discussed later.[5]

The paucity of material gives rise to a different methodological approach. It is not feasible to select the name of a participant in local entertainment and then search for other records in related documents to discover more information concerning that individual. This was the approach taken to find out more about the early wait William Wylde in the King's Lynn records. This search is restricted to the churchwardens' accounts themselves — the context of the archive as a whole has become the context of a single document itself.

This churchwardens' codex is bound in a single volume and is foliated in an extremely irregular manner. It contains sections which are ordered chronologically but themselves are not always sequential. Additionally, one year's accounts may be

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[3] Blomefield's rambling but descriptive narrative follows an engraving of the church: "The church is dedicated to St. Mary, and stands on a hill, at a little distance eastward from the body of the town; it is a stately large building of flint, and freestone, built after a conventional manner, with a tower in the middle, between the nave and the chancel, is now diplapidated; and on this tower is a curious octangular spire of free-stone, seen at a great distance, and a sea mark, in which tower hangs 5 bells, and ornamented with 4 stone pinacles. Here was also a north and south transcept, but the first of these is in ruins. It has also a north and south aisle, with a large nave or body, all covered with lead; at the west end is the grand entrance, where is a *vestibulum*, with a bench of stone than runs the breadth of the nave, but narrow, and covered with a neat arch or canopy of free-stone.", Francis Blomefield, *An essay towards a topographical history of the county of Norfolk* ... (Fersfield: W.Whittingham, 1739-75), p. 1315. In respect to the windows he writes that "In the windows of the North isle were the arms of Inglethorp, Lord Valoins, Nevill, Lord Montacute, Lord Howard, Lord Bardolf, Lord Stafford, Bishop Spencer of Norwich, Cromwell, Lord Tatishall, Lord Fitzwalter, Montalt, Palgrave, Sharnborn, Shelton.", p. 1317.

[4] Information concerning the manors of: Down, Hacon, Sharnborn, Verli, Ingoldisthorpe, Windham Priory and Earl Warren, are available in the section on Snettisham in Blomefield, *Norfolk*, pp. 1309-1318. This section can also be referred to for a more detailed history of the town. For King's Lynn, see KL/C/50.

[5] cf. NRO: PD 24/1, 1514/5, fol. 36v and 1516/7-18/9, fol. 87v. William Grene was often a churchwarden and mentioned in numerous accounts. See also *Index to Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich and Now Preserved in the District Probate Registry at Norwich*, ed. by M.A. Farrow, *NRS*: XXI (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society and British Record Society, 1945-50), p. 78 for mention of a will from 1565 of a William Green, yeoman, from Snettisham (201 Marten). However, in his discussion of St Mary's church, Blomefield claims that "William Green, by his will, 1519, desires to be buried in the north ele, before St. James's altar, and gave 10 £ to the leading of that ele.", Blomefield, *Norfolk*, p. 1318. Unless Blomefield was mistaken about the date of Green's will, given that the court records him as older than 26 in 1532, it seems more probable that this is an earlier William Green, and that the churchwarden in question is that mentioned from 1565/6.

scattered over multiple locations throughout the volume. Attempting to establish the date of some records is problematic because of these irregularities and the Malone Society gives uncertain dates for a number of the records it transcribes. Careful examination and calculation from internal evidence has enabled corrections of a number of dates and found further support for some of the more tentative datings. The transcriptions in Appendix Two are organised chronologically, and owing to the state of the manuscript, references are given with both the date and folio to the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts (NRO: PD 24/1). Concerning the nature of the accounts, the Malone Society states that:

> The accounts have been carefully bound and repaired, and are quite legible. But they have been put together in no coherent chronological order. While it is usually possible to ascertain the date of an entry, when the receipts are separated from the expenses one must judge by internal evidence or by hand-writing and colour of ink. The problem is somewhat complicated by the fact that Snettisham regularly had two churchwardens who submitted separate accounts — even though they often record similar or identical payments — and the two accounts may not be bound together.[6]

In attempting to discover the nature of local entertainment, faced with a scarcity of surviving documents, scholars often proceed from the meagre records before them to form direct comparisons with similar activities from different times and places. The methodological uncertainties and obvious dangers of seeking this type of correlation are readily apparent and have been discussed in Chapter One. Additionally, the use of evidence from elsewhere in order to understand the records for entertainment in Snettisham would be mostly a reiteration of secondary material already available.[7] Instead this section seeks to examine closely the records relating to entertainment in this community in order to understand the details concerning the very specific re-enactment of these local events. To that end, this chapter has a very brief section on 'Plays and Stages' which is followed by a more lengthy section on 'Processions'. These are followed by sections on 'Mays', 'Games', the Snettisham 'Rockfeste',

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[6] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.

[7] See E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1903, repr. as single volume, New York: Dover, 1996), Ronald Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) and *The Stations of the Sun* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), and J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* 3 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1749) amongst many others.

'Dances', 'Lights', 'Ploughs', 'Ales', 'Gatherings' and 'Christmas Lords'.[8] A thematic analysis of the records for these events within the context of the document will help in understanding the entertainment in Snettisham during this period.

Plays and Stages

There are a few mentions of 'stages' in the churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham and yet, given their context and proximity to expenses for building materials they are probably examples of the word 'stage' referring to scaffolding.[9] This sense is very common at this time and has always been a source of frustration for those looking for references to early drama. Even seemingly unproblematic records such as the expense from 1485/6 for nine pence "for Costys of ye plays"[10] highlight the assumptions we tend to make concerning the language of such records. While 'plays' in this sense may certainly refer to some sort of dramatic performance — and this is just the meaning scholars of early drama naturally desire to read into such records — it is just as likely if not more probable that it refers to some sort of game or sport-related entertainment.[11] That it is an expense for some sort of playing is not in doubt, but whether its pluralised objective use implies dramatic performance as we understand it is impossible to establish. It may be that there were a few plays of some sort performed by travelling, or local, performers in Snettisham, but the nature of the plays is unknown.

Numerous pastimes are called 'plays' and people are said to 'play at' any number of things. For example, although it is outside the scope of this study, the problem is illustrated by the visitation of Bishop Redman in 1597/8 which mentions 'play'. The entire visitation report reads:

> -*Robert Evererd, William Gorthe*, churchwardens. The church is not repayred.
> -Randulph Dott, vicar. For not wearing the surples. [Said] that he have and doe weare the surples.
> -John Welling. He cometh not orderlye to church & hath not receaved the comunion one whole yeare past. *Non comp. ideo*

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[8] These sections have been determined based on the types of entertainments found in the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts and should not imply that these were the only types of entertainment which took place — only the ones recorded in this document.

[9] See R.R. Wright, *Medieval Theatre in East Anglia* (Unpublished M.Litt Thesis, University of Bristol, 1971) p. 66, as well as pp. 62-67 for other transcriptions. The term 'stages' referring to scaffolding will also be considered in relation to its appearance in the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts in Chapter Six.

[10] NRO: PD 24/1, 1485/6, fol. 71.

[11] cf., J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 267-86.

> *excom.*
> -Richard Yaxley. He suffereth mens servaunts & children to playe at his howse in service tyme. [Ordered to do penance.]
> -Thomas Wraske. He deteyneth a legacy of iij^{s} iiij^{d} geven by John Allison to the church of Snettisham. *Non comp. ideo excom.* [10 December Marmaduke Chomlie appeared and sought absolution for Wraske producing acquittance for the said 3^{s} 4^{d} under the hand of Everard and Gorthe.][12]

In this case, that Richard Yaxley allows men's servants and children to play at his house while the service is in progress, certainly does not imply any type of performance, simply childhood pursuits. Other than the possible reference in 1485/6, mentioned above, there are no certain references to traditional drama or theatre in the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts. In spite of this lack of mimetic drama, there are a great number of events and activities which evince a great variety of entertainment.

Processions

By far the most common types of record of paradramatic activity surviving from Snettisham are those concerning processions. Within this set of records it is possible to perceive a difference between the processions of Snettisham, and those of other towns. The most frequently recurring entertainment-related entry in the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts is a payment for the Ingoldisthorpe procession. Ingoldisthorpe is barely half a mile south of Snettisham. A payment for "ye cost*es* of ingaldisthorp p*ro*cession"[13] is recorded in the majority of extant accounts from 1467/8 to 1559/60. That this procession continued for nearly a century is of interest in itself, and yet, more remarkable is that the tradition is recorded almost every single year with extreme regularity. An event such as this procession must have formed an important part of the activities of the parishioners of Ingoldisthorpe and, given the proximity, Snettisham as well. The procession generally cost the churchwardens of Snettisham an average of six pence, although at times their contribution was as low as two pence.

The nature of their contribution is a confusing matter. A number of the payments stipulate that this was for "brede & ale f*or* Ingaldisthorp p*ro*cession".[14] On the face of it, it is strange that the churchwardens of Snettisham would be paying for bread and ale for processioners from Ingoldisthorpe. The processioners could easily

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[12] *Diocese of Norwich: Bishop Redman's Visitation, 1597; presentments in the archdeaconries of Norwich, Norfolk, and Suffolk*, ed. by J.F. Williams, *NRS*: XVIII (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1946), p. 86.
[13] NRO: PD 24/1, 1469/70, fol. 60v.
[14] NRO: PD 24/1, 1509/10, fol. 85.

provide their own sustenance. Although, as a reward for the Ingoldisthorpe processioners, Snettisham may have provided them with bread and ale.

In any case, "payments for breade and dryncke for yngalstorp men"[15] suggests that it was likely to have been a procession which began in Ingoldisthorpe and that the sustenance was for those from Ingoldisthorpe, not Snettisham. While it was not necessarily the case, it is most probable that the procession went from Ingoldisthorpe to Snettisham. If the procession was simply in Ingoldisthorpe then it would have been even more unusual for the churchwardens of Snettisham to contribute.[16] A payment of twenty pence "for v processyonerys"[17] following the payment for the procession also supports the idea of the procession coming from Snettisham to Ingoldisthorpe. In addition, this may indicate that the number of sanctioned processioners was in some way limited. The procession might only have had five sanctioned members, and others would only have accompanied it unofficially. And yet, 'processyonerys' in this case may refer simply to books of instructions for processions or processional candles purchased for use in the procession.

There is not the detailed scope within these records to fully understand whether this procession had both sanctioned and unsanctioned aspects. Other processions were recorded with similar nature to that of Ingoldisthorpe, for example, six and a half pence was "payd for bred & ale for Sharnbrun p*ro*cessyon".[18] Additionally, it should be noted that the Ingoldisthorpe payments sometimes stipulate "yngalstorp men".[19] Nevertheless, the use of the word 'men', does not necessarily imply that there was a ban on participation by women as the use may be gender neutral. These records indicate that the bread and ale was not intended for attendees from Snettisham but Ingoldisthorpe, whether or not the procession is in Snettisham or Ingoldisthorpe.

The possibility remains that the procession only took place in Ingoldisthorpe, with or without visitors from Snettisham. If this hypothesis explains the nature of the payments, it would suggest the possibility that they refer to people performing the function of banns-criers — collecting in advance for an event to take place in

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[15] NRO: PD 24/1, 1541/2, fol. 111v.
[16] In this discussion the proximity of Ingoldisthorpe should be remembered, half a mile away is a very short distance in rural communities.
[17] NRO: PD 24/1, 1544/5, fol. 116.
[18] NRO: PD 24/1, 1494/5, fol. 78v.
[19] NRO: PD 24/1, 1541/2, fol. 111v.

Ingoldisthorpe.[20] This is unlikely because of the specific nature of the payments being for bread and ale for the procession. Additionally, there are instances of separate payments for each of these consumables. If the churchwardens of Snettisham were donating towards another town's procession, they would not stipulate some part of the money to be for bread and another portion for ale. What cause would they have to specify the use of the donation at all? If they were simply donating to a procession taking place in another town, then it would be more probable that they would contribute a flat sum.

Other options exist for the nature of this procession. The payments could easily be explained if the procession came from Ingoldisthorpe to Snettisham and this is quite probable. If a procession from Ingoldisthorpe came up to the boundary between Snettisham and Ingoldisthorpe, then this would be an arena for intercommunal celebrations. Another possibility is that the Ingoldisthorpe procession passed through Snettisham on its way elsewhere. In each of these three cases the payments for bread and ale would be explained by a celebratory respite in or near Snettisham. It is unlikely that the procession originated in Snettisham and went to Ingoldisthorpe because of the payments to the "yngalstorp men".[21]

If it is possible to establish when this procession took place, we may be able to understand more concerning its nature. Fortunately, a few surviving records indicate that the bread and ale was "for Ingaldisthorp p*ro*cession in Cros weke"[22] and that "drynke for yngalsthorpe p*ro*cessyon att ye rogatyon*es* dayes" was provided.[23] As these both refer to the Monday - Wednesday before Ascension Thursday it is likely that this is when the procession took place. The situating of this procession as a Rogationtide event strengthens the possibility that these communities were beating the boundaries of their parishes.[24] Since Snettisham and Ingoldisthorpe are in such close proximity to one another, meeting at the border would be a natural time and place for their events to overlap, and be used as a pretext for games of friendly rivalry.[25] While this is an attractive hypothesis, there is no direct evidence to support it.

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[20] See Bruce Moore, 'The Banns in Medieval Drama', *LSE*, N.S. 24 (1993), 91-123, cf. E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I: p. 140

[21] NRO: PD 24/1, 1541/2, fol. 111v.

[22] 1516/7-18/9, fol. 87v.

[23] NRO: PD 24/1, 1528/9, fol. 94.

[24] cf., J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 263-5 and Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: p. 197.

[25] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 277-287.

In editing the records of Snettisham, the Malone Society decided not to edit a whole series of fairly repetitive payments "ffor schafts on holy thorssdey".[26] These have been transcribed and edited for this thesis in an attempt to determine more concerning the procession. Some of the records are more specific and indicate that the payment is indeed "for beryng of ye chaft*es* in holy thursdaye".[27] The Malone Society claims that a payment such as this "always follows the annual payment to the Ingaldsthorpe procession".[28] It also believed that these entries were in some way related. As Holy Thursday is Ascension Day, (the Thursday immediately after the Rogation days mentioned above) this is a tempting connection to make. The Malone Society wondering "whether the two payments were related, or whether the shafts were for vexillators"[29] alerts the readers of the Snettisham records to this possibility, and colours the way in which the records are then read. Such a connection is not fully justified.

As the Malone Society chose to exclude these payments for bearing of shafts, the original document had to be consulted in order to find out anything about them.[30] It turns out, contrary to what the Malone Society claims, that these records do not always follow the records for the Ingoldisthorpe procession — they are not always the very next payment. Although they do occur in a majority of the years in which the procession is recorded, they do not always appear in those years in which it is mentioned. Additionally, they are found in years where there is no record of the procession. Hence, any argument based solely on the appearance (or lack) of these records together is ill-founded because of the unpredictability of unreliably compiled accounts.[31]

If we examine the content of the records for the bearing of shafts, whatever these shafts may be, all that we can tell for certain is that they were carried at various

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[26] NRO: PD 24/1, 1488/9, fol. 73v.
[27] NRO: PD 24/1, 1469/70, fol. 60v.
[28] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.
[29] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.
[30] It should be noted that many records have been left out of the Malone Society's volume not because of the laxity of the editors but because of the strictness of the Society's publication policies at the time.
[31] There are a number of payments which are often found immediately preceding the payments for the Ingoldisthorpe procession, which record a small amount spent "for the oblacyo*n* for ye bene*f*actore*s*". NRO: PD 24/1, 1558/9, fol. 4. It has been decided not to edit these, as they were found to contain no additional contextual information.

times.[32] The bearing of shafts is also accounted for in payments for the town's own procession. One entry records a payment of twelve pence "for beryng of schaft*es* y*a*t tyme"[33] when the previous series of payments are all costs for the St Edmund's procession — Snettisham's own procession.

> In p*r*imis for y*e* schaft*es* of holy Thursday — iiij^{d}
> It*em* for Ingaldysthorp p*ro*cessyon — vj^{d}
> It*em* for washyng [—y*a*t—] ageyn Sent Edm*u*nd — x^{d}
> It*em* for mendyng of surples y*a*t tyme — xij^{d}
> It*em* for a lambe — x^{d}
> It*em* for beryng of schaft*es* y*a*t tyme — xij^{d} [34]

These costs include the payment 'for washyng [—y*a*t—] ageyn Sent Edm*u*nd' and 'for mendyng of surples y*a*t tyme' indicating that it was an important if not highly ceremonial event. The churchwardens' accounts, despite being badly compiled, in some instances place connected records next to one another and indicate that they refer to the same time. There are numerous other records referring to 'Sent Edmund' including others "for Costys at seynt Edmundys"[35] and "to ye young men for beryng ther shaft*es* to Sent Edm*u*nd*es*".[36] It is possible that these 'shafts' were the ones intended for carrying on holy Thursday which the Malone Society associated with the Ingoldisthorpe procession. The mention of 'shafts' in both sets of records is not enough to support an argument in either direction. In 1475/6 three pence is "payd for a lyne to ye menies schaftes".[37] The word 'menies' should be understood as 'men's' since it has been seen throughout the accounts as such.[38] Unfortunately the churchwardens' accounts do not provide answers as what this line to the shafts was or what its function might have been.

Examining the records for other occurrences of the St Edmund's procession turns up a number of additional mentions which may help us to understand the context of the procession. Most notably, there is an expense of three shillings in 1514/15 "p*ro* p*ro*cessio*n*e usq*ue* Capella*m* S*a*nc*t*i Ed*mund*i".[39]

Where was this chapel of St Edmund? To begin with, there is the improbable

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[32] Shafts were carried in the King's Lynn Corpus Christi procession, see Chapter Three, and will be discussed in relation to the records for Tilney All Saints in Chapter Six. They appear often with those for carrying banners, canopies, feretories, and other processional items.
[33] NRO: PD 24/1, 1480/1, fol. 69.
[34] NRO: PD 24/1, 1480/1, fol. 69.
[35] 1488/9, 73v.
[36] 1500/1-2/3, fol. 80v.
[37] 1475/6, 65v.
[38] cf. *MED*.
[39] NRO: PD 24/1, 1514/5, fol. 86.

possibility that this was a procession to Bury St Edmund's. Although fifteenth century Norfolk spawned many extreme examples of devotional enterprise, it is unlikely that the residents of Snettisham were regularly making a miniature pilgrimage of about 50 miles. Even if this were explained in the light of fifteenth century East Anglian affective piety or a few zealous representatives for the town it would be difficult to accept. A single year's procession there, or even a few scattered years, could be conceived of in these terms, it would have been a bit excessive to have done so almost solidly every year for nearly a century. Nevertheless, that this is beyond belief is also indicative of our own period's secular cynicism.[40]

There are also records "for the Costys to [—scb—] Sce*n*t Edmund*es* in p*ro*cessione"[41] which in some cases stipulate the provision of a lamb. These are almost always found within the context of other expenses for the St Edmund's procession. A compiled list of examples of payments for lambs helps in understanding their function.

> 1467/8: Item for j lambe to Seynt Edm*u*nde*s* — xij^{d}
> 1469/70: Item for a lambe to Seynt Edmunde*s* — xij^{d}
> 1480/1: It*em* for a lambe — x^{d}
> 1488/9: It*em* for j lambe to seynt Edmundys — viij^{d}
> 1499: It*em* pa*y*d f*or* a lamb offeryng at sent Edm*u*nde*s* — viij^{d} [42]

The Malone Society does not edit all of these records which leads to its confusion as to the use of this lamb.

> In the fifteenth century, there are always additional unspecified expenses for the Feast of St. Edmund's, and in most years a lamb is also bought — though the records do not indicate what was done with it. (One lamb would hardly suffice for a dinner.)[43]

The confusion is heightened by the omission of a payment from 1499/1500 "f*or* a lamb offeryng at sent Edm*u*nde*s*".[44] Because of this oversight, the reader is only left with the sardonic suggestion that the lamb was intended as a meal. As this payment makes clear, these and other similar records should be considered as expenses for a devotional offering at the chapel itself. To say that 'there are always additional unspecified expenses' throughout the fifteenth century is overstating their regularity.

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[40] See also Gail McMurray Gibson, *Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 19-47.
[41] NRO: PD 24/1, 1521/2, fol. 89v.
[42] NRO: PD 24/1, 1467/8, fol. 59; 1469/70, fol. 60v; 1480/1, fol. 69; 1488/9, fol. 73v; 1499/1500, fol. 79.
[43] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.
[44] NRO: PD 24/1, 1499/1500, fol. 79.

It should not be assumed that because the churchwardens' accounts record some expenses towards this procession that they were responsible for the whole of the cost. In the records of 1500/1-2/3 two shillings and eight pence are "payd at Sent Edm*un*d*es* besyd ye gad*er*yng of Snetisham".[45] In 1503/4 an even more revealing record notes that four shillings and four pence were spent "in Costis of the p*ro*cession to Sent Edm*un*d*es* / besyd the gaderyng of the town".[46] It is clear from these records that the churchwardens were supplementing the cost of the procession based on how much money was collected at Snettisham — 'besyd' being used in the sense of 'in addition to'. That the first record states that the money is 'payd at Sent Edm*un*d*es*' which indicates that the location is external to the town, and that the payment was made there. Yet, whether the gathering was made in the town prior to the procession, which is more likely, or at St Edmund's itself is unknown.

These records are useful in that they provide more information concerning the devotional context of the procession. And yet, they do not help us determine the location, route, or terminus of this procession. The clue to its whereabouts may be contained in a set of records, also not edited by the Malone Society, from 1491/2.

> It*em* for washyng ageyn sent Edm*un*d*es* — x^{d}
> It*em* payd to ye vykyr of honstant*un* ffor a lombe — x^{d} [47]

That this record for the lamb purchased from the vicar of Hunstanton follows directly on from a record concerning the St Edmund's procession, suggests that the other lambs purchased for the St Edmund's celebrations may have come from this source. That the lamb was used in a devotional offering in a chapel of St Edmund's is reasonable, but purchasing this lamb from 'ye vykyr of honstant*un*' is unlikely unless the procession was bound there or nearby. The cost of this lamb is similar to the others specifically cited as being for the procession, which strengthens the likelihood of a relationship between them.

Hunstanton, certainly, is more reasonable a location to process to, in which a lamb was purchased from the local vicar for devotional purposes. This would also have saved the parishioners from transporting the lamb with them. Hunstanton is only about five miles up the coast from Snettisham, which places it well within walking distance. Early *Ordnance Survey* and historical maps indicate a Saint Edmund's point

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[45] NRO: PD 24/1, 1500/1-2/3, fol. 80v.
[46] NRO: PD 24/1, 1503/4, fol. 83.
[47] NRO: PD 24/1, 1491/2, fol. 75.

and the remains of a chapel. While little information survives concerning the ruins, an earlier description of it was found in Blomefield's *Topographical History of... Norfolk.*

> By the sea side on the cliff stands some remains of the old chapel of St. Edmund, built chiefly of the chalk-stone out of the cliff; it had one window, on the north side to the sea, with a north door, and a door on the south side, with 3 windows, and one at the east end: it is now all open, a great part of the walls which were about five feet thick being dilapidated, and seems to have been built about the reign of Ed. I. [48]

It is very likely that this may be the chapel to which the parishioners or their representatives processed. If the St Edmund's procession was on the Feast of the translation of St Edmund or was indeed during Rogationtide, then it would almost always have been during the early summer.[49] This would have made this procession a significantly enjoyable outing which might have helped to ensure its continuity for nearly a century.[50]

Why did this community have such a devotion to St Edmund, and why would they process such a distance to this chapel? This is best answered by discovering why there was a chapel to St Edmund at this location. The reason is that it was believed that when he was brought from Saxony before being crowned he landed near Hunstanton and later built a residence there.

> The part landed, not, as one might have expected somewhere near Orford or Caister, but righ round the Norfolk coast at Maidensbure by Hunstanton , where in later years Edmund built a royal residence.[51]

Whether those processing from Snettisham to St Edmund's chapel near Hunstanton believed that the chapel was a remnant of this royal residence will never be known. If they did believe this, it does not matter to the pure spectacle that such a procession would have been. It may be that the thirteenth century ruin, which stands there to this day, was built on or near the site of an earlier chapel. In any case, that their devotion

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[48] Blomefield, *Norfolk*, p. 1275

[49] The feast of St Edmund's translation is on the 29 April, and would be another possibility for the time of the procession, although the records seem to indicate Rogationtide more strongly. Another option, of course, was the proper Feast of St Edmund, which is on the 20 November, but there is nothing in the records to support this aside from the name of the procession.

[50] It should be stated that no reference to this procession has been found in the household accounts of the Lestrange family of Hunstanton, but this would not necessarily be expected unless they were involved. Other references to Snettisham, and especially its market, do appear in the Lestrange accounts.

[51] Bryan Houghton, *Saint Edmund — King and Martyr* (Lavenham: Terence Dalton ltd., 1970), p. 16.

to this East Anglian royal saint inspired a tradition of annual processions to worship at this chapel on the cliffs of Hunstanton for more than a century stands in testament to both the piety and paradramatic activity of this town. That East Anglians should feel so strongly about a royal saint with connections to their own area is not unusual and might have had roots in St Edmund's own time.

> The curious prevalence of devotion to royal saints in East Anglia (notably absent in Devon and the West Country, for example) is directly traceable to the character of Anglo-Saxon Christianity in the region, and the management of royal cults in the pre-Conquest church to strengthen the monarchy or the great religious houses whose royal founders and foundresses formed the centre of such cults.[52]

This procession gave the villagers of Snettisham a very real and physical link to a royal saint. In a similar manner as relics themselves were viewed a imbued with the spiritual power of a particular saint, by returning to this location, which they may have believed (to some degree mistakenly) that the saint had himself prayed, the sense of physicality of their devotion to him is emphasised. Not only is the nature of the chapel itself in doubt, but also the form of the procession itself.

The relation of this St Edmund's procession to the Ingoldisthorpe procession is possibly quite complex, if both processions were indeed in Rogationtide. Whether the parishioners from Ingoldisthorpe joined those from Snettisham on this procession to the seaside is unknown.[53] The procession route would have passed by or through Heacham, whose accounts unfortunately are not extant.

If the St Edmund's procession did take place in Rogationtide then it corresponds generally to the same time at which the Ingoldisthorpe procession took place. Even if they were unconnected it certainly points to an active period of procession based entertainment. Whether these processions were intercommunity events, as is suggested by the records, cannot be firmly established. Nonetheless, it is probable, especially given the nature of intermingling that has happened in records concerning other types of entertainment, that there was a degree of participation by other communities.

Mays

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[52] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 166

[53] There may have been secular aspects to a procession to the seaside, but there are no records indicating anything other than a religious procession.

That processions ventured to and from other nearby communities is not much of a surprise when the records for Mays are compared.[54] Numerous records survive for payments for the costs of a variety of communities' May festivals. They are often similar in format to the 1475/6 expense of eight pence towards the May of Heacham: "It*em* payd for cost*es* of hecham maye".[55] Exactly what took place at these Mays might never be firmly established, and most likely varied significantly in different locations and times.[56]

There are a number of instances of records for other towns' Mays in a single year. This suggests that it was possible to attend all of them. Viewing the record in this sense implies that it should be interpreted as an expense incurred at the May. This is possible as representatives from Snettisham could attend different towns' Mays separately or together in sequence given their propinquity. The other towns mentioned in relation to Mays in the Snettisham records are Bircham, Dersingham, Fring, Heacham, Sedgeford and Shernborne. Heacham is the most frequently recorded overall, but was more commonly attended through the late fifteenth century. During the early sixteenth century it was the Mays in Sedgeford and Shernborne which were most popular, except from 1520/1 - 1536/7 when the Bircham May was more commonly attended. At this point the records related to other towns' Mays stop completely.

That these were indeed expenses incurred at the May in another town is not certain. An equally possible interpretation is that there might have existed an equivalent of banns-criers who were visiting the surrounding villages collecting in advance of the May for its costs. This possibility has been raised in relation to the Ingoldisthorpe procession, and it is certainly possible that May games could be perceived as Christian charity — the proceeds from Snettisham's own May go towards the maintenance of its church. If there were representatives who were sent out collecting for a town's May they would only be able to collect within a certain geographic radius. Presumably this would have encompassed only those towns whose

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[54] It should be stressed that fifteenth and sixteenth century May festivals were quite different from modern traditions, most of which appear to date from the late sevententh and eighteenth centuries. In addition these May festivals and games did not always take place in the month of May, see Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 226-243, cf. E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I: pp. 160-81 and Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: pp. 212-42.

[55] NRO: PD 24/1, 1475/6, fol. 27v.

[56] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 226-261.

population might possibly attend, as other towns would be less likely to donate.[57]

That the villagers of Snettisham might be attending the Mays of other towns does not necessarily help to support the argument of the payments going to representatives collecting for another town's May. While the records do sometimes state it was for the "cost*es*"[58] of the other town's May, if the population were attending another town's May, then the gathering could easily be done at the May itself — the attendees paying either an entrance fee or donating towards the cost of consumables in some manner. Nevertheless, if it were for purchase of goods to be expended or consumed at the May, then a significant portion of the financial outlay might need to be gathered in advance of the celebration as the town in question might not be able to support the whole cost before the event itself.

The nature of the payments suggests that they were not made to representatives collecting for another town's May — as was the case with the records for processions. Some of the records for the Mays of the surrounding villages stipulate that they were "for brede & ale to Hecham [or some other town's] maye".[59] These records appear in numerous years and often when no other donation or similar payment is noted. It is unlikely that the churchwardens of Snettisham would have paid towards the bread and ale of the banns-criers and not record any other donation in those years. One possibility is that the churchwardens donated bread and ale to the banns-criers who were collecting donations from the citizens. No record would be expected to have survived of personal donations by the townsfolk, and this adequately explains the records themselves. If the payment is recording a donation by the churchwardens, then it is remarkable that the churchwardens of Snettisham would have been indicating that the money was only to be used for bread and ale, rather than simply having donated a flat sum. This said, it is possible that the nature of the celebrations demanded only initial outlay for these items.

Another possibility is that the records are for food to be consumed before, or during, the walk to the May, or at the May itself by the villagers of Snettisham. The churchwardens of Snettisham would then have been providing bread and ale not for the May itself, but for its own villagers at the May, or to some communal collection for all who attended. In discussing this, Hutton believes that:

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[57] See also Bruce Moore, 'The Banns in Medieval Drama', 91-110.
[58] NRO: PD 24/1, 1487/8, fol. 72v.
[59] NRO: PD 24/1, 1508/9, fol. 84v. Editorial insertion is mine.

> Ale itself was, of course, always brewed and sometimes, as at Snettisham in Norfolk, only bread added to it.[60]

One of the problems with Hutton's argument, (which continues on to discuss the recorded feasts elsewhere) is that it assumes that because only bread and ale were recorded, that the townspeople were consuming only these items! While he makes this assumption based on a strict desire not to assume anything not specifically indicated by the records, it is flawed because he disregards alternative possibilities. The most obvious of these is that the townsfolk themselves provided the rest of the ingredients and the churchwardens provided only the ale and bread. Simply because the records state that these were provided does not in any way make it a necessary that these were the only constituents of the menu. The records themselves do not help to clarify this as they were intended for strictly accounting purposes and not to render information about the nature of the entertainment itself or food associated with it. Hence, there is very little in the records that is concerned with other towns' Mays which would indicate the content of the celebration itself.

Snettisham's own May also features prominently in the churchwardens' accounts. For purposes of economic comparison, while the churchwardens gave from two to fifteen pence towards a number of surrounding Mays, their own May often provided them with between fifteen to thirty five shillings, and once over fifty three shillings. If other towns were garnering anywhere near this amount of money, and if surrounding towns also donated similar amounts to those mentioned in the Snettisham records they would still have been far short of this revenue. It would be logical then that some form of gathering took place at the May itself, probably including the sale of food and drink, but possibly also including the wagers on games, sports, or Robin Hood collections of the type seen elsewhere in the country.[61]

This was obviously a significant source of revenue and there are few expenses recorded outside of the production of ale, and the 'aspysing', the searching out and/or retrieving of, a May 'rode'.[62] Whether or not the payment of two shillings to the churchwarden "John Audeley for a tree"[63] was also for a May 'rode' is unknown. The

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[60] Ronald Hutton, *Merry England*, p. 29. It should be noted that Hutton reproduces this discussion, word for word, in *Stations of the Sun*, p. 246.
[61] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 270-4.
[62] NRO: PD 24/1, 1500/1-2/3, fol. 81, 'aspysing' = 'seeking out'. Many of the senses are of discovery of something hidden or covert observation.
[63] NRO: PD 24/1, 1510/1, fol. 35v, cf. 2 November 1547, fol. 120v.

tree was significantly expensive to suggest that it had nothing to do with May festival. This is corroborated by an expense of only seven pence in 1536/7 "for the maye rodde".[64] John Audeley was a churchwarden, and although he was involved with other entertainment such as the Rockfeste, this does not mean that all records involving him are of such a nature.

There are only a few other records concerning Snettisham's own May which are not simple receipts "de Maye money".[65] One record, while tantalisingly vague, provides a clue to at least one of the activities of the May: "It*em* payd ffor mendyng of sadyll hurt i*n* ye maye — vj^{d}".[66] In what way, and to what extent, the saddle was damaged in the May games is unknown, but it highlights that these activities must have not only involved saddles (and one assumes animals such as horses to place them on), but also that they were put to use in some way in which they could have been damaged.[67] What sport or other entertainment might damage a saddle and why the churchwardens were paying to have it repaired is also unknown — numerous entertaining possibilities present themselves.

There is another expense for the May in 1486/7 which was overlooked by the Malone Society, "It*em* pandoxat*ori* ad le maye vj^{d}".[68] Given that a 'pandoxator' was a 'brewer' his attendance at the May is easily understandable. Whether he was responsible only for brewing the ale, or also distributing it, is not recorded but the payment of six pence suggests that it was not simply an expense of a single drink. Perhaps the churchwardens were treating a number of the villagers to some ale, or more likely were paying towards the expenses of the brewer since much of the proceeds were returning to them in any case.

There is a record in 1515/16 which states: "It*em* solut*is* p*ro* punct*is* duob*us* vicib*us* p*ro* le Maye — vj^{d}".[69] While tantalising, this is another record which piques a reader's curiosity but leaves little room for explanation. While there are a variety of possible meanings for 'punct*is*' in Medieval Latin, including those related to sewing and the making of incisions, which are also Middle English uses, a likely sense in this

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[64] NRO: PD 24/1, 1536/7, fol. 40.
[65] NRO: PD 24/1, 1515/6-18/9, fol. 87v.
[66] NRO: PD 24/1, 1486/7, fol. 72.
[67] The use of animals is an easy but possibly fallacious assumption since saddles do have uses where no animals are involved, for example, in connection with traditions of bearing someone on top of a rush cart. There is no indication from the records of such a tradition existing in Snettisham.
[68] NRO: PD 24/1, 1486/7, fol. 30v.
[69] NRO: PD 24/1, 1515/6, fol. 86v.

context is that of a passage of time, normally a quarter or fifth of an hour.[70] Other than that these 'punct*is* duob*us* vicib*us*' were 'p*ro* le Maye' and cost six pence, there is little else this record can tell us.

This discussion has purposefully separated references to Mays and those to 'games' as they are not mentioned as 'may games'. It is tempting for scholars of early drama to want to link these two types of events and assume that these games were related to May celebrations. It should not be assumed that these games involved some sort of dramatic representation or were nothing more than sports of one type or another.

Games

Only seven specific references to 'games' have been found and transcribed from the Snettisham churchwardens accounts. Whether these are different from the activities generally associated with May festivals is not known.[71] In examining the records themselves there is little to enlighten the reader. All of the records, save one, are 'payd for', 'for costys' or 'payd at' a specific town's game. Again the question is raised as to whether this was a donation given in advance of the game or an expense incurred at the game. Unlike the previous records concerning intercommunal entertainment, the type of contribution is not detailed — it is not mentioned whether it was for bread and ale. The seven records in question are set out below.

1468/9: Item payd for cost*es* of Brycham game — xiiij^{d}
1475/6: It*em* payd for Ryngstede game — ij^{d}
1485/6: It*em* for ye ballys at hecham — ij^{d}
1488/9: It*em* for Costys of docking game — ij^{d} [—^{ob}—]
1489/90: It*em* payd ffor cost*es* of Walfyrton[72] game — v^{d}
1491/2: It*em* ffor Costys off fryng game — v^{d}
1491/2: It*em* payd at ffryng game — xiiij^{d} [73]

All of these towns (Bircham, Docking, Fring, Heacham, and Ringstead) except for Wolverton are also mentioned in relation to other intercommunal celebrations. This is not surprising considering that these towns are within a short distance of Snettisham. What is interesting is that in none of these records of games and Mays is Ingoldisthorpe mentioned. That community is only mentioned in respect to its

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[70] The use of 'vicib*us*' as referring simply to a number of times is quite common in the accounts.
[71] cf., E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I: p. 148.
[72] The Malone Society mistranscribes this as 'Walsyrton', whereas Walfyrton = Wolverton.
[73] NRO: PD 24/1, 1468/9, fol. 60v; 1475/6, fol. 65v; 1485/6, fol. 71; 1488/9, fol. 73v; 1489/90, fol. 74v; 1491/2, fol. 77.

procession. The only record which does give more of a clue concerning the nature of these games is from 1485/6 when two pence is paid "for ye ballys at hecham".[74] While this is not linked explicitly with other games-related payments it is of a similar amount, and of a similar format. The possible connection would help to explain what went on at these games. If this was indeed for a ball game of some sort, as is suggested, then a query still remains as to whether the expense was for the balls themselves, a contribution towards expenses of the game, or some cost incurred through attendance or participation — such as a wager.

Whether the games quoted above came from other towns to Snettisham, were played at the remote town, or some location between the two is unable to be clearly established. It is probable from this reading of the records that it refers to expenses incurred at the remote location, for example, the Heacham ball game. Likewise then, the remaining game-related expenses might have been of a similar nature.

Rockfeste[75]

One of the most intriguing sets of records edited by the Malone Society is its transcriptions of the entertainment known as the Snettisham Rockfeste. In the introduction to the transcriptions from this town the Malone Society mentions the Snettisham Rockfeste.

> Snettisham can lay claim to having the world's first 'rock festival', which dates in these records from 1474. Whatever the tradition behind this 'Rockfeste' was, it seems not to have been much different from modern ones, featuring as it did music and dancing. It was a source of considerable income to the church.[76]

In researching more about the nature of this Rockfeste, the assertions made in the Malone Society's introduction are a good starting point. The Malone Society states its similarity to modern rock festivals, 'featuring as it did music and dancing'. Yet, none of the records which specifically mention the Rockfeste also describe it as having music and dancing. In reality, they are little more than statements recording how much money the event raised for the church.

These records are often surrounded by other receipts, some of which contain

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[74] NRO: PD 24/1, 1485/6, fol. 71. It should be noted that there are other possible meanings of 'ballys' including a staff or rod (from 'baleis') which may not be associated with games, but the *MED* does not give the 'ballys' spelling as a known variant for those meanings.
[75] 'Rockfeste' is used for consistency in spelling. The records also give 'Rokfest', 'Rocfest' and 'Rockefest'.
[76] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.

references to dancing. In 1474/5, the Rockfeste record is surrounded by receipts from individuals, guilds and dances.

> Item ffrom Willelmo Wade — j^{d}
> Item ffrom Gilda sancti iohannis — x^{d}
> Item ffrom Gilda sancte Anne — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
> Item ffrom Markette dauns — iiij^{s}
> Item ffrom Nortyn hylle Rokfest — x^{s}
> Item ffrom Sutton hylle dauns — vj^{s} viij^{d}
> Item ffrom Norton hylle dauns — xxvj^{s} viij^{d} [77]

There are a number of other personal donations like William Wade's which are small enough that they are unlikely to be significant. The guilds contribute in many years and there is no reason to connect their donations with the Rockfeste itself. That the Guild of Saint Anne gives three shillings and four pence more than the Rockfeste garners may only be significant in comparing how important the Rockfeste was to the parish's fundraising activities.

There are three locations for dances recorded in 1474/5 — the 'Markette', 'Nortyn hylle' and 'Sutton hylle'. The nature of these dances and additional records concerning them are discussed later. It should not be assumed that the Rockfeste included any form of dancing simply because it took place in the same location. A number of dances are recorded in these and other locations during the same period. Records concerning dances appear in years in which there are no records concerning the Rockfeste which strengthens the probability that they are unrelated. Owing to the nature of the churchwardens' accounts as having been compiled from other notes, it is impossible to draw a relationship between entries unless the record itself indicates such a relationship. Even the single aspect which can sometimes be assumed, that the events took place in the same accounting year, is not necessarily certain, as receipts could be submitted late and sometimes the compiling of accounts covers a number of years.[78]

The economic aspect is also problematic for purposes of comparison . A record for income from a dance and the proceeds of the Rockfeste are not able to be compared directly because of a lack of information about how the proceeds were generated. Hence, the only type of economic comparison which is suitable is a generalistic contrast of the methods use by the parish to raise its funds. In this aspect, the

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[77] NRO: PD 24/1, 1474/5, fol. 27.
[78] e.g. 1500/1-2/3 and 1516/7-18/9 which are compiled as single sets of accounts

Rockfeste was "a source of considerable income to the church"[79] as the Malone Society claims, providing from two to twenty shillings at each occurrence. If this is compared with Snettisham's own May, which regularly raised from thirteen to thirty five shillings during the same period, the Rockfeste's contribution to parish funds remains significant but less substantial.

An examination of the records shows them to be of a terse nature with little explanation of what this Rockfeste might have entailed. In 1474/5 ten shillings were made "ff*rom* Nortyn hylle Rokfest".[80] Only seven shillings were gathered "de norton hyll Rockfeste" in 1476/7.[81] After no mention of the Rockfeste for almost four decades, it appears again in the records in 1514/15 when William Green[82] returns twenty shillings "p*ro* Southgate Rocfest".[83] There is then over three decades before another mention of the Rockfeste in 1546/7. In receipts that follow directly upon one another Joanne Redhedd and Alan Nuttyng are recorded as returning three shillings and four pence each.

> Item de Joanne Redhedd de le Rockefest de Sowthgate — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> Item de Alano nuttyng de eodem Rockefest / de Sowthgate — iij^{s} iiij^{d} [84]

The questions these two records raise are numerous. Was the amount in question three shillings and four pence in total or twice that amount? It is likely that it was not a total amount and that each record should be considered as a separate receipt. And yet, if that is the case then it is unusual that both of them would have been of exactly the same amount. That one of those returning the money is a woman is significant. Little other information can be gleaned from the accounts concerning Joanne Redhedd.[85] Neither Redhedd nor Nuttyng were churchwardens for that year. Individuals other than the churchwardens are often named in the receipts for entertainment.[86]

Another consideration is related to the nature of the Rockfeste itself. If it was,

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[79] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.
[80] NRO: PD 24/1, 1474/5, fol. 27.
[81] NRO: PD 24/1, 1476/6, fol. 28.
[82] cf. NRO: PD 24/1, 1516/7-18/9, fol. 87v.
[83] NRO: PD 24/1, 1514/5, fol. 36v.
[84] NRO: PD 24/1, 1546/7, fol. 42v.
[85] Whether 'Joanne Redhedd' is related to the John Redhead mentioned as a defendant in a court deposition in 1532 is unknown. See *Norwich Consistory Court Depositions, 1499-1512 and 1518-1530*, ed. by B. Cozens-Hardy, *NRS*: X (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1938), no. 358, and the discussion concerning 'Lights' below. He is also paid in 1538 for carrying tithe corn in the Lestrange household accounts from Hunstanton studied in the the next chapter. See NRO: Lestrange, P/2, p. 722. or the transcription in Appendix Three.
[86] cf. NRO: PD 24/1, 1476/7, fol. 28.

as it appears from the significant amount of revenue it creates and its sporadic appearance, a primarily gathering based event then it might have been related to hocktide customs.[87] While aspects of 'hocking' varied greatly, it normally involved gender based groups of sanctioned collectors binding individuals of the parish whom they would then release for a contribution to parish coffers.[88] For various reasons the group of women are usually recorded as having collected a greater amount. If the Rockfeste gathering was related to these customs in any way, it makes the identical amounts accumulated even more suspicious.

A final record concerning the Rockfeste is not edited by the Malone Society.[89] It mentions Mary Awdeleye as returning the two shillings and four pence which her late husband had collected at the Rockfeste.

> 2 November 1547
> [fol. 120v]
> ...
> Also the same daye Mary Awdeleye wyddowe / hathe delyv*er*yd
> unto ye use of ye sayde Churche of / Snettyssh*a*m — vj^{s} viij^{d}
> st*er*lyng for the dette of John Audeleye late hyr husbande And — ij^{s}
> iiij^{d} of ye / rockefest of Sutton hyll of ye wyche — vj^{s} viij^{d} and / ye
> sayde — ij^{s} iiij^{d} ye parysche and towneschyppe hold / y*e*i*r* Selff
> well and truly contentyd and payd and / ye sayde Marry Awdeley
> y*er*eof to be quyett for ev*er* / by the p*r*esente Wyttenesyng all ye
> parysch / as ys behynde wryttyn [90]

Various details concerning the Rockfeste are illuminated by this record. John Audeleye who was a churchwarden for 1546/7 had recently passed away. His widow repaid not only a six shilling and eight pence debt, but two shillings and four pence 'of ye / rockefest of Sutton hyll'. That this is the lowest amount ever connected with the Rockfeste should not necessarily be suspicious. His widow may not have been holding back money, but another churchwarden could have collected a significant amount which somehow went unrecorded, or the folio that records it could be missing. Alternatively, they may have forgiven her a portion of her husband's debt out of respect for his memory or there may simply not have been many proceeds that year. That the date of the record is given so precisely does not help particularly in establishing the time of the Rockfeste itself. If the end of the accounting year was

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[87] cf., J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 261-3.
[88] See also Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 204-14 and E.K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I: pp. 155-7.
[89] It is contained amongst a series of receipts of similar length which are difficult to read and that the editors missed it is not entirely surprising.
[90] NRO: PD 24/1, 2 November, 1547, fol. 120v.

Michaelmas, then a mention of her as finally returning the money on 2 November would not be very surprising as the Rockfeste could have taken place any time during John Audeleye's term as a churchwarden and the debt have only come to light at the end of the accounting year after the final accounts were compiled. The accounting year for the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts generally ran from Lady Day (25 March). And yet, no accounting dates are given for this and nearby years, so this may have changed. As well, some terms as churchwarden stretched over multiple years, which makes basing an understanding of the date of the Rockfeste on his widow's settlement of his debt extremely unreliable.

This record also indicates that the location of the Rockfeste was at 'Sutton hyll'. The locations given so far for the Rockfeste have been 'Nortyn hylle' and 'Sowthgate'. Not surprisingly, Norton Hill is to the north of the town and Southgate is directly adjacent to the southern most road into Snettisham, and the area known as Southgate contains a Sutton Hill. These places survive to this day and as such are easily found. That their location was just outside the fifteenth and sixteenth century town is significant. The events taking place in these areas were of substantial interest to the populace to bring the people out to them. The change of the location to the southern most end of the town may reflect an intent to attract villagers from nearby Ingoldisthorpe. It indicates that the Rockfeste needed to take place in an open space. These places were near to the fields farmed by the villagers from Snettisham, and so could be understood to have been their workplace. If it is a celebration relating to farming or harvest, or takes place after the working day is finished, then the decision to situate them here is easily understandable.

This close reading of the records has provided some answers, but has raised even more questions concerning the nature of the Rockfeste. The Malone Society's introduction provides a footnote with a suggestion from Mr. R. F. Hill, who was the editor of the Malone Society's *Collections X* on the 'Dramatic Records in the Office of Works'.[91] Hill suggested that the 'rock' of Rockfeste was really 'rook' — not suggesting a mistranscription, simply a variation in spelling. As 'rook' is another word for 'fool' he understandably suggests that the Rockfeste may have some relation to a 'feast of fools'. This is entirely possible, but there is nothing in the records which

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[91] Malone Society, *Collections X: Dramatic Records in the Office of Works* and Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85, note 1.

indicates it might be the case, other than the name itself.

Cheney's *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, lists 'Rock Day' as the seventh of January.[92] As this is the day after Twelfth Night, it would easily make sense for it to have been an arena for such activities as a feast of fools. If the definition 'Rock Day' had any relation to 'rook' in the sense of 'fool' then the nature of the Rockfeste would have been similar to a feast of fools. The definition of 'Rock Day' or 'Rock Monday' provided by the OED does not support this. It follows the definition of Rock Day as being St Distaff's day, still the day after twelfth day, but cites Hampson in 1841 that "The day after Twelfth Day, was called Rock Day ... because women on that day resumed their spinning, which had been interrupted by the sports of Christmas ... The Monday following Twelfth day, was for the same reason, denominated Rock Monday"[93] St Distaff's day is more probable than a consistent linguistic change of 'rock' to 'rook'. A 'rock' or distaff is used in spinning — the stereotypical vocation of women.

Other than telling us that this day was meant to have been a resumption of one's vocation after the Christmas festivities, this definition does not help to fully explain the nature of the Rockfeste in Snettisham. What form of gathering took place that could raise up to twenty shillings in a cold and damp January? Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities* quotes a later poem.

> Partly worke and partly play,
> You must on St. Distaff's Day:
> From the plough soon free your teame;
> Then come home and fother them:
> If the maides a spinning goe,
> Burne the flax and fire the tow;
> Scorch their plackets, but beware
> That ye singe no maiden haire
> Bring in pales of water then,
> Let the maids bewash the men.
> Give St. Distaff all the right:
> Then give Christmas-sport good night.
> And next morrow every one
> to his owne vocation.[94]

Mostly as a result of this poem, Brand considers that Rock Day was a celebration in which one went back to work after the Christmas season for a half day and spent the remainder of the day in more enjoyable pursuits.

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[92] Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, p. 60.
[93] *OED* 'Rock', cf. *MED*.
[94] Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: pp. 32-3 . Brand's source is quoted as "*Wit pleasant Grove of New Fancies*, by H.B. Svo. Lond. 1657, p. 80".

> It may be then, that Rock Day, was a day in which you returned to work for half a day, and then had one final Christmastide celebration, sowing the grain.[95]

There is also the possibility that Rock Day was celebrated on St Roch's Day, that is the 16 August, which certainly is a better time to linger in fields outside of Snettisham than early January. Brand's entire section on St Roch's Day (except a footnote) is quoted below because it addresses a number of the issues of possible concern to this examination of the Rockfeste.

> Among the Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael Spurrier-Gate, in the city of York, printed in Nichol's Illustrations of Ancient Manners, I find — "1518. Paid for writing of St. Royke Masse, 9*d*."
> Dr. Whitaker thinks that St. Roche or Rockes Day was celebrated as a general harvest-home.
> In Sir Thomas Overbury's Characters, 1630, under that of Franklin, he says: "He allowes of honest pastime, and thinkes not the bones of the dead any thing bruised, or the worse for it, though the country lasses dance in the church-yard after even-song. *Rock Monday*, and the wake in summer, shrovings, the wakefull ketches on Christmas Eve, the hoky, or seed cake, these he yeerely keepes, yet holds them no reliques of Popery."
> I have sometimes suspected that "*Rocke Monday*" is a mis-print for "*Hock Monday*;" but there is a passage in Warner's Albions England, ed. 1597 and 1602, p. 121, as follows:
>
> > "Rock and Plow Monday gams sal gang with saint feasts and kirk sights."
> >
> > And again, ed. 1602, p. 407,
> >
> > "I'le duly keepe for thy delight Rock Monday and the wake, Have shrovings, Christmas gambols, with the hokie and seed cake."[96]

The idea of the Rockfeste as a celebration of the harvest festival is attractive because it explains the nature of an outdoor festival in more comfortable terms than a Rock Monday. That this gathering was outside is argued from the locations provided in the records themselves. The association with Plough Monday that is present in Brand's quotations above would suggest that this took place in January. While Brand is suspect as an authority, his very late examples may be correct in that it was a later festival or that these are two separate festivals whose traditions have been consolidated or intermingled. Unfortunately, there is little more the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts can reveal about this first recorded Rockfeste.

Dances

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[95] Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: p. 33.
[96] Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: p. 350.

In these accounts there are a number of records concerning dances.[97] One of the interesting particularities of these records is that many of them took place where the Rockfeste discussed above did. A compiled list of the records concerning dances which mention a location reveals the same locations.

1474/5: I*tem rece*p*erunt* de Nortunhill dawnse — xx^{s}
1474/5: I*tem* ff*rom* Markette dauns — iiij^{s}
1474/5: I*tem* ff*rom* Sutton hylle dauns — vj^{s} viij^{d}
1474/5: I*tem* ff*rom* Norton hylle dauns — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
1476/7: I*tem* de nich*ola*o Smiythe[98] p*ro* sowgate dawnc*e* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
1478/9: I*tem* recepti*um* de norton hyll*e* dawnse — xj^{s}
1480/1: I*tem* recepti*um* de t*r*ipudio de marketstede — vj^{s} viij^{d}
1480/1: I*tem* recepti*um* de nortonhyll*e* dawnc*e* — viij^{s} iiij^{d}
1490/1: I*tem* de market stode dawnce — ij^{s} [99]

All that this adds to our knowledge concerning that event is that these sites must have been suitable for the activity, and dancing normally takes place in generally flat open areas. Norton Hill, the Market, Sutton Hill (and Southgate), must have been appropriate locations for this kind of activity. That the marketplace was used for a dance is not surprising, it was central to the town, an open space with nearby buildings which could have provided refreshments or respite from inclement weather. The other locations had none of these aspects except for the open space.

As discussed in relation to the Rockfeste, Norton Hill is north and Sutton Hill south of the town. Both were generally unpopulated areas, but near to farming locations. This indicates the possibility that the celebrations took place at the end of the working day. The nature of a dance implies the existence of music, but there are no obvious payments to musicians in the churchwardens' accounts. Despite this, the Malone Society was convinced that the Rockfeste discussed above also had music and dancing. This raises a number of possibilities: that musicians were paid in the accounts but these payments not explicitly recorded as such, that they were paid by others, or that they were unpaid. As there is no information contained in the accounts concerning this, the financial arrangements for music remains a mystery.

Funds received for the dances range from two shillings to over twenty six shillings. The records run erratically through the late fifteenth century, four of them

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[97] Concerning the views about connections between dances and plays see E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I: pp. 160-4

[98] This reading is uncertain, what can be read is: 'S' + 4 minims + 'y' + 'he', with a 't' inserted afterwards following the 'y'. This is most likely a simple scribal error as there are a number of mentions of a Nicholas Smythe in the accounts, and the above reading was chosen on this basis.

[99] NRO: PD 24/1, 1474/5, Fols 26 and 27; 1476/7, fol. 28; 1478/9, fol. 28; 1480/1, fol. 29v; 1490 1, fol. 1490/1.

being from the 1474/5 accounts. These four imply that there were two dances on Norton Hill, as well as a dance in the Marketplace and on Sutton Hill. This was an active year for this type of entertainment — raising over fifty six shillings. In wondering who gave this money, it is possible that those from other communities attended these dances, and if they were informed of the time and location by banns-criers, this would support the idea that such events of other towns also happened at the remote location.

As with other activities, people are sometimes named as having handed in the money, but these were not always the churchwardens, as was the case with Nicholas Smythe in the record concerning the Southgate dance of 1476/7. There were two dances in 1480/1, one in the 'marketstede' the other on Norton Hill. After 1490/1, the records which mention specific locations for dances end, but a few sixteenth century records concerning dances survive and provide additional information.

> 1519/20: Item rec*eptum* of the Daunce mene clerly — xvij^{s} vij^{d} ^{ob}
> 1541/2: Item for makyng of ye Swerdawnce lygths[100] & for fyeryng — xiij^{d}
> 1542/3: Item for ye swerdawnce lygth makyng — viij^{d}
> 1542/3: Item for the Swerdawnce lygthmakyng — viij^{d} [101]

The record from 1519/20 notes the receipt of money 'of the Daunce mene clerly'. That this money was received 'clerly' implies that it was received after the expenses for the dance men. This may explain the lack of payments for music or performers in the other records — the amount of the receipt having already taken into account all expenses. That there were 'Daunce mene' means that there were performers involved. It could be that these were musicians paid to play for the villagers to dance, or organise the dancing in some way. There is also the possibility that the dance was strictly a performance. If the dance was an organised performance it is conceivable that it could have been a type of the morris dance, but there are no surviving records which indicate the nature of the dance.[102]

That these dances raised such significant sums of money does suggest that donations were collected, or that other fundraising activities, such as the sale of ale took place.[103] The final records from 1541/2 and 1542/3 are in reference to a 'Swerdawnce'. If this is assumed to be a sword dance, and not some particularly East

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[100] The Malone Society reads this as singular.
[101] NRO: PD 24/1, 1519/20, fol. 37; 1541/2, fol. 111v; 1542/3, fol. 112v; fol. 113v.
[102] cf., E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I: pp. 182-204.
[103] cf., J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 66.

Anglian variant on 'square dance', it does not mean that the earlier dances were of the same type. While the earlier records were receipts, these are expenses for the making (and firing) of lights for the sword dances. The peculiarities of sword dances which required lighting to be provided are unknown, but it suggests the possibility of an evening event or dancing by fires.[104] If these payments are related to the earlier receipts in any way, the great difference between the recorded expenses and the receipts returned would indicate that it was a highly successful profit enterprise.

That these were sword dances may link them with more traditional forms of drama. Not only forms of morris dance, but mummers plays, have been seen by scholars as linked to sword dances, and some maintain that they were directly related.[105] It should be stressed that there is nothing in the churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham to support these connections.

Lights

One of the aspects of the dances noted above is that they might have taken place at night, as there are a number of payments for lights. These record the making of a 'swerdawnce lygth' and in 1541/2 a payment of thirteen pence for "makyng of ye Swerdawnce lygths[106] & for fyeryng".[107] It is assumed that this is meant to be read as a payment for making a light for the sword dance and the lighting of it. Whether this implies that the creator also ensured it would be kept illuminated is unknown but certainly probable. The compounding of these statements does not make this necessary.

It should be emphasised that the purpose of these lights in particular is assumed to have been illumination. The possibility exists that lights and fires could have been used for other purposes including dancing over or around them. One of the other possible uses is as a votive candle in a church shrine.[108] With the sword dance lights this is unlikely, but with some of the other records it is certain.

If the records which mention lights are divided into income and expenses, it is

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[104]cf., E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 1: pp. 182-204.
[105] cf., E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 1: pp. 182-204, cf. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1: pp. 505-19.
[106] The Malone Society reads this as singular.
[107] NRO: PD 24/1, 1541/2, fol. 111v.
[108] cf., J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 160-8.

revealed that eight shillings and four pence were received "at ye plowlyght"[109] in 1500/1-2/3. In 1507/8, two shillings and six pence were received "of John Smyth for [the] Halowmes lyght"[110] and the same light later earned eighteen pence "on Alsolme Daye".[111] That the money was collected at the ploughlight suggests that it was in a single location. It is probable that it was used in a shrine in the church if it is a light or candle being used to celebrate a plough festival.

> Lincolnshire was especially fond of the 'lights', which are recorded in the majority of its surviving early Tudor churchwardens' accounts. They are also mentioned in four Northamptonshire parishes, and one in Cambridgeshire, with a single possible reference in Norfolk. Yet even in Lincolnshire the custom was not universal for records of churches in the same districts as those which maintained 'plough lights' show no trace of them.[112]

Hutton indicates in an endnote that the 'single possible reference' he found in Norfolk is from Snettisham.[113] This is founded completely on the Malone Society's editing, which certainly does not edit all the plough-related records in the Snettisham accounts. It is unlikely that this is the only 'single possible reference in Norfolk' to a ploughlight, especially since there is also an expense of twenty pence "for makyng of ye plow torche"[114] in 1478/9, and another three shillings and four pence "is payd for makyng of the plowe Torcheis"[115] in accounts covering 1516/17-18/19. Hutton's assumption that these records do not exist unless in published extracts such as the Malone Society is extremely dangerous, especially since plough-related payments were not the Malone Society's priority. The use of the ploughlight for such festivals is seen by Hutton as primarily an East Midlands custom, and notes that ploughs were placed in the church.[116]

> Upon the 7th the merry-making was over for everybody, and in arable districts preparations commenced for the ploughing. It was an activity with its own rites and religious associations. In the East Midlands there were 'plough lights' kept burning in many churches, in some cases definitely maintained by special guilds. Each probably had a plough placed in front, for at Holbeach in

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[109] NRO: PD 24/1, 1500/1-2/3, fol. 33v.
[110] NRO: PD 24/1, 1507/8, fol. 35.
[111] NRO: PD 24/1, 1507/8, fol. 35.
[112] Ronald Hutton, *Merry England*, p. 16. Hutton repeats this discussion in fuller form in *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 124-33.
[113] Ronald Hutton, *Merry England*, p. 297 note 30.
[114] NRO: PD 24/1, 1478/9, fol. 67v. Plough lights are also found in Tilney All Saints (see Chapter Six) and Sutterton (see Chapter Seven).
[115] NRO: PD 24/1, 1516/7-18/9, fol. 88.
[116] This is certainly true for the plough mentioned in the records of Tilney All Saints (see Chapter Six) which was suspended in the parish church.

> Lincolnshire and at Great Yarmouth there were certainly ploughs mounted in churches upon special stands.[117]

The other records which mention lights as producing income were likely to have been of a similar nature, the amount of money donated towards them being recorded by the churchwardens. In other instances the contributions might not have been totalled up so carefully, or simply included in other less specific incomes.

Other than the expenses for ploughlights already mentioned, there are also expenses throughout the mid-sixteenth century "for makyng of the co*m*mon lygth"[118] as well as "for kepyng of the same lyghth".[119] Both of these appear quite commonly and are supplemented at times with a records "for lygth on ye dedycatyon daye".[120] It is likely that these were the same type of votive light as the ploughlight is thought to have been.

That lights, and the celebrations surrounding them, were of great importance to the citizens of Snettisham, and the finances of the church, is not in doubt. The common light and the light on the dedication day of the church were of most importance, given the amount spent on them. These two were, nevertheless, overshadowed by the 'plow light'. This may have been the light which is mentioned as having burned on 'Plough Monday' in a consistory court deposition from Norwich in a suit for defamation by John Beard against John Redhead.[121]

> 8 July 1532. Defamation. John Bread v. John Redhead: William Grene[122] (26 & more), of Snettisham, res. 16 years, deposed that on Plough Monday he was present in "le Gyld Halle," when John Bread spoke about a sum of money which had been spent in the purchase of 5 lbs. of wax for burning before the crucifix called the "rode lofte," and John Readhed retorted, "That the same waxe was falslye used by the forsaid John Bread, and not half spent".[123]

That the candle was 'for burning before the crucifix called the 'rode lofte,'' confirms that this light was not only in the church itself, but gives a specific identifiable

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[117] Ronald Hutton, *Merry England*, p. 16 see also, *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 124-33.
[118] NRO: PD 24/1, 1546/7, fol. 119.
[119] NRO: PD 24/1, 1546/8, fol. 119.
[120] NRO: PD 24/1, 1545/6, fol. 118. This is on the feast of the Annuciation, Lady Day, 25 March.
[121] Note: Whether this John Redhead is, in fact, the Joanne Redhedd mentioned in the rockfest payments of 1546/7 and 1547/8 is unknown. The transcription of 'Joanne' has been checked, and while they may be related there is no way to confirm this. For Plough Monday, see also Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: pp. 506-8.
[122] That this is the same Willam Green who was churchwarden with John Bread at this time, is certainly likely. Green would have had a vested interest in establishing that no wax had been stolen while he was churchwarden.
[123] *Norwich Consistory Court Depositions, 1499-1512 and 1518-1530*, ed. by B. Cozens-Hardy, *NRS* X (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1938), no. 358.

location. In 1556/7 there is a record that may concern a rood screen in the same location: "Item for peyntyng of ye Roode [^ ffor paynting of the divell -/-6-/-2-] — vj$ ij^{d}", and previous to this there is an expense for "The newe Roode makyng".[124] The earlier two pence for "peynttyng of Marye & John"[125] is probably for decoration in another part of the church.

Ploughs

'Plough Monday' was a celebration at the end of the Christmas festive season and indicated a return to agricultural labour. In this sense it could be that the Rockfeste was directly related to Plough Monday celebrations. While little is known about what took place in Plough Monday customs at this period, the basic intention has always been seen as one of fundraising.[126] Generally, this is thought to have involved the pulling of a plough through the streets with a simultaneous collection of money for the plough light.[127] These candles were often placed before a plough which may or may not have been blessed, along with fields, on 'Plough Sunday'. Holbeach in Lincolnshire is known to have had such a plough in their church.[128] The ritualistic and rural associations of such agrarian based customs are easily understandable — the dramatic context is less clear. These celebrations have long been of interest to early drama scholars because of the possibility that there were plays associated with these collections. There is no firm evidence for such an early date for these plays, but they are partly transcribed for this reason. Nevertheless, even if no mimetic drama took place, the sheer spectacle of such a paradramatic activity certainly makes it worthy of consideration.

> What is never recorded is whether those who dragged the plough upon these occasions performed a special song, dance, or play as they did so. By the late eighteenth century the lads of many east midland villages certainly had a Plough Monday play. Generally it was a version of that of the Mummers, based around a combat, death, and revival, but tacked onto a tale of how a Fool courts and marries. But it is not recorded before the 1760s, and although great efforts have been made by some modern scholars to find traces of it before then, none are convincing, and so, like the drama of the

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[124] NRO: PD 24/1, 1556/7, fol. 2.
[125] NRO: PD 24/1, 1492/3, fol. 77v.
[126] cf., J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 248-9.
[127] See especially the discussion of this in Chapter Six based on the records from Tilney All Saints which indicate explicitly that their plough was taken around the town, see also Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: pp. 506-8.
[128] Ronald Hutton, *Merry England*, p. 16.

> Mummers, it must be left out of this portrait.[129]

Whether or not plays, or indeed any performative art, was employed in Snettisham's gatherings on Plough Monday is not clear. That significant amounts are gathered is routinely evident in the churchwardens' accounts. There are regular receipts for "It*em* recept*um* of ye plow"[130] with the amounts gathered ranging widely from around five to twenty six shillings.

Out of context it is possible to see these records as referring to a receipt for agricultural production. That is, a record of how much money was made by the 'plow' through ploughing, growing, and selling of grain. Such an interpretation would be misguided since in a number of instances the receipt acknowledges that the funds were gathered on, or in some cases at, 'plowe day'. In 1500/1, seven shillings and four pence was received "the ^[same] yere [—of—] at the plowe daye".[131] In 1529/30, twenty six shillings and three pence were gathered "on ye plowe daye"[132] and similar receipts are evident in many other years.[133]

These records, and the court deposition quoted in discussing the lights, show that this gathering of funds took place on Plough Day, but they do not help to establish what took place on this day. That the gathering might have been in aid of the placing of a candle "of wax for burning before the crucifix called the 'rode lofte,'"[134] is certainly suggested by the court deposition. As seen above, in some records it is called the 'plow torche' or 'plowlyght'. In 1478/9 twenty pence is spent "for makyng of ye plow torche".[135] This gathering may have taken place in the church itself, and this might be indicated in the receipt in 1500/1-2/3 which records eight shillings and four pence gathered "at ye plowlyght".[136] This could imply a number of things, including simply an imprecise use of 'at' meaning 'for' or 'for the sake of'. If it was gathered actually at the light, then this candle might have acted not only as a device for worship, but also as a validating attribute of the collection process as a whole. That is, the light, and the worship it implies, was not only the cause for donation, but also a legitimising

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[129] Ronald Hutton, *Merry England*, p. 17.
[130] NRO: PD 24/1, 1492/3, fol. 32.
[131] NRO: PD 24/1, 1500/1, fol. 33.
[132] NRO: PD 24/1, 1529/30, fol. 97.
[133] e.g. 1530/1, 1532/3, 1533/4, 1536/7, 1537/8, 1556/7.
[134] *Norwich Consistory Court Depositions, 1499-1512 and 1518-1530*, ed. by B. Cozens-Hardy, *NRS* X (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1938), no. 358.
[135] NRO: PD 24/1, 1478/9, fol. 67v, cf. 1516/7-18/9, fol. 88.
[136] NRO: PD 24/1, 1500/1-2/3, fol. 33v.

sign that the collection was sanctioned. The villagers gave not only for the light but also before it, or the plough, in the church.

The amount of money received so outweighs the amount of money spent on the light itself that it is possible that the receipts of the day included proceeds from donations with other motivations. Another common parish fundraising event was that of church ales, and indeed, these existed in Snettisham as well. Moreover, there are a number of expenditures of six bushels of barley for "browyn for the plowe"[137] which suggest that Plough Monday also included a church ale.

The links between plough-related festivals and drinking are fairly straight forward. One of the main crops in the area was that of barley, which was used for brewing. This was in turn a source of revenue when the townsfolk came together on social occasions, purchasing ale from the churchwardens. At this time, other forms of gathering, and doubtless many forms of entertainment, could also have taken place.

Ales

Records concerning drinkings, potations or ales, were not generally of interest to the Malone Society. They only have a tangential connection to performed entertainment, and even less so to the plays and drama which were the foundation of its search.

> There are also annual 'potacions' at Corpus Christi and other times; but as the records do not indicate that these were anything more than church ales, they have been omitted from the transcripts.[138]

In order to understand entertainment in a community of this size, this aspect of fundraising should be explored.[139] Hence, a number of example records concerning brewing and these potations have been transcribed in the appendices. They often take the form of those recorded in 1468/9, one of which reads:

> Item *receperunt* de potacio*ne facta* in d*omin*ica post *festum* corp*or*is *Christi* de ij quarters / bras*io* ex gravis ecclesiastic*us* om*n*ib*us* clar*is* allocat*is* —xviij^{s} vj^{d} Item *receperunt* de potacione die lune p*roxime* sequen*ter* — vj^{d} [140]

While Whitsun was the usual time for ales in other parishes, these drinkings were held on the Sunday near important feasts — Corpus Christi, St Edmund, and the apostles

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[137] NRO: PD 24/1, 1500/1-2/3, but referenced internally as 1500/1, fol. 33v.
[138] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.
[139] cf., J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 287-91.
[140] NRO: PD 24/1, 1468/9, fol. 22v.

Philip and James are amongst those recorded in this year alone. These records also note a celebration on the Monday as well, presumably there was some ale was left over. At times up to six bushels are recorded as having been used, and the amount received in return reached at least twenty shillings in 1476/7 for a "potac*io*ne fact*a* i*n* dom*ini*ca passionis d*omi*ni".[141] In this same year records survive for drinkings on "die dom*ini*ca p*os*t f*estu*m petr*i* et pauli"[142] and "in q*u*arta dom*ini*ca q*uadragesim*e"[143] which raised over eleven shillings and almost thirteen shillings respectively — a total of forty three shillings and ten pence. Such a lucrative form of gathering indicates a celebratory event which may have been full of music, song and dance.[144] Predictably, expenses for such entertainment had no reasons to be recorded.

That the receipts listed have already accounted for any expenditures in the production of the ale is suggested by the inclusion of a formulaic phrase in 1475/6. This records the amount received from a drinking "made in ye secunde Sunday of Clene Lentt / alle thyng*es* rekynyd & alowyd w*ith* ij sem*ilis* of ye church*e* malte".[145] Bushels of grain are also recorded as having been used for the celebration of a number of parishioners' 'anniversaries' and 'eyrdayes', most notably that of David Douns whose was commemorated regularly through the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[146]

Payments for drink are recorded in other instances, and the churchwardens also contributed a total of four pence to the ale at Fring in 1492/3.[147] If this is compared to the two shillings and eight pence spent "for a drynke on hallowmasse nygth"[148] in 1533/4, it does not seem that generous. While the latter is for a church ale, that an amount is "payd for ale at ffryng"[149] should not, necessarily, be understood as a payment for another town's potation, but is more likely simply an expense incurred by one of the churchwardens while they were there. Yet, to have spent this amount on ale, it the churchwardens would have had to be purchasing drinks others as well. It might

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[141] NRO: PD 24/1, 1476/7, fol. 28.
[142] NRO: PD 24/1, 1476/7, fol. 28.
[143] NRO: PD 24/1, 1476/7, fol. 28.
[144] cf., E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I: p. 179.
[145] NRO: PD 24/1, 1475/6, fol. 27v.
[146] Blomefield details a variety of information known about the Downs Manor, *Norfolk*, p. 1312. Significantly more records for obits and anniversaries are found in the three Lincolnshire towns studied in Chapter Seven.
[147] NRO: PD 24/1, 1492/3, fol. 77v.
[148] NRO: PD 24/1, 1533/4, fol. 104.
[149] NRO: PD 24/1, 1492/3, fol. 77v.

be akin to the records concerning games, Mays and other celebrations which suggest that the townsfolk from Snettisham attended in neighbouring villages. That drinking took place at these events is not in doubt as, in addition to records for bread and ale, one record notes the expense of six pence to the "pandoxat*ori* ad le maye".[150]

That these drinkings raised so much money is one of the aspects which make them important. The financial situation of the community will have had an influence on the range and form of any communal celebrations. These celebrations themselves were in turn used for raising funds to pay not only for expenses in maintaining the church, but also for the costs of other activities.

Gatherings

Just as ales and potations were used for raising capital for parish activities, funds were also gathered at other times. Individuals often donated money, as in 1474/5 when William Wade gave one penny.[151] As it is rarely specified what the intention behind these individual donations was, it is only safe to assume that they were simple collections for the maintenance of the church itself. The local guilds of St John, St James, St Anne and Jesus Christ, gave significant funds to the parish church regularly. Again, as little or no other context is provided it is dangerous to assume too much concerning their reasons for doing so. It may be that these were annual contributions made by the guild from collections taken amongst their members.

The records themselves are naturally very concise and are generally in the following format: "It*em* recept*um* de gilda s*anc*ti Jacobi — vj^{s} viij^{d}".[152] Receipts such as this appear frequently from late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. In 1544/5, we are given a clue that many of these collections were not necessarily taken in church from a receipt for ten shillings seven pence "of ye gatheryng yn ye towne".[153] Who was doing the gathering? The obvious choice would be the churchwardens, but they employed someone else in 1552/3 when Robert Hunte was paid eight pence "for ye gatheryng".[154]

For some records it is possible to ascertain what the intention of the donor was.

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[150] NRO: PD 24/1, 1486/7, fol. 30v. This record was not edited by the Malone Society.
[151] NRO: PD 24/1, 1474/5, fol. 27.
[152] NRO: PD 24/1, 1476/7, fol. 28
[153] NRO: PD 24/1, 1544/5, fol. 41v.
[154] NRO: PD 24/1, 1552/3, fol. 43.

In 1476/7 six shillings and eight pence is received "p*ro* an*im*a Joh*ann*is Rust"[155] and it can be assumed that this is for funerary expenses, including prayers. A similar donation is recorded as "recept*um* an*im*a thome clerke"[156] in 1480/1. In 1533/4 the churchwardens' accounts note that eleven pence is "of the gatheryng lefte of S*ir* Thomas myller".[157] But, the intended meaning of this record is made problematic by syntax. Is it to be interpreted as meaning that there is only eleven pence left of the gathering made in honour of Thomas Myller? Or should it be understood that eleven pence was given to Thomas Myller out of the remnants of the last gathering? The record remains ambiguous.

Another confusing receipt is for ten shillings "receyvyd of qwuyte gild stok*es* to the churches"[158] in 1525/6. If 'qwuyte' is understood as an East Anglian spelling of 'white' and 'stokes' is construed as 'sticks' then they may be related to the shafts used in processions. All the procession-related records are for expenses, so it would be incongruous to have this single record as a receipt. Moreover, the meaning of 'stok*es*' as money set aside for a specific purpose, in this case guild money, makes more sense. As well 'qwuyte' can simply be understood as 'quite' or 'quit' in the sense free from obligation or debt.[159] This highlights the easy mistakes which are possible when extracts from accounts are examined out of context of the terminology used in that document.

A variety of events were used for collection purposes. The most commonly recorded was 'Sowlemass Daye' on which there were a number of gatherings of up to nineteen shillings during the mid-sixteenth century. During the latter half of the same century, the 'Hallowmass Reckenyng' is recorded more often. In 1563/4 there was a "gatheryng on blowe munday" which raised fifteen shillings.[160] This is almost certainly 'Blue Monday' which was the Monday before Lent. Exuberant pre-Lenten celebrations would have been an obvious choice for fundraising opportunities. The use of the word 'gathering' for these activities continues well past the scope of this project. In 1579/80 there is an expense of twelve pence "to one wh*o* gathered for the Quenes

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[155] NRO: PD 24/1, 1476/7, fol. 28.
[156] NRO: PD 24/1, 1480/1, fol. 29v.
[157] NRO: PD 24/1, 1533/4, fol. 39.
[158] NRO: PD 24/1, 1525/6, fol. 125.
[159] cf. *MED*, 'stok' 5(a), *OED* 'stock' and *MED* 'quite'.
[160] NRO: PD 24/1, 1563/4, fol. 47v.

bench".[161]

Christmas Lords

The traditions of Lords of Misrule and Christmas Lords have often been seen as rites of carnivalesque inversion for the purposes of a social safety valve. This hypothesis has recently been challenged with arguments against the stereotypical assumptions and very Bahktinian agenda of many of these earlier works.[162] None of the records concerning Christmas Lords in Snettisham give any detail which really help to understand this as a licensed form of social inversion. There are also a few records concerning Christmas Lords.

> 1533/4: Item of the cystemasse lorde — ij^{s} iiij^{d}
> 1568/9: Item of John Savage for the yere that he was *Christ*emasse lorde — iij^{s} ix^{d}
> 1568/9: Item of Thomas Norris for the yere *yat* Richard Skayth was *Christ*emasse lorde — ix^{s} [163]

The existence of these records helps to support the idea that the Rockfeste, discussed above, was a Christmas celebration, and in specific had a 'Lord of Misrule' who was responsible for gathering for the church. The amounts raised, ranging from two shillings and four pence to nine shillings are significant sums of money, but when put in context with the amounts gathered from other events, they are not extraordinary. Two of the receipts from the 1568/9 accounts are for previous years, and as this account was compiled to include the 1568/9 from the 2 November onwards, but also "For two years last past before the date hereof"[164] it is difficult to know to which years these receipts belong.[165] That the temporal identifier is given as the name of the person who assumed the role of the Christmas Lord implies that this was an important enough event, in the minds of those compiling the account, to identify the payment as a whole.

It should be noted that the receipts from 1568/9 are not necessarily for activity of the Christmas Lord. While it appears so on first examination, that the amount is 'of

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[161] NRO: PD 24/1, 1579/80, fol. 56.
[162] Christopher Humphrey, *The Politics of Carnival: Culture, Performance and Social Change in Medieval England*, Manchester Medieval Studies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), see also Tom Pettitt, 'Customary Drama: Social and Spatial Patterning in Traditional Encounters', *Folk Music Journal*, 7:1 (1995) 27-38.
[163] NRO: PD 24/1, 1533/4, fol. 39; 1568/9, fol. 69.
[164] NRO: PD 24/1, 1568/9, fol. 48.
[165] This is another possible example of a variable accounting year which may lend support to the 2 November date of Mary Awdeleye returning her husband's money for the Rockfest as being noticed and collected at the end of an alternative accounting year.

Thomas Norris for the yere y*a*t Richard Skayth was *Chris*temasse lorde' does not specifically say the amount is that which Richard Skayth raised. It could be that this was simply an identifier to the year in question. That said, it is more likely that it was indeed for money passed on to Thomas Norris from Richard Skayth who raised it in the guise of the Christmas Lord.

Whether it was the case that a single person normally assumed the role or whether the person changed every year is unknown. It may be that a random method, such as a dried bean in a cake, was used to decide the Christmas Lord, but there is nothing to indicate this in the Snettisham accounts. That someone may have been known for often being the Christmas Lord is certainly possible. In 1541/2 there is an item of ten shillings "payed to John Crystmasse for schotyng of the belle / brasys".[166] The activity of 'schotyng of the belle / brasys' refers only to mending the bells.[167] It is of interest that 'John Crystmasse' is paid for doing so. Is this the 'John Savage' mentioned in the record of 1568/9? Although it is possible that he came to be known as such because of activities as a Christmas Lord, it is unlikely because this predates the only other record mentioning him in reference to the activity by twenty seven years.

Conclusion

The fundraising activities of Snettisham are clearly evident in the churchwardens' accounts. A large portion of this money was raised through paradramatic activity such as the processions, dances, Mays, ales, and other events. That such celebrations were not only financially motivated but were, in some cases, religious celebrations in themselves highlights the economic necessities of Christian life at this time.

Within the context of this single poorly ordered document, much has been discovered concerning the activities of the parish. The minimal mentions of plays and stages are disappointing, but not necessarily unusual for a small rural village. What is of interest is the regularity and tenacity of customs such as the processional activity in the area. A great deal was revealed concerning the nearby Ingoldisthorpe procession,

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[166] NRO: PD 24/1, 1541/2, fol. 111v. For information concerning bellringing see J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 211-27.

[167] The *OED* contains a number of quotations involving 'schottyng' in reference to bells where the meaning is to 'splice (a rope); to mend (a bar); to fit (boards) together by a mortise or the like (obs.); to weld (metals)', cf. *MED*.

and this was then compared to Snettisham's own St Edmund's procession. The latter was found to be the source for the expenses for the bearing of shafts, and with the information provided by the location of the purchase of a lamb used for the devotional offering, St Edmund's chapel near Hunstanton was discovered to have been the destination for this procession.

Mays and games were also examined which showed an even greater amount of intercommunal interaction than with the processions. That expenses were incurred at nearby towns, all within a few miles, gives an idea of the range that such activities may have had for attracting people. The nature of the activities that could have taken place at these Mays and games was followed by discussion of one of the most intriguing events to be recorded at Snettisham — The World's First Rockfeste. The festival was explored and the likelihood is that it was related to 'Rock Day' celebrations marking the return to work, but some alternative possibilities were also briefly considered.

The amount of money raised by these activities was compared with that made by various dances which took place in the same locations as the Rockfeste. Lights and plough-related receipts were also examined for their fundraising possibilities. Likewise, church ales and other gatherings recorded in the churchwardens' accounts were considered. The very few records concerning Christmas Lords were briefly analysed for any possible information about the nature of the event.

As with all accounting records, the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts were not written for the purpose of conveying detailed information concerning the events themselves, but only for accounting of income and expenses. That the majority of the records concerning entertainment in Snettisham are found as receipts of income is indicative of their own accounting system. The expenses were not normally recorded as referring to a specific event if it took place in Snettisham, simply what the expense entailed. Those expenses which do record a location often refer to entertainment which took place outside of the town.

That Snettisham had such good relations and obvious interaction, within the context of entertainment, with the surrounding towns and villages is of importance. Unfortunately, very little in the way of useful primary documentary evidence survives from any of these communities. It would have been interesting to know whether the accounts in these nearby towns would have shed light onto the questions raised by the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts. This chapter has once again raised as many

problems as it has found solutions, but is valuable in that it has not only corrected numerous misconceptions but discovered a great deal concerning these activities within the very local context of the town itself.

Chapter Five: Hunstanton — Lestrange Household Accounts

Introduction

The Lestrange[1] family of Hunstanton is easily traced back to the period shortly after the Norman Conquest. The family is first recorded in England when 'Rhiwallon Extraenus', sometimes known as Roland Lestrange of Brittany, is mentioned in two deeds during the reign of Henry I. Roland married Matilda Le Brun, who was the daughter and heiress of Ralph Fitz Herluin, who was Lord of Hunstanton at the time of the Domesday Book.[2] Of special interest to this study is Sir Thomas Lestrange (c.1490-1545) and his wife Anne (1494-c.1548) and their numerous children. Sir Thomas was succeeded as lord of the manor by his eldest son Sir Nicholas Lestrange (1511-1580). A great deal more information is available on the Lestrange family, especially from Cord Oestmann's extremely useful work *Lordship and Community: The Lestrange Family and the Village of Hunstanton, Norfolk, in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century*.[3]

Although a few fourteenth and fifteenth century account rolls from the Lestrange accounts survive, they record little in the way of entertainment. Yet, from the early sixteenth century detailed household accounts are preserved which illuminate numerous aspects of social and economic life in the Lestrange household. It should be reiterated that as the Malone Society's temporal limits were much more broad than those of this study, it examined not only NRO: Lestrange P/1-P/7, but also: Sutro Library MS (accounts for 1589-91), BL Add. MS 27451 (accounts for 1526/7) and BL Add. MS 27449 (household books for 1575, 1578, 1579 and 1587-9).[4] As the household book NRO: Lestrange P/4 ends in the early 1550s, coinciding with the

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[1] The spelling 'Lestrange' has been chosen for consistency based on references in the manuscripts. The Malone Society uses 'L'Estrange', and others use 'LeStrange', Oestmann also uses 'Lestrange'.

[2] They did not live in the village, choosing instead to use a grant of property in Knockin, Shropshire as their home. It was not until the fourteenth century that a branch of the Lestrange family made Hunstanton their main residence, *Burke's Landed Gentry*, Vol. III, 18th ed. (London: Burke's Peerage, 1972), p. 533. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XI. *Domesday Book*, ed. by P. Brown, 33: Norfolk (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984).

[3] C. Oestmann, *Lordship and Community: The Lestrange Family and the Village of Hunstanton, Norfolk, in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994). Although very much based on principles of economic history, this book is invaluable to anyone wishing to find out about early sixteenth century Hunstanton.

[4] At the beginning of this last manuscript are extracts of earlier books made by John Fenn in 1772. As only some of the entries correspond to the accounts in the NRO, the Malone Society edits these as well. Fenn's extracts, and particularly his dating, have been found to be extremely unreliable.

terminus date of this study, it was decided only to examine NRO: Lestrange P/1-P/4 since the majority of the other manuscripts are of such a late date and little was found by the Malone Society in them.[5]

The three large codices, NRO: Lestrange P/1, P/3 and P/4 contain multiple household accounts for a number of different members of the Lestrange household. NRO: Lestrange P/2 is a much smaller, though more elongated, volume which contains accounts, mostly for foodstuffs, covering several different periods during the early 1500's. Of note are the expenses of the household from 29 March 1533-8 March 1534 kept by Dame Anne Lestrange (née Vaux) in her own hand. In all the accounts there are detailed inventories of the food purchases for the household. Often these are divided down to the week or very day in which they were purchased. While these are compiled accounts, within any single person's accounts they are generally recorded chronologically, and great care is taken to indicate on what date most purchases took place. In addition, some generally reliable but highly selective indices were made to these manuscripts by a nineteenth century descendent, and noted antiquarian, Hamon Lestrange. The documents were read through completely, but given their length the indices were also consulted to attempt to find records that were overlooked. As a number of records for performers which the Malone Society does not transcribe are referenced in Hamon Lestrange's indices, it must not to have used them extensively.

In the transcripts made from these books the individual non-contiguous records are reassembled into chronological order except in the few instances where a series of contiguous records from the same page are edited as a whole. The volumes themselves are not chronologically self contained and overlap, and as this only affects a very few entries (with some from P/3 overlapping P/2 and P/4 overlapping P/3) these have been kept out of chronological order with the other extracts from that document. The record keeping in these books is remarkably consistent in two ways. Dates are generally given either at the head of a list of expenses or are noted in the records themselves. As well, the format of each individual entry means that if it takes up more than one line then these are bracketed ({}) in the original just before the amount. Otherwise entries

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[5] At the time of transcription a some of the manuscripts were in great need of conservation work and I was given special dispensation by the NRO to complete my study since they had been removed from public access. Some of them have now undergone conservation treatment and are again available. Given the great richness of detailed information they provide concerning the workings of a noble household at this period, it would be very beneficial to our understanding of a late medieval noble household if full editions of them could be undertaken at some point.

are given in a single line with an extended dash to the usually right justified amount. As this is generally consistent, entries are not bracketed in the transcriptions and, although line breaks are indicated, the varying length of extended dash is again indicated uniformly by a dash (—). Additionally, for simplicity and ease of reading, the amounts are left justified with the records.

Strangers in the House

One detail of some of the accounts, especially those in P/2, is the recording of what 'strangers' were in the house that week and sometimes how long they stayed. This is very useful for establishing the level of nobility that was visiting the household in the early sixteenth century. It also indicates the degree of social and political connections that the Lestrange family had access to in their public life. Oestmann uses these lists of strangers in his exploration of the political connections of this very active East Anglian family.[6] For example, P/2 lists that during the 9-16 June 1527 the guests of the household included Lady Boleyn, Edmund Knevett and his wife, and Master Pearn and his wife. While the latter couple stayed for three days, Edmund and his wife remained for one day. It is difficult to distinguish whether Lady Boleyn stayed only for one day, or whether the length of stay was unrecorded, but given that it is provided on the same line as Edmund Knevett, it is likely that she remained only for one day. All of these noble guests, of which there were a few in most weeks, would have travelled with some form of retinue. Most entries are normally self-explanatory.

> [P/2](9-16 June 1527) [p. 37]
> Strang*ers* in ye Same weke
> My Lady Boleyn & m*aste*r Edm*u*nd Knevett & his wyffe j daye /
> Mast*er* pearn & his wyffe iij dayes [7]

Nevertheless, there are a number which are not so clear. By 1534 the list of strangers is provided as part of the weekly sum of how much was spent that week, outside of gifts the strangers gave (these are not recorded) and items they had in storage.

> [P/2](25 January-1 February 1534) [p. 107]
> Straungers in thatt week my Sone / Gressenall John dowerman &
> the / wyves of the town & dyverse others / so the sum of thys week
> besyde gy*ft* & store — xx^{s} iij^{d} [8]

The accounts are written by Dame Anne Lestrange who provides no explanation why

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[6] Oestmann, *Lordship and Community*, pp. 29-151.
[7] NRO: Lestrange, P/2, p. 37.
[8] NRO: Lestrange, P/2, p. 107.

'the / wyves of the town & dyverse others' are guests of the household that week. It might be that this is a record of some communal gathering, at which there was entertainment, but if so, it is absent from mention in the records in any other form. That this was a community festival of some sort is extremely unlikely, but it is not a unique event, nor limited to only the wives of Hunstanton.

> [P/2](1-8 February 1534) [p. 108]
> Straungers yn thatt week my / sone gressenall the vycare of /
> Snettyss*ha*m *with* wyves of thys town & wyves of hech*a*m / *with*
> others & so the sum of thys week besyde gyft & stor — xix^{s} j^{d} [9]

In this record the 'others' said to be with the 'wyves of thys town & wyves of hech*a*m' are said to have been with 'the vycare of / Snettyss*ha*m'. That this was a gathering for some socio-religious purpose is possible, but again, not necessarily indicated. These two records above were chosen because they also record two consecutive weeks. This does not mean that the activity extended over these two weeks, (25 January-8 February 1534). The very likely possibility is that their attendance was not for a full two weeks, but simply a single day during each week. In addition, if there was some activity requiring their attendance all week, Heacham, Snettisham, and the town proper of Hunstanton are all within easy walking distance.

These deductions concerning the strangers who were guests of the Lestrange household each week does not impinge greatly on the study of its entertainment. One benefit is being able to ascertain more closely possible dates for vague records that mention a guest's name or when entertainers are recorded as guests. Indeed, the latter happens only in one instance in which the list includes the King's Players.

> [P/3](21-28 October 1537) [p. 14]
> Straungers / my lord ffytzwater / m*aste*r Calthorpe / m*aste*r
> *Christo*fer Conynge*s*by / George Cressen / and the Kynge*s* pleyers
> [10]

The Malone Society notes that this record exists but, as it is not immediately indicative of performance, does not transcribe it. The attendance of the King's Players and their reward, presumably (although not necessarily) for performance is given in a record which the Malone Society does edit.

> [P/3](23 October 1537) [p. 48]
> Item in reward the xxiij day of Octobre to the / kynge*s* pleyers — v^{s}
> [11]

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[9] NRO: Lestrange, P/2, p.108.
[10] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 14.
[11] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 48.

The comparison of these two records, kept by different individuals (or at least preserved in different hands), not only confirms their attendance that week, but narrows it to a specific day, 23 October 1537. This does not either imply or deny, the possibility that they were guests for the remainder of the week as no length of stay is indicated in the strangers list. That they were rewarded specifically for performance, and what sort of play the players were involved in is, unsurprisingly, also not recorded.

Interaction with Other Communities

Sixteenth century Hunstanton had good road connections along the coast and was immediately at the end of the Peddar's Way, making it strange that there were not an even higher amount of noble guests and travelling entertainers visiting. It should be remembered that geographically, Hunstanton is in a remote corner of Norfolk. While it had good road connections to King's Lynn, nearby villages, and even Norwich, it was a terminus location, not really a place en route to somewhere else. The same cannot be said for King's Lynn which was a busy port providing traffic in many directions. The Lestranges made numerous trips to London and elsewhere and the expenses incurred while travelling are recorded, providing useful information for those wishing to trace the more commonly used routes. As an example, and because they contain entertainment-related records, the rewards given while heading towards London are transcribed.

> [P/1](From 1 May 1520) [p. 87]
> Rewarde*s* to Londonward
> It*em* to m*aste*r Benyfled horskepe*r* ye first daye of maye at oxborugh — iiij^{d}
> It*em* to a mynstrell at Newm*ar*kett At my m*aster*s comaundment — iiij^{d}
> It*em* to an harmyte Betwy*n* Barkney & Ware — j^{d}
> It*em* to a ffreer at [-at-] ware — ij^{d}
> It*em* p*ai*d to ye Keper of the wardope w*ith* my lorde [-at-] in reward at the delyv*er*y of my m*aste*r cote clothe — ij^{s}
> It*em* to iij pore men at powlis be my m*aster*s comandment — j^{d} [12]

This notes that the route Sir Thomas went from Hunstanton in the direction of Oxborough (Norfolk), and then from Newmarket (Suffolk) to Ware (Hertfordshire) on his way to London. In Oxborough there is an expense for a horsekeeper, and in Newmarkett a minstrel receives the same amount.[13] The next two entries are gifts to

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[12] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 87.
[13] This may be 'Warner of Newmarket' who is rewarded elsewhere in the accounts as a minstrel at a slightly later period and will be discussed later in this chapter.

religious figures, a hermit they met somewhere between Barkney and Ware, and a friar at Ware. It is unknown why these two were rewarded, but it is most likely that these are records only of simple charitable donations. Similarly, the final payment is to three poor men at Powlis. That Sir Thomas was travelling on horseback can be assumed not only from the need for rewarding a 'horskeper' (and there are payments on other journeys for the horse's sustenance, 'horsmete'), but his speed of travel. He had travelled to Oxborough by the first of May, and was at the Rose tavern by the third of May. From surrounding records it is likely that this tavern was in London, but if it was not, the very next payment indicates that he was 'at ye harpe in ffletestrete' by the fifth of May.

> [P/1](3-5 May 1520) [p. 90]
> Item delivered to my master ye iijrd daye of maye at ye rose taverne — ij^{s} iiij^{d}
> Item delivered to my master the vth daye of maye at ye harpe in ffletestrete — iij^{s} iiij^{d} [14]

The expenses recorded during Sir Thomas' trips are normally those of subsistence — food, drink, lodging, and horse-related expenses. This makes his donations to poor men, minstrels, friars and hermits stand out as unusual.

Similarly, the accounts as a whole tend to concentrate mainly on food purchases. The majority of these, when noted, come from towns within a five or six mile range. Fring, Heacham (especially its fair), and Snettisham's market feature prominently.[15] Some example payments referring to Snettisham include.

> [P/1](1518 week ending 19 September) [p. 8]
> Item to John Causton Son for goyng to Snetisham / for conyes ij tymes — j^{d} [16]

> [P/1](1518 week ending 10 October) [p. 10]
> Item to Grawnt of Snetisham for a peck Otemelle — iij^{d}
> Item to hym for gret naile — ij^{d}
> Item for ij pygges at Snetisham market — ix^{d} [17]

The relation of the nearby communities to the Lestrange household are explored, along with other economic factors, in detail by Oestmann.[18] That the Lestranges had holdings in Fring, Heacham, Lynn and Snettisham helps to explain why references to

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[14] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 90.
[15] A number of records concerning these fairs are transcribed as examples. The Lestranges often received money referred to as the 'toll' of Heacham fair in the mid-sixteenth century.
[16] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 8.
[17] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 10.
[18] Oestmann, *Lordship and Community*, pp. 29-151.

these locations appear so regularly in the accounts. Nonetheless, their general proximity means that even if the Lestranges had not been directly involved in these communities, their markets would have been relied upon for supplies.[19]

Entertainers and Performance

The Malone Society was very thorough in its searches for records concerning performance in the Lestrange Household Accounts. The Malone Society only missed five records which it would certainly have transcribed if they were noticed. The first is a duplicate of one it edits from BL ADD. MS 27449, fol. 9, which is an extract by John Fenn, added to the manuscript in 1772. The Malone Society edits the records thus:

> *(week ending 1 January, 1520)*
>
> [p. 75] Item to ye lord of Crystemasse at Ryngsted iiij^{d}
> [Add. MS 27449, fol. 9]
> 40 To my Lord of Oxforth's Bereward — reward 0·7·8
> 35 To the Lord of Crystmasse at Ryngsted — reward 0·0·4 [20]

The Malone Society transcribes the duplicate record for the 'Lord of Crystmasse at Ryngsted' but not a duplicate record for the 'Lord of Oxforth's Bereward'. If Fenn's extracts are to be trusted, this record must have existed when he consulted the manuscript. The location of the record is dependent upon the explanation of the numbers prefixing Fenn's extracts. It was noticed that the '35' prior to the final extract concerning the Lord of Christmas reflected the extremely faded, and now unused, pagination of NRO: Lestrange P/1. That is, page 35 has become page 75 since Fenn made his extracts. That the Malone Society was unable to find the original record concerning the 'Bereward' possibly indicates that it read NRO: Lestrange P/1 prior to BL Add. MS 27449, and so were unaware that the original record which Fenn had extracted had been missed, until the transcriptions were compiled for publication. Logically, if page 35 has become page 75, then page 40 must have become page 80. What might have confused the editors more is that the record for the 'Bereward' is noted in Hamon Lestrange's nineteenth century index to the manuscript, but is given as being on page 81. Even more confusingly, this error does not exist when Hamon

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[19] The type of produce differs only marginally according to the community it was purchased from. Overall, it appears that grain and livestock were understandably purchased more regularly from those communities further inland, while the townsfolk of Hunstanton were paid more often for the provision of seafood. For example, Cod, Sticklebacks, Red (and other varieties of) Herrings, appear especially frequently in the accounts as having come from Hunstanton.
[20] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 20.

Lestrange's index references the lord himself — 'Oxford, my Lord of' — as being on page 80. On page 80 there is only a single entry at the top of the page not transcribed by the Malone Society.

> [P/1](1520 week ending 12 February) [p. 80]
> The xxj weke / Item to my lord of Oxforth Bereward in Reward —
> xx^{d} [21]

This very legible entry is alone on the top of page 80 and so it is remarkable that the Malone Society missed it. Further problems are raised by comparing it to Fenn's extract. This lists the amount that the bearward was given as seven shillings and eight pence instead of the twenty pence that the original manuscript records. Either the Malone Society or Fenn have confused a one shilling character for a seven shilling character (one shilling and eight pence equalling the original's twenty pence). It is unlikely that Fenn would have mistranscribed twenty pence as seven shillings and eight pence, and more likely that the Malone Society misread his cursive, eighteenth century one shilling mark.[22]

The next record which the Malone Society omits from the published extracts which falls within its principles of selection is from 1520 in the recording of the expenses of Sir Thomas Lestrange whilst heading towards London.

> [P/1](From 1 May 1520) [p. 87]
> Rewarde*s* to Londonward
> I*tem* to a mynstrell at Newm*ar*kett At my m*asters* comaundment —
> iiij^{d} [23]

As this entry was missed, not only by the Malone Society but also by myself on first reading, and as a number of later records concerning one 'Warner of Newmarket' can be seen in the Malone Society extracts, Hamon Lestrange's index was consulted and all referenced instances of 'Newmarket' examined. Hence the above record was found, even though overlooked previously, amongst a page of densely written travelling expenses.[24]

Whether this 'mynstrrell at Newm*ar*kett' has any relation to the 'Warner of Newmarket' who appears later is unknown. But, as this record is from 1520, and the latest record mentioning 'Warner' is from 1543, some twenty three years later, it is

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[21] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 80.
[22] BL Add. MS 27449 has not been consulted to see where the error originates.
[23] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 87.
[24] Strangely, the reference is only indexed under 'Newmarket' and not under 'Minstrels'. This indicates not only the value of these indices but also their unreliability and their preoccupations.

unlikely that they are the same person. Yet, no other minstrels from Newmarket (Suffolk) are recorded before 1550. The other records concerning 'Warner' are drawn together here.

> [P/3](17 April 1537) [p. 45]
> Item in reward the xvij day of aprill aforeseid / to warner of
> newm*ar*kett — xx^{d} [25]

> [P/3](22 August 1538) [p. 675]
> Item in reward the xxij day of august to / Warner of Newm*ar*kett —
> xij^{d} [26]

> [P/4](12 April 1538) [p. 48]
> Item in reward the same day to Hayles / the minstrell — iiij^{d}
> Item in reward the seid xxiij day of Aprill to / Warn*er* the Minstrell
> of Newm*ar*kett — xij^{d} [27]

> [P/4](10 June 1543) [p. 207]
> Item in Reward the x day of lune to Warn*er* of Newm*ar*kett the
> Minstrell — xx^{d} [28]

The Malone Society also transcribed a number of seventeenth century records noting that the Lestranges rewarded the waits of Newmarket numerous times during the early seventeenth century. That there is a sustained interaction between the Lestranges and Newmarket is interesting as it is a location Sir Thomas Lestrange often visited on the way to London.

It is debatable whether the Malone Society would have transcribed the next record, but it is likely. In the midst of expenses concerning a trip Sir Thomas took to Boston there is a record of eight pence to singing children.

> [P/3](1534 after 17 July) [p. 259]
> Item at Robynson*es* at Boston whan ye playd at ye card*es* — xx^{d}
> ...
> Item to the syngyng chyldern of Boston — viij^{d}
> Item to the freers — iiij^{d} [29]

That the Malone Society would not have transcribed the donation to the friars or the money lost at cards is certain, but the 'syngyng chyldern of Boston' implies a certain degree of performance which would have been within its scope. Whether this is for a boy's choir in a religious institution is unknown.

It is understandable why the Malone Society did not transcribe, or at least not edit, the following record. In a series of pages which are torn and badly damaged there

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[25] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 45.
[26] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 675.
[27] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 48.
[28] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 207.
[29] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 259.

is a record of one of 'the ffrenche quenes mynstrell*es*' receiving twenty pence.

> [P/4](Most Likely 1527) [p. 337]
> ... Brother in Lawe [-fo-] in reward / ... — xx^{d}
> ... [e]mber to ˄[one of] the ffrenche quenes mynstrell*es* at / ... [f]or
> his reward*es* — xx^{d} /
> S*um*ma — iij^{s} iiij^{d} [30]

The above extract is from a damaged page and so it is difficult to situate since no dating clauses survive on any of the extant portions of this or the other damaged pages. The hand is the same as that found in the accounts of the household's steward a few pages earlier. These date from 1527, and as a number of other expenses relating to the 'ffrenche quene' are from October 1527 and note that Sir Thomas Lestrange went to visit her in Walsingham, it is quite likely that this is the time when her minstrels were being rewarded.[31]

The only other payment which might have fallen within the scope of Malone Society guidelines is now highly faded and on a partially damaged folio.

> [P/4](20 January 1550) [p. 507]
> ... [p*ai*]d the xxth daye of january by my mas*t*ers / [comm]andment
> for the ple[y] — xiiij^{d} [32]

The transcription of this record brackets difficult or uncertain readings, which, if misread, would change the nature of the payment significantly. If it is indeed for a 'pley', then the first question is what is the nature of this play. As there is no supporting information it is impossible to tell whether it is 'pleying' of music, drama or, as is more likely given the use of 'pley' throughout the accounts, playing at dice or cards.

There are other uses of 'play' related words which are not so easily dismissed. The first and most important is from the Christmas season of 1523.

> [P/1](1523 week ending 27 December) [p. 278]
> Item p*ai*d to iiij pleyers y*a*t sholde a pleyed ye same day y*a*t M*as*ter
> owen Cam / hyther in reward at my M*as*ters Comandemen*t* — viij^{d}
> [33]

The statement that these four 'pleyers' were those 'y*a*t sholde a pleyed' supports the idea of players as showing plays or interludes of some sort. It is not necessary that this

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[30] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 337.
[31] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 324. If the Malone Society noticed and transcribed this record they may have decided not to edit it because of the inability to ascribe a reliable date to the extract, but this would be inconsistent with their editing of other uncertain records.
[32] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 507.
[33] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 278.

was a dramatic play, but that showing a play refers to a variety of sporting games, spectacle or even musical events. Nonetheless, this is unlikely given the difference in the manner of recording the event. Rather than suggesting that they showed a play, it is much more probable that this is a payment for players who were sent away, or were unable to play for some reason. This would mean that the 'a' is 'have' and that they 'should have played'. Why they were sent away is unknown, and possible reasons range from the moral to the financial. It would be unlikely for them to have been sent away on moral grounds, based on the amount of gambling recorded in the accounts, both of these might not have been viewed as ethically similar.

The next payment, while it doesn't clearly establish dramatic performance, at least indicates an origin, Wymondham, for the players. It is followed immediately by a payment for a minstrel from Dereham the same day. The Christmas season was a common time for performers to visit and a variety of entertainment takes place in the Lestrange household.

> [P/3](4 January 1537) [p. 591]
> Item in reward the iiijth day of Ianuary to the players / that Cam
> from Wyndham — ij^{s}
> Item in reward the same day a Minstrell that Cam / from Dereham
> — xij^{d} [34]

That there were players visiting from Wymondham[35] is not surprising, as the surviving records of four guilds from this town (All Saints, Holy Trinity, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist) indicate a significant amount of dramatic and minstrel activity. The Malone Society edits extracts from Wymondham which show numerous records for minstrels. Nevertheless, because of the number of missing documents The Malone Society did have to rely substantially upon antiquarian transcription.[36] These were not the first performers from Wymondham to visit the Lestrange household. A few years earlier two minstrels were paid eight pence.

> [P/3](17 August 1533) [p. 151]
> Item in Reward the [$_{\wedge}$x]vij daye of Auguste to ij mynstrelles / off
> Wyndham — viij^{d} [37]

The later 'players' could have been the same type of performer as these earlier

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[34] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 591.
[35] The Malone Society and myself do not expand 'Wyndham' to 'Wymondham' as no abbreviation mark is present. Wymondham is often referred to as 'Wyndham' throughout the accounts, and this represents both the contemporary and current pronunciation.
[36] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 119-132.
[37] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 151.

minstrels, or might have followed a route based on their experience, but it is just as possible that there was no connection between the two sets of entertainers.

As mentioned earlier, there are some records of strangers who were guests of the Lestrange household. Entertainers are only once recorded in these lists.

> [P/3](21 - 28 October 1537) [p. 14]
> Straungers / my lord ffytzwater / m*aste*r Calthorpe / m*aste*r
> *Christo*fer Conynge*s*by / George Cressen / and the Kynge*s* pleyers
> 38

Although the assumption can be made that they are in Hunstanton for some form of performance, the nature of this performance or multiple performances is unknown. What this record does tell us is who else was present in the house, and so could have seen the performance. The Malone Society edits the record for the performer's reward but not their stay in the house.[39]

These two records are kept by different members of the household, and as such support the argument for their attendance. While the record notes that they were rewarded on a specific day, 23 October 1537, this might have little bearing on the specific day of their performance. It might have been given the day of the performance, on their arrival, or even on their departure after an unspecified length of stay and number of performances.

What sort of 'play' the 'kynge*s* pleyers' were involved in is also subject to query. As with all references to play there is the constant concern that it could be many things, including musical activity (the 'playing' of instruments) or game playing. The latter suggestion is supported by a payment just three years later.

> [P/4](20 December 1540) [p. 52]
> Item in reward the same day to the Kynge*s* / Game pleyars — iij^{s}
> iiij^{d} 40

That the 'Kynge*s* / Game pleyars' are rewarded three years later does not imply that the earlier 'kynge*s* pleyers' were the same group, or performing the same type of entertainment. This does raise the possibility that the earlier players were 'Game pleyars' and not actors or musicians. And yet, 'Game' does not necessarily eliminate the possibility of various forms of dramatic representation or performance.

The words used to record expenses to performers are highly variable and the

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[38] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 14.
[39] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 48.
[40] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 52.

same words are used with different senses within a very short period. An example is a record for 'spetacles' mentioned in 31 May 1543, which is, in reality, an expense of twenty pence "for a peier of spetacles"[41] at the end of a long list of clothing-related purchases. It is not the word chosen for expenses itself which illuminates the meaning of the record but the context in which it is found.

By far the most common designation for performers in the Lestrange accounts is the generic 'minstrel'. While this is normally understood as a musician and/or singer of some sort, it is rarely possible to determine more about the nature of their performances.[42] Records concerning such minstrels can be further subdivided into minstrels whose names are given, whose patrons are named or those about whom no information is given.[43]

It is very rare that minstrel's names are given in the accounts, and the only instances are of 'Hayles / the minstrell' and the already discussed 'Warn*er* the Minstrell of Newm*ar*kett'. That these two minstrels knew of each other is likely as they are rewarded within short spaces of time of each other. Hayles is rewarded on the 12 April and Warner on the 23 April of 1538.

> [P/4](from 12 April 1538) [p. 48]
> Item in reward the same day to Hayles / the minstrell — iiij^{d}
> Item in reward the seid xxiij day of Aprill to / Warn*er* the Minstrell of Newm*ar*kett — xij^{d} [44]

Their proximity does not necessarily indicate any relation, interaction or competition, but they also return that autumn about a month apart. Warner also appears in the accounts for 22 August 1538.

> [P/3](22 August 1538) [p. 675]
> Item in reward the xxij day of august to / Warner of Newm*ar*kett — xij^{d} [45]

Hayles returns on the 25 September 1538:

> [P/3](25 September 1538) [p. 675]
> Item in reward the xxv day of Septemb*er* to / Hayles the Minstrell — iij^{s} iiij^{d} [46]

That they both returned within that year is of interest to those investigating minstrel

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[41] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 249.
[42] See also the discussion concerning minstrels in King's Lynn in Chapter Two.
[43] This division is, of course, artificial and only of use for the discussion at hand. There is no suggestion that such divisions were intended by those writing the accounts.
[44] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 48.
[45] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 675.
[46] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 675.

routes. It also tells us that they thought it in their own interest to return to somewhere previously visited four or five months earlier. If their trip needed to be economically viable then this indicates that they were confident of sufficient rewards here to make it worthwhile. Another possiblity is that they were otherwise employed as messengers, and that their activities as a minstrel were secondary in nature.

There are many more records in the Lestrange accounts for minstrels with named patrons. Those patrons mentioned are Sir John Audeley, Lord Morley, Lord Surrey, Henry VIII, Lord of Sussex, Lord Privy Seal, Lord of Rutland, and the Duke of Suffolk, as well as a Master Robsares and Master Hegon.

In the second appendix to the *Collections XI* volume concerned with Norfolk and Suffolk, the Malone Society list the dates and type of entertainers recorded as being associated with various nobles.[47] Of those listed above most have entertainers who are recorded as having travelled in Norfolk or Suffolk in the same period. The Duke of Suffolk had minstrels, trumpeters, bearwards, jocatores, and ludatores appearing especially in Thetford and Yarmouth in nearby years.

The only corresponding payments from the same year that is likely to have some connection to those recorded in the Lestrange accounts are those of Lord Rutland whose minstrels were in Thetford and Hunstanton in 1538. In neither account is the number of minstrels mentioned, but Lord Rutland's minstrels also appear in the previous years accounts of Thetford Priory in which there were three minstrels noted.[48] This does not necessarily mean that minstrels were the same set from year to year. The Thetford Priory accounts are full of the records of numerous performers, but given its central location on the way from Norwich to London, and King's Lynn to Norwich, their frequency is not surprising. Hunstanton, on the other hand, is only on the way if the coastal road is being followed.

Visiting minstrels are recorded as being from Wymondham, Dereham and Lynn amongst other places. These are all relatively nearby and so it is not remarkable that entertainers from these places would travel to Hunstanton. Entertainers from the East Anglian region feature prominently in the accounts, indicating that it was more likely for performers who knew the area to travel to out of the way place such as Hunstanton. There are only two payments to 'minstrels' who are not named or

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[47] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 211-228.
[48] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 114.

associated with patrons or places. Coincidentally, in each case two minstrels are rewarded.

The division between minstrels and musical performers who have their instrument or activity specified is artificial since it is probable that some of those recorded as minstrels were pipers, trumpeters, taborers and others of the types of musicians recorded. Where a musician is specified by type of instrument, some details of the type of music they performed are self-evident. When they are only called a 'minstrel' it is unclear whether they played an instrument, sang or were involved in some other performative activity.

Unlike the records for unspecified minstrels, none of the differentiated performers is individually named. Types of performers other than those mentioned already in the Lestrange accounts were trumpeters, taborers, jugglers, organ players, pipers, and singers. Since these are distinguished from 'minstrel' the assumption could be made that minstrels did not participate in these activities. And yet, it is equally possible that those recorded as generic minstrels participated in more than one of these activities, thus necessitating a general term.

As with minstrels the most common performers are those who are associated with a patron, followed by those noted as being from a secondary location. Only two other performers are not associated with a place or patron. The first rewards a trumpeter on the 19 March 1543.

> [P/4](19 March 1543) [p. 206]
> Item in reward the xix day of Marche to a Tru*m*pyto*ur* — viij^{d} [49]

This does not reveal much about the nature of the entertainment provided, except that trumpeters at times travelled individually. It also highlights that trumpeters are often rewarded quite often in the accounts. This either indicates a musical preference of the household, or another specific use in the household for trumpeters. The next record of an unassociated entertainer directly follows a payment 'to the Duke of Suff*olks* Trumpetours' the same day. This could mean that 'the Taborar' in question was also under the patronage of the Duke of Suffolk, or that he was travelling with the trumpeters.

> [P/3](9 March 1535) [p. 248]
> Item in reward the ix daye of marche to the Duke of Suff*olks*
> Trumpetours — iij^{s}

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[49] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 206.

Item in reward that same daye to the Taborar — v^s [50]

As mentioned earlier, the Duke of Suffolk was also patron of a number of unspecified minstrels. This is not the only instance of his trumpeters being recorded in Hunstanton.

[P/3](17 April 1536) [p. 587]
to the Duke of Suff*olks* trumpyto*rs*
Item in reward the [-mu-] xvij day of Aprill est*e*rn Mu*n*day / to the
duke of Suff*olks* Trumpytou*rs* — xij^d [51]

That the trumpeters were rewarded on Easter Monday of that year suggests that they were involved in the household's Easter celebrations. And yet, at least one of the trumpeters appears again the next year at a time suggesting no specific relation to Easter as he appears on the tenth of May, which was in the third week of Lent in 1537.

[P/3](10 May 1537) [p. 45]
Item in reward the x day of may to my / lord of Suffolk*es* Trumpeter
— xij^d [52]

In 1535, they were paid three shillings, and in the following two years they were paid twelve pence at each visit. In 1538, 'the Duke of Suff*olks* Trumppett*ers*' and the 'lord p*ri*vy Seall*es* Minsterrell' were paid sixteen pence.

[P/3](28 April 1538) [p. 674]
Item in reward the xxviij day of Aprill / to the Duke of Suff*olks*
Trumppett*ers* & to my / lord p*ri*vy Seall*es* Minsterrell xvj^d [53]

None of these amounts is unusual when compared to other rewards given to similar groups of performers. The patrons mentioned for performers not already discussed include Lord Fitzwater (Earl of Sussex). Three of his servants were recorded in Hunstanton in 1536, his juggler in 1538, 1539 and 1543. In a number of years performers under his patronage are recorded in Thetford, Kenninghall, Ipswich amongst other towns. The records from Hunstanton do not indicate whether this was the same juggler returning. The first two records show that the juggler returned at exactly the same time in the year.

[P/3](15 February 1538) [p. 49]
Item in reward the xv day of ffebruary to / a Iogeler that cam from
my lord ff*itz*ewat*er* — viij^d [54]

[P/3](15 February 1539) [p. 677]

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[50] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 248.
[51] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 587.
[52] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 45.
[53] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 674.
[54] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 49.

> Item in reward the xv day of ffebruary to *Master* Hegons
> Mynstrell*es* & to the Iogeler my lord Fytzwater *servant* — iij^{s} [55]

That they have arrived at the same time each year is likely to have been a coincidence, or based on their participation in some unrelated activity. The juggler is recorded again in August 1543.

> [P/4](5 August 1543) [p. 208]
> Item in reward the the[56] v day of august to my lord of Sussex*es* [-
> Ioy'e-] loggler — xij^{d} [57]

That the same performers returned again and again to the Lestrange household implies that they were confident of a reasonable reception and reward. It is this which gives us an insight into the motivation, and hence the nature, of performer's lives.

Donations to Non-Performers

That a variety of performers were well rewarded indicates a charitable and generous household. This is further supported by donations given to religious figures. As already mentioned, when riding to London Sir Thomas Lestrange rewarded a hermit met somewhere between Barkney and Ware, as well as friar at Ware. While it is impossible to know if these figures were rewarded for some service in particular, it is certainly possible that they were charitable donations. This is further supported by the final payment in the set of records to three poor men at Powlis.[58]

There are many examples of charitable donations which have not been transcribed because they are not in themselves indicative of entertainment. Donations to performers could have been viewed as a form of magnanimous charity, those to non-performers which were transcribed were only done so because of their proximity to performance-related records. Many charitable donations were generally to religious figures or institutions. It has previously been noted that the Malone Society would have only transcribed the 'syngyng chyldern of Boston' and not the records of gambling or payment to the friars.[59] The four pence given 'to the freers' suggests that the singing children could have been a boys choir in a religious institution. All of these expenses were secondary to the reason why Sir Thomas was in Boston; he was

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[55] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 677.
[56] [*Sic*].
[57] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 208.
[58] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 87.
[59] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 259.

there to purchase a nag. [60]

In 1527 there are two records which further support the religious dedication of the house. They indicate that Sir Thomas rode on pilgrimage 'toward the holy blod of hayles'.[61] And later, on St Nicholas' Day, he donated money to the clerks at St Nicholas, possibly of the chapel in King's Lynn.

> [P/4](From 15 October 1527) [p. 324]
> Item d*elivere*d ye xvth day of Octob*er* to my m*aste*r whan he rode
> his pylgrymage / toward the holy blod of hayles — lx^{s}
> Item d*elivere*d on seynt Nicholas day to my mast*er* y*at* he gaffe to /
> seynt Nicholas clerk*es* — iiij^{d} [62]

The 'seynt Nicholas clerk*es*' might have been the retinue of a boy bishop. Unfortunately, there is no more information provided about where the 'clerk*es*' are from that might help to establish this: It is obvious that performers were not the only ones to be rewarded. Some records give the reasons for the charitable donation, and they are often needy cases which would evoke pity.

> [P/3](17 January 1537) [p. 622]
> Item d*elivere*d yow the xvij day of january that yow dyd giff / a man
> of cure that had brent his hous — viij^{d} [63]

These donations are important not only because the gifts to performers could have been viewed in a similar light as the gifts to religious figures and other charitable donations, but also they provide a context by which the significance of amounts given to performers can be judged.

The Foole of the Kechyn

The generosity of the Lestranges extended to their own household. From at least April of 1533 until at least 1550 the Lestranges retained a fool who worked in the kitchen. It is almost certain, from the outset, that this was not an artificial witty jester, but an innocent or natural fool.[64] This is probably the reason why the Malone Society does not transcribe the numerous records concerning this fool. And yet, simpletons and those with various forms of physical and mental illness were used for many types

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[60] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 259.
[61] This was at Hayles Abbey, Gloucester.
[62] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 324.
[63] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 622.
[64] See E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903, repr. as single volume, New York: Dover, 1996) I: pp. 334-389, Enid Welsford, *The Fool: His Social and Literary History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1935) and *Fools and Folly*, ed. by Clifford Davidson, *EDAM* Monograph Series 22 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996) for more wide ranging discussions.

of spectacle and entertainment. Whatever our modern distaste of the use of others' mental health as a source of amusement, these individuals should still be studied and REED does transcribe them.[65] This should not imply that the Lestrange's fool was in any way used as a source of spectacle or amusement — there is nothing in the records to suggest this. Nonetheless, the fool is usually referred to as such and this form of classification and demarcation in itself constructs the fool as a liminal character within the household. He was part of the household but simultaneously differentiated from normal members of society who were also a part of the same household.

It is not 1533 but 1527 which provides the first record of the fool. In the series of torn folios, which in discussing a payment to the 'the ffrenche quenes mynstrell*es*' have been established to likely date from 1527, there is a payment for making 'a payer of Shoe*s* for Rob*er*t ye ffoolle'. Not only does this give us an earlier date for the fool's existence in the household, but gives him a name. As this name is never used in conjunction with later payments to him, it is impossible to be certain that this is the same fool.

> [P/4](Most likely 1527) [p. 339]
> ... [e]mber Rob*er*t Taillor for makyng of a / ... [t*or*k?] the ffooll — vj^{d}
> ... to hym for a payer of Shoe*s* for Rob*er*t ye ffoolle — v^{d} [66]

The majority of records concerning the fool are for clothing. These records are often found amongst the clothing expenses for the Lestrange's own children, indicating the fool was viewed very much as part of the household. Here shoes were bought for their sons Richard and William, John Cressner's son, and the fool. That the fool is mentioned in between members of the family indicates that he was an intimate member of the household, as the Cressners were good friends, and eventually extended relations of the Lestrange family. The record is followed by two others on the same page for two calf skins and the making of a doublet (presumably from the aforesaid calf skins).

> [P/3](from 6 April 1533) [p. 139]
> Item p*aid* to the shomaker of Lynn the vj daye of Apryll for / a payer of Sho*es* for Rychard & a payer for John Cresiner*es* / boye & a payer for the foll*e* and a payre for Wyllyam — xxiij^{d}
> ...
> Item p*aid* to Ralfe of hecham for ij Kalve Skyn*es* the / xxix daye off maye for the fooll — xij^{d}
> Item p*aid* to the taylere the xxix daye of maye for makynge / the

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[65] Most notably in the *Newcastle-Upon-Tyne* volume, in which routine payments for clothing given to fools are recorded.

[66] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 339. This folio is damaged.

fool a doblett — iij[d] [67]

Not only was the fool bought shoes, and a doublet, but in the same year he was bought at least another pair of shoes and sloppes with a petticoat.

[P/3](From 27 September 1533) [p. 140]
Item paid to the bocher off hunst*anton* the xxvij daye off Septe*m*ber
for a / payre off shoy*es* for the fooll — vij[d]
...
Item paid to Ralff Thomson the xj daye off October for Clowty*n*ge /
lether for the boye off the kytchyn and the fooll — iiij[d]
...
Item paid the xviij[th] daye off November to John Syffe for iij yerd*es* /
off blankett for a petykott & payre off sloppe*s* for the fooll — ij[s] vj[d]
[68]

The middle record, from 11 October 1533, does not mention shoes, but speaks only of 'Clowty*n*ge / lether'. What this 'Clowty*n*ge' may have been is not entirely clear, but is either the beating into shape (perhaps for shoes) or more probably the mending of leather.[69] That this leather was used for shoes is suggested by a later payment.

[P/3](18 march 1537) [p. 71]
Item paid te xviij day of marche for a peyer of show*es* for the ffoole
of the Kechin / & for the clowghtyng — xj[d] [70]

In addition to the two shillings and six pence spent on clothing for the fool on the 18 November 1533, the household accounts also note that another seven pence were spent on the fool.

[P/3](22 November 1533) [p. 99]
Satterdaye /
Item spente in the Seyd Weeke /
...
Item spente [-in-] for folle — vij[d] [71]

The amount of money spent on the fool each year is not remarkable in comparison to the expenses for clothing of the family members, and yet, the fool was rewarded with clothing significantly more frequently than any other (non-familial) member of the household. In a number of years the fool received not only a few pairs of shoes, but a variety of other clothing. A typical example is in 1537 when the fool received a pair of hose in January, a pair of shoes in March, two shirts and a pair of sloppes in August, a leather doublet in September, and another paire of shoes in October.[72] In 1534 the fool

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[67] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 139.
[68] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 140.
[69] cf. *MED* and *OED* 'clout'.
[70] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 71.
[71] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 99.
[72] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, pp. 71-4.

received a 'ceke' made by a tailour. It is uncertain what this might have been.

> [P/3](Between 20 September and 13 October 1534) [p. 267]
> Item p*aid* to the ta*i*ller for makyng of the foolle*s* ceke — iiij^{d} [73]

In 1534 there is an expense on 20 November for 'a peyer of schow*es* for Robyn of the Kytchyn' that is immediately followed by an expense from 12 December 'for mendyng of the foolis schow*es*'.

> [P/3](From 20 November 1534 onwards) [p. 268]
> Item p*aid* to John Syffe the xx^{ti} of the same moneth for / a peyer of schow*es* for Robyn of the Kytchyn — vij^{d}
> Item p*aid* for mendyng of the foolis schow*es* the xij daye / of December — ij^{d} [74]

There is a natural temptation to try and connect these two payments but it is quite a short period of time for the shoes already to be in need of repair. If 'Robyn' was the fool, the entry for 'Rob*er*t ye ffoolle' on the damaged folio discussed earlier might have been misread.[75] In addition, the names 'Robyn' and 'Rob*er*t' were commonly used interchangeably. Robyn might have been the 'boye of the kechyn' who was also named (and distinguished from) the fool of the kitchen in another record. By 1550 there was, not surprisingly, a new 'boy of the kitchen' who is referred to as "Eruck the boye of / the Keching".[76] This suggests that the boy of the kitchen and the fool were separate people.

That the fool was almost always called 'the ffoole of the Kechin' before 1543 leads naturally to the question of whether the household had other fools. It is only in 1538 when there are records which lead one to believe that, for this year at least, there might have been more than one fool. In February 1538, a pair of shoes are bought for a singular 'foole of the Kechyn' with no trailing palaeographical flourishes on 'foole' to indicate an abbreviation.

> [P/3](3 February 1538) [p. 75]
> Item p*aid* the iijrd day of ffebruary for a peyer of Shoys for the foole of the Kechyn — vj^{d} [77]

And yet, by June, the word fool is used in the plural:

> [P/3](3 June 1538) [p. 703]
> Item p*aid* the ij^{d} day of June for iij yerd*es* of / Blankett for to hose

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[73] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 267.
[74] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 268.
[75] The abbreviated 'Rob*er*t' uses a standard 'er' abbreviation and ends with a clearly written 't'. The reading was also checked by an NRO archivist.
[76] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 521.
[77] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 75.

> the fooles of the Kechin — ij^{s} ij^{d} [78]

But this does not establish multiple fools in the kitchen, as it could be a scribal error. And yet, later in the same month an expense for two pairs of shoes also indicates there could have been two fools.

> [P/3](15 June 1538) [p. 703]
> Item p*aid* the xv day of June for ij payere of / shoys for the ij ffooles — xiij^{d} [79]

It is of specific interest that the pairs of shoes are 'for the ij ffooles' not the aforementioned 'the fooles of the Kechin'. The first record for the two fools might be more accurate than the one implying they both worked in the kitchen. The designation 'of the Kechin' was used to distinguish one of the fools from the other. There was the one who works in the kitchen and the one who worked elsewhere. In November of the same year two shirts were bought 'for the foole of the kechin'.

> [P/3](3 November 1538) [p. 705]
> Item p*aid* the iij day of Novemb*er* for ij Shert*es* / for the foole of the kechin — xx^{d} [80]

That 'the foole' is in the singular is not necessarily a sign that there was only one fool. That the fool of the kitchen continued from this point forward to be referred to in the singular suggests this is likely. Nevertheless, there is a set of payments for the fool which also suggest the existence of another, unrecorded fool. This is partially supported by a set of payments from 1540 in which shirts, shoes and hose were bought 'for the ffole of the Kechyn' and the hose was noted as being 'for the / sem*e* ffoole'. If there were only one fool in the household, would there be any need to specify this as the 'sem*e* ffoole'? Yet, this might only have been accounting terminology to clarify that it was indeed the same fool and not some new fool. Nevertheless, if there were only one fool there would be no possibility of confusion, hence no need to specify.

> [P/4](29 May 1540) [p. 82]
> Item p*aid* the same daye to Kemps wiff of Walsyngham / for ij shert*es* for the ffole of the Kechyn — xx^{d}
> Item p*aid* the same day for a peier of show*es* for him — viij^{d}
> Item p*aid* the same day for a peyer of hose for the / sem*e* ffoole — xvij^{d}
> Item p*aid* the same day the taylour of Godwik for / makyng of a doblett for him — iij^{d} [81]

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[78] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 703.
[79] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 703.
[80] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 705.
[81] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 82.

To summarise so far: that the fool is normally referred to as being 'of the Kechyn' suggests the possibility of the existence of another fool. With the payments 'for the ij fooles' this is confirmed, and yet, there is little other sign of another fool in the household in any of the other years. There are a small number of instances where records mention 'ffooles', but these are only used in a possessive sense and are not indicative of more than one fool.

> [P/4](10 September 1543) [p. 247]
> Item *paid* the same day for makyng of the / ffooles sloppes to Roulond the taylour — ij^{d} 82

What is strange with the accounting for the fools, and the attempt to determine if more that one exist, is that until about 1543 the fool is almost always referred to as being of the kitchen, but after this date only simply as the fool. If there were two fools, the one in the kitchen might have left or died sometime after 1543, and so no differentiation was needed. There are very few instances prior to this date which do not label the fool as being from the kitchen. More simply, if there were two fools, the second of which started to be recorded more regularly after the departure of the fool of the kitchen, why was the other fool not recorded before this? The other fool could have been one of the many named individuals in the accounts, but no records indicating this have been found.

Shortly after the fool stops being recorded in association with the kitchen, a single year's expenses towards 'the foule' are recorded all in a single block of entries. Normally the entries are intermingled with the accounting for other expenses, especially clothes for other members of the family. In 1548 a record of a full year of the fool's clothing expenses were compiled by the household's steward.

> [P/4](From 31 January 1548) [p. 382]
> Item p*aid* the last of Januarye for a payer / of showes for the foule — ix^{d}
> Item p*aid* the xxxth of marche for a peyer of sloppes for the foule — xx^{d}
> Item p*aid* the vth of maye for a payer of / showes for the foule — x^{d}
> Item p*aid* the xijth of august for a peyer / of showes for the foule — x^{d}
>
> [P/4](From 8 September 1548)[83] [p. 383]
> Item p*aid* the viijth of September for gere / boughte for the foule — iiij^{s}
> Item p*aid* the laste of November for A / payer of Showes for the foule — xij^{d}

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82 NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 247.

83 This set of entries continues on directly from the previous page.

> Item paid the same daye for a yerd & dimidio of / causeye for a peyer of sloppes for the foule — ij^{s}
> Item paid the seme daye for a payer of — / showes for the boye of the kychuyn — viij^{d}
> Item paid the j laste of december for a / payer of Showes for the foule — xij^{d} [84]

This set of records gives a unique accounting of a full set of expenses for clothing for the fool. In January the fool received a pair of shoes, in March a pair of sloppes and another pair of shoes in both May and August. In September 'gere', which generally refers to clothes throughout the accounts, was bought for the fool. On the last day of November he was bought a pair of shoes and a pair of sloppes. The same day another pair of shoes were purchased 'for the boye of the kychuyn'. As mentioned earlier this probably was not meant to refer to the fool, but the record's placement here in a list of expenses entirely for the fool brings this into question. It could also only imply that the fool was still resident in the kitchen, hence why the expense for the boy's shoes were included at this point. Finally, on the last day of December, the fool was purchased another pair of shoes. Not including the record 'for the boye of the kychuyn' a total of eleven shillings and three pence were spent on the fool's clothing that year.

The REED volume which gives a best comparison for records concerning fools is that for Newcastle-Upon-Tyne.[85] Although they start much later than the records in the Lestrange accounts, there were systematic civic payments from the Newcastle-Upon-Tyne chamberlains' accounts relating to clothing for local fools "which were a significant item in the city's expenditure".[86] The frequency and amount of clothes purchased was generally consistent over a long period with individual fools receiving multiple complete outfits and several pairs of shoes. These were charitable donations to simple minded or 'natural' fools, not performers. "What is clear is that there is an element of charity in the maintenance of some if not all of the fools."[87] The editor continues but distinguishes the type of charity from that given to the poor.

> A few named fools occur only once or twice, in contexts which give little indication of their standing. It seems that the term 'fool' was used both for simple-minded unfortunates who, like other unfortunates, received regular or occasional charitable payments or gifts, and for others who were given a kind of official position and

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[84] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, pp. 382-3.
[85] *REED: Newcastle-Upon-Tyne*, ed. by J.J. Anderson, Records of Early English Drama (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).
[86] J.J. Anderson, *Newcastle-Upon-Tyne*, p. xviii.
[87] J.J. Anderson, *Newcastle-Upon-Tyne*, p. xviii.

> where expected to perform in return for the considerable sums of money spent on them.[88]

It is unlikely that the fool or fools of the Lestrange household were called upon for performance, but as with the numerous payments for the fools in the *REED: Newcastle-Upon-Tyne* volume this performance is unable to be discounted outright. The fool might have been involved in some type of performance or entertainment and was only remunerated through his maintenance and clothing. Even if the fool was not involved in any specific performance, he could have been a source of entertainment because of his mental or physical state. It might be that his very act of being different from the normal members of the household was viewed as a performative act in itself, regardless of its unintentionality. It is for these reasons that all the records concerning the fool were transcribed in the Lestrange accounts. The editing of these records has then shown that the fool is only very rarely mentioned in relation to anything other than his clothing expenses.

Dycing, Schotyng and Pleying at Cardes

That dicing, shooting, card playing and other forms of gambling are not transcribed in Malone Society or REED collections is not unexpected. These projects are interested strictly in performance, and gambling rarely involves the amount of spectacle which would be indicative of performance. It does indicate the nature of general entertainment in the household. The separation of some forms of entertainment because they involve mimetic activity from others makes it difficult to understand the whole nature of entertainment in a noble household such as the Lestranges of Hunstanton. This context needs to be examined so that dramatic activity that is recorded, or the lack thereof, can be understood. If records concerning game players are to be transcribed in case they prove to be dramatic in nature at a later date, records concerning other types of games should at least be examined in order to ascertain how they were different, and how these differences were perceived by those involved in them. The context for one type of entertainment will not be fully understood unless the remaining records for other types of entertainment are available for comparison.

The reasons for not editing gambling-related expenses are manifold. It is

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[88] J.J. Anderson, *Newcastle-Upon-Tyne*, p. xix.

impossible for projects such as the Malone Society to edit everything, so limits have to be drawn at reasonable levels. The initial reason why the gambling records are of interest while reading through the Lestrange accounts is because of their sheer frequency. It is possible that other forms of entertainment, music and drama for instance, were not as common in the Lestrange household because other diversions were enjoyed more. While there is no way to establish this, the sheer frequency of expenses for card playing suggests that it was a very common household distraction.

A number of expenses for card playing are found immediately preceding records for minstrels and other forms of entertainment over the Christmas period.[89] To extract only the minstrels from this list, as the Malone Society does, gives a very skewed perception of the forms of entertainment the household enjoyed over that holiday season. The steward's accounts for Christmas of 1525 list both minstrels and card playing, indicating that they might have been associated in his mind as the same type of expense: an entertainment or diversion for which his master had requested money.

> [P/3](From 20 December 1525) [p. 339]
> Item delivered ye on seynt Thomas Evyn ye Apostle to my master
> for to pley / at cerdes with master Robert Towneshend — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> Item delivered on seynt Thomas day at nyght to my master to pley at
> cardes with master Robert Towneshend — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> Item delivered to my master ye iiij day of January for [-ye mone-] to
> pay Sir John Cressen for / money that my master Borowyd of hym
> — xx^{s}
> Item delivered ye vijth day of January to my Master yat he gaffe to ij
> Mynstrelles — xij^{d} [90]

In this list we see an obvious interest 'to pley at cardes' over the season. On the eve of the feast of St Thomas the apostle, as well as 'on seynt Thomas day at nyght' Sir Thomas Lestrange spent three shillings and four pence each night playing cards with Robert Towneshend. That the steward stresses that it was 'at nyght' is only indicative of his desire to avoid confusion with mentioning 'seynt Thomas day' and 'seynt Thomas Evyn'. The next payment is for money borrowed off 'Sir John Cressen' a frequent visitor and close friend of Sir Thomas'. That this money was for card playing is unable to be established, but it certainly was not unusual for Sir Thomas to receive this kind of amount for card playing. In the Christmas season of 1527-8 he was given

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[89] By far the best source for the history and evolution of card games (as opposed to playing cards) is David Parlett, *The Oxford Guide to Card Games* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
[90] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 339.

twenty shillings when playing cards with Thomas Thorn and Lord Leicester.

> [P/4](1 January 1528) [p. 325]
> Item d*elivered* the first day of January to my mast*er* for ^[whan] he
> pleyd at card*es* / w*ith* Tho*m*as Thorn & [-lyst-] lycester — xx^s [91]

Care must be taken not to jump to conclusions too easily since the interpolated 'whan' suggests the possibility that the money was only delivered to him while playing at cards, not that it was necessarily used for it. And yet, given the number of regular Christmas expenses for money lost at card playing it is certainly a very probable implication of the record.

Gambling was tolerated more during Christmas than at other times of the year, and Henry VIII issued an edict in 1495/6 which forbade the playing of cards except in the Christmas Holidays.[92] In Sir Thomas Lestrange's case money was not only lost during this festive season.

> [P/4](From 28 March 1527) [p. 324]
> It*em* d*elivered* to my mast*er* ye xxviij day of m*a*rche whan he mett
> thomas manne / to pley at cerdes for hym — v^s
> ...
> It*em* d*elivered* ye last day of July to my Mast*er* that he lost to [-
> m*aster* P-] S*ir* Wyllam / Pennyngton at Shotynge — j^s
> ...
> Item d*elivered* ye v^th day of Octob*er* to my master at Walsyngham
> Whan he / was y*ere* to meete w*ith* ye ffrenche qwene [-y*a*t-] for to
> pay S*ir* John herdon ye / lost to hym at dyse — v^s [93]

In these records he is mentioned as playing cards, shooting and dicing. These records help to confirm that other expenses given while gambling are for money lost at those games. He is said to have gone to meet with Thomas Manne on the 28 March 1527 'to pley at cerdes' — the point of the visit was for the purpose of playing cards. The mention that this took place when he was playing cards is not simply to locate the payment more specifically in time. On the last day of July of the same year he is recorded as having lost money to 'S*ir* Wyllam / Pennyngton at Shotynge'. And while visiting the 'ffrenche qwene' in Walsyngham he was given money 'for to pay S*ir* John herdon ye / lost to hym at dyse'. While dicing and shooting figure prominently, by far the most common gambling is card playing. In the spring of 1528 he was involved in a number of games.

> [P/4](From 10 February 1528) [p. 325]

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[91] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 325.
[92] cf. David Parlett, *The Oxford Guide to Card Games*, p. 46. It was servants and apprentices who were forbidden to play, with a fine of six shillings and eight pence for every offence to the householder.
[93] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 324.

Item d*elivered* ye x^th^ day of ffebruary to my m*aster* whan he pleyd
at card*es* / w*ith* John Inglowse & masteres hastynge — iij^s^ iiij^d^
Item d*elivered* ye xv day of ffebruary to my m*aster* whan he pleyd
at / Cardes w*ith* mast*er* wymondham — iij^s^ iiij^d^
...
[P/4](18 March 1528)
Item d*elivered* ye xviij^th^ day of marche to my mast*er* whan he pleyd
[-at-] ^[card*es*] — iij^s^ iiij^d^ [94]

The card playing was not strictly limited to other gentry and acquaintances, Sir Thomas Lestrange gambled with both the nobility, friends and family.

[P/3](From 6 January 1534 onwards) [p. 149]
Item delyv*er*yd to my husbond when he wente to my lorde of /
Northfolk*es* at twelthe — xx^s^
Item delyv*er*yd to hym the same tyme in crystmes for to play — xx^s^
Item delyv*er*yd the same tyme to Edward Owsleye for our / cost*es*
when we went to myn Uncle Woddouse — x^s^ iij^d^
Item delyv*er*yd to my husbond the xiiij daye of ffebruary Whan he /
playd att the card*es* w*ith* John dran*er* — v^s^
Item delyveryd to hym the xvij daye of ffebruary when he pleyd /
att the card*es* w*ith* Mast*er* Bramton — v^s^
...
[P/3](From 22 February 1534 onwards) [p.149]
Item delyveryd to my husbond the xxij daye of the same moneth[95] /
whan he pleyd att the card*es* w*ith* my cosyn gressenalle — x^s^
Item delyveryd to hym the xxiij daye of the same moneth / whan he
pleyd with my cosyn gressenalle — v^s^ [96]

Sir Thomas went to the 'lorde of Northfolk*es*' for Twelfth Night celebrations, and needed twenty shillings at the time, and was given a further twenty shillings at 'the same tyme in crystmes for to play'. It is assumed, given the context of other Christmas gambling that this was to play at cards, not some other form of playing. He was delivered money when he played cards with John Draner on the 14 February and again with Master Bramton on the 17 February. Shortly later he was playing with Dame Anne's cousin, Lord Gressenhall on the 22 and 23 of February. That Sir Thomas Lestrange liked to 'pley att the card*es*' is an obvious conclusion, but this love of gambling might have limited the other forms of entertainment taken up in the house. Even later that summer, when visiting Boston to purchase a nag, he could not resist a game 'at Robynson*es*' which cost him twenty pence.

[P/3](1534 after 17 July) [p. 259]
Item at Robynson*es* at Boston whan ye playd at ye card*es* — xx^d^ [97]

The gambling expenses continued that Christmas season with Dame Anne's cousin

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[94] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 325.
[95] The records are still for February 1534.
[96] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 149.
[97] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 259.

Lord Wymondham.[98] And routinely there are expenses for gambling during most Christmas seasons for which there were complete records throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century.[99]

Sir Thomas was not the only one from the Lestrange family affected by his gambling. In 1537, William Lestrange repays Sir John Southwelle some money his father had borrowed from him for dicing.[100] Anne Lestrange delivered twenty shillings to her husband for playing at dice while her nephew Throckmorton and brother Walton were visiting, and possibly playing with him, in April of the same year.[101] In addition, her brother received twelve pence from him in June that Sir Thomas "lost at Shotyng".[102] Her uncle, Roger Woodhouse, was a frequent shooting and hawking partner.[103] It was not only with his in-laws that Sir Thomas gambled, as on the 7 July 1537, four shillings and four pence was paid "to Roger / le strange for money that he dyd Wyn / of yow at shotyng".[104] On 30 December 1537, three shillings and four pence is given "to ye Will*i*am / le Strange for to playe at the card*es*".[105] At Christmas in 1538 Roger Lestrange is given five shillings 'to pley'. Given the nature of the use of the word 'pley' in the accounts it certainly is more likely that this was for card playing rather than musical or mimetic performance.

> [P/3](Christmastide 1538) [p. 706]
> Item Gyven to Roger le Straunge in Cristmes / to pley — v^{s} [106]

Sir Thomas Lestrange and his sons and in-laws were not the only gamblers in the household. On the 29 December 1543 either Dame Anne Lestrange or her grown up daughter Anne was given twelve pence to play cards.

> [P/4](29 December 1543) [p. 245]
> Anne le Str*ange* /
> Item Gyven to Anne le Straunge for to pleye / at Card*es* in Cristmas
> tyme the xxjx day of dece*m*ber — xij^{d} [107]

While it is good to note that this form of entertainment was not gender exclusive, we must note that she was only given twelve pence, which is little in comparison to the

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[98] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 260.
[99] cf. NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 621, 72, 81, 706, 714 and P/4 p. 245, 284, 285.
[100] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 77.
[101] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 77, cf. E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I: p. 48.
[102] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 78.
[103] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 79.
[104] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 713 and 714.
[105] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 72.
[106] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 706.
[107] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 245.

amounts that Sir Thomas regularly loses. There is always the possibility that Dame Anne and other family members were involved in any number of the previously mentioned games, and since only expenses (i.e. losses) are recorded, if they were good players and generally successful their participation might go wholly unrecorded. This is the only gambling-related payment which indicates that she was a participant. The last card game recorded in the accounts is on the 20 January 1544, at which Sir Thomas Lestrange lost three shillings and four pence.[108] It might be the last game mentioned because of Sir Thomas' death the following year. He had been ill with kidney stones and Oestmann notices the affect of the disease on his limited involvement with politics outside the county.

> One possible reason for this geographical restriction may have been the fact that, at least since November 1540, Sir Thomas was increasingly affected by a recurring illness. The nature of the illness remained obscure at first, Dr Manfled being paid 'for castyng of my husbonds water & for his counsell'[P/4, p. 39], keeping Sir Thomas in bed for several weeks around Christmas 1540. More clarity emerges at the next attack two years later, again around Christmas, in 1543. Wine is bought 'for my husbond whan he was sykke of the stone'[P/4, p. 184], and the physician is called in 'Whan yow Ware sykke on the collyke & ston'.[P/4, p. 253]. Evidently, Sir Thomas was suffering from kidney stones, and the fact that he actually died in January of 1545, the same time at which he had been suffering in previous years, suggests that this illness eventually caused his premature death.[109]

That references to gambling are not as common after this indicates that the rest of Sir Thomas' family were not as fond of his gambling as he was. If Sir Thomas was increasingly bedridden, it could have been one of the few entertainments left to him.

A question remains concerning these numerous references to card playing. What game or games would Sir Thomas have been playing in the first half of the sixteenth century in Norfolk? The only clues that are given to us from the records are fairly straightforward ones. It must have been a game in which money was gambled and, at least in some cases, allowed the possibility of three players or more. What is known about the card games of the period suggest that it was a trick taking game like gleek, piquet or primero.[110] Most of the mentions of card playing in sixteenth century

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[108] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 285.

[109] Oestmann, *Lordship and Community*, p. 21. Editoral insertions are mine and reflect Oestmann's notes for the sources of his quotations.

[110] R. Tilley, *A History of Playing Cards* (London: Studio Vista, 1973), pp.106-7, cf. David Parlett, *The Oxford Guide to Card Games*, pp. 93-5 (Gleek), pp. 175-81 (Piquet), p. 86 (Primero) and Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* 3 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1749) II: p. 449 (cards in general), p. 450 (Primero and Gleek).

literature are confined to attacks upon gamblers as corrupt individuals.[111] These do not help establish what game Sir Thomas was playing, and as none of the records point to any individual card game, it is unable to be clearly determined.

There is one game of chance mentioned in a single instance which can be identified. This is the game of tables.

> [P/3](22 August 1537) [p. 713]
> Item d*elivere*d you the same day to pley at / Tables *with* m*aste*r
> stede of System — vj^{s} viij^{d} [112]

Tables refers to the general class of games that have developed into modern backgammon. One early variant 'Nard' is most similar to the modern game, with generally simpler rules. Numerous modifications and variations were developed concerning the starting positions of pieces and the number and use of dice. It could be that the references to 'dicing' were referring to dice based table games, but there is nothing in the accounts to support this.[113] Whatever types of games were played in the Lestrange household, little other information is recorded concerning them in their accounts. Nonetheless, they indicate that the family enjoyed a variety of social and interactive pastimes.

Musical Instruments

It was not only games of skill and chance which fascinated the Lestrange household, some of them were active musicians. The Malone Society states in its introduction to the edited records from Hunstanton that it has not transcribed expenses for musical instruments and supplies for them.

> In these transcripts, I have omitted numerous payments for household musical instruments, violin strings and the like, but have included gratuities to waits and musicians.[114]

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[111] For examples, see Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus. The Schole of Shootinge* (London: E. Whytchurch, 1545, facs. edn Menston: Scolar Press, 1971) in which there is a comparison between archery and gaming which makes it clear the low regard the author has for gamesters. Gaming and card games are also mentioned in Sebastian Brant, *Ship of Fooles* (London: R. Pynson, 1509, facs. edn Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1970) and numerous short discussions concerning gaming appear by the late sixteenth century such as James Balmford, *A Short and Plaine Dialogue Concerning the Unlawfulness of Play at Cards or Tables, or Any Other Game Consisting in Chance* (London: Richard Boile, 1593) (STC 1335) in which the author does not dislike gaming, per se, but only games involving random elements as contrary to Christian doctrine.

[112] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 713, 'System' may refer to 'Syston' (Lincolnshire).

[113] A particularly English version of tables was 'Paumecary' in which two dice were used, doubles gave a second throw, and men were entered on at the beginning of the game by dice roll. There may have been a rule that each time a man was borne off the board one would slap the opponents hands.

[114] Malone Society, *Collections VI: Norfolk*, p. 19.

It was with this in mind that the first four volumes of Lestrange household accounts were scoured. It was hoped that by discovering the records the Malone Society did not edit concerning musical instruments that some sense of the musical interests, and hence the entertainment available to the household, could be discovered. Unfortunately, only one single record could be found prior to 1550 for supplies for a musical instrument. In 1523 Sir Thomas Lestrange purchased a dozen lute strings while in Lynn.

> [P/1](18 April 1523) [p. 285]
> Item paid to Lyn ye same daye for a dossen ^[of] Lute strynges —
> xij^{d} [115]

This was indeed disappointing, for it would imply either that the Lestrange household was not very musical or the records concerning instruments do not survive. The Malone Society was not incorrect in stating there were 'numerous payments for household musical instruments', but no time frame for these records. A quick examination of Hamon Lestrange's nineteenth century indices for later volumes shows that there are a number of payments for musical instruments in the very late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. These are within the Malone Society's pre-1642 temporal limit, but outside the scope of this study. That this search for earlier music-related records produced negative results is still beneficial in that it highlights this difference.

While strictly secular musical entertainment might be limited in the early sixteenth century accounts, there are a few mentions of bells. These had a wide variety of uses, many of which were not performative in any real way. On 11 June 1520 Sir Thomas bought four pairs of hawks bells in London.[116] Five shillings was spent on 15 January 1541 "for a lovynge belle".[117] There are at least two payments to the local bellman. First, he was paid four pence, which included a contribution to the church light on 6 April 1534.

> [P/3](6 April 1534) [p. 244]
> Item in reward the vj daye of the same month to the Chirche lyght &
> / to the bellman — iiij^{d} [118]

While it can be assumed that this was for the ringing of the local church bell, it tells us

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[115] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 285.
[116] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 97.
[117] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 61.
[118] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 244.

very little about the job itself. As has been seen in King's Lynn and will be mentioned in the discussion of records from Tilney All Saints, Bellmen were routinely hired to undertake duties other than bellringing. Another record in 1543 establishes that the bellman, named as Thomas Causton, rang the 'daye belle' from Hallowmas to Candlemas.

> [P/4](8 February 1543) [p. 210]
> Item Gyven In Rewarde the viijth daye of februarye / to thomas
> Causton for Rynggyn of the daye belle / from hallowmes tyll
> candelmes — iiij^{d} [119]

Although the church at Hunstanton is mentioned a number of times, the records shed little light on the interaction between the family and the church itself. One intriguing record suggests that four torches were needed for a bed used to carry Dame Anne to the church so she could be present at the christening of her daughter Anne. There are no other records to indicate a difficult birth or why Dame Anne was bedridden at this time.[120] There is no necessity that '*mistr*es Anne' is indeed Anne Lestrange, Sir Thomas' daughter, but it is likely. The torches must have been quite large, ornate, or otherwise expensive given the amount of money, five shillings and three pence, spent on them. This payment might also included the 'bedde / for to bere to Chirche'.

> [P/1](1520 week ending 28 September) [p. 220]
> It*em* p*aid* to thomas Bakon of Snetisham for makyng of / iiij torchys
> my m*istr*es Ageyn that she was brought to bedde / for to bere to
> Chirche at ye crystonyng of m*istr*es Anne — v^{s} iij^{d} [121]

There are a variety of other records in the accounts which, while not strictly dramatic, were worthwhile to transcribe because of their references to paradramatic entertainment. There are two records concerning New Year's celebrations which are useful. The first is to a Christmas Lord, but interestingly it is not at Hunstanton, but nearby Ringstead.

> [P/1](1520 week ending 1 January) [p. 75]
> It*em* to ye lord of Crystmasse at Ryngsted — iiij^{d} [122]

Whether this implies the Christmas Lord travelled from Ringstead to Hunstanton or that the Lestranges were in Ringstead at this time is unclear. The latter is more likely given that the Lord of Christmas is said to be 'at Ryngsted'. It is also possible that someone was collecting money in advance for a Christmas festival. There is no

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[119] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 210.
[120] Dame Anne outlived her husband by many years.
[121] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 220.
[122] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p.75.

mention of this event in the Snettisham churchwardens accounts but this may be because they had their own Christmas Lords.[123] On New Year's Day of 1539, '*Christ*iane Downes' most likely of Downs manor at Snettisham, was rewarded seven shillings and six pence 'for her New yere gift'.

> [P/3](1 January 1539) [p. 676]
> Item in reward the same day to *Christ*iane Downes for her New yere gift — vij^{s} vj^{d} [124]

No information is provided about the gift itself or what prompted it.[125] No other New Year's gifts are recorded in the accounts.

Finally, there is a record which might help to explain the use of 'Shaft*es*' in processions, such as those carried by young men in the Snettisham St Edmund's procession. On the 31 May 1543, six pence was paid for a dozen and a half of shaftes that were intended expressly 'for the childern'.

> [P/4](31 May 1543) [p. 242]
> Item p*aid* the last day of may to Trewe / for a dosen & d*imidio* of Shaft*es* for the childern — vj^{d} [126]

No explanation is given as to what purpose these shafts had, simply that they are for the children. The date had no special meaning which would explain why the shafts were purchased on this date.[127] It is a week after Corpus Christi, and more importantly the last day of the month — they might have been used on the 1 June.

It is unknown whether these had any relation to shafts carried by others in processions elsewhere. If they were borne in procession, then there is a certain amount of spectacle implicit in that act. If they were simply toys for their children's amusement, the degree of spectacle is lessened, but they still would form part of the entertainment, even if only of children, in the household.

Conclusion

The records of Hunstanton are rich and varied in the information they provide concerning the Lestrange family. These accounts are so detailed that a rewarding socio-economic study has been based on them and uncovered a great deal concerning

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[123] See the discussion in Chapter Four concerning the churchwardens' accounts from Snettisham.
[124] NRO: Lestrange, P/3, p. 676.
[125] cf. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1: p. 15 and Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) pp. 22-3.
[126] NRO: Lestrange, P/4, p. 242.
[127] It should be noted that 'the last day of may' could refer to the last 'day of may', that is the previous May festival.

the life on a sixteenth century manor.[128] Although it is different in many ways than the entertainment elsewhere in the greater Wash area, the accounts are also rich with records of dramatic and paradramatic activity. And yet, while travelling entertainers did visit the family they certainly were not as common as in other locations. The reasons for this were partly geographical, Hunstanton is out of the way for entertainers travelling between large towns where they would have been more easily employed. Also, the household was preoccupied with other forms of entertainment. And yet those performers who did make the journey, or who were rewarded at other locations, were done so generously. The Malone Society notices the trend of entertainers becoming less frequently recorded in the late sixteenth century.

> It will be noted that the books of Sir Hamon and Lady Alice L'Estrange show that by the late sixteenth century travelling players were no longer venturing up to Hunstanton. Since rewards to other entertainers were much higher than were normally given elsewhere, actors could have expected a warm welcome. Doubtless the new generation of actors, with their larger companies, had simply developed routes between larger towns and no longer bothered with out-of-the-way places like Hunstanton.[129]

Whether it was the size of touring companies of players which caused them to avoid Hunstanton or that it was not on a main road to somewhere else, is unable to be clearly determined. Entertainers of other types continued to be recorded and it might be that this social and lively family simply preferred other forms of entertainment.

The principles of selection of the Malone Society limited what it was able to edit, and thus, what appears as entertainment in the whole of its published extracts. The privileging of one form of entertainment over another because it is more or less dramatic provides a skewed perspective on the records available. It is mimetic drama which was the foundation of the Malone Society's ethos and so inevitable that this was its priority. The decisions about where to draw the line concerning what should be edited or not are often influenced more by publication pressures and limitations than by academic concerns. In the Malone Society *Collections* and even more in the REED volumes a large number of truly non-dramatic records are edited. It is a natural bias with editors to want to edit all those things which are indicative of performance, entertainment and celebration that are different from their own era, and so as much of this material as can be justified is allowed into a volume. Increasingly, it becomes not

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[128] See Oestmann, *Lordship and Community*, especially pp. 29-151.
[129] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 19.

strict drama that such edited editions are revealing, but the rich tapestry of folk customs which form the backdrop of the dramatic activity that was the original inspiration.

Chapter Six: Tilney All Saints — Churchwardens' Accounts

Introduction

The Malone Society provides a number of transcriptions from the churchwardens' accounts (1443/4-1589/90) of Tilney All Saints, Norfolk.[1] This document is well conserved and, for the most part, very legible. A transcription was completed by A.D. Stallard in 1914, the brother of the vicar at that time, and published posthumously by his widow in 1922.[2] Although he did not have a chance to revise it, this transcription is very reliable in terms of general content, but does not indicate line breaks, expansions, and some other editorial intrusions. The Malone Society did not know of this transcription and, because it was unable to find the manuscript, relied on flawed partial extracts found in the Norfolk Record Office's Bradfer-Lawrence Collection.[3]

> The churchwarden accounts of Tilney All Saints have for a long time been in private hands, and I have been unable to see — or locate — the originals. Fortunately, in 1916 Harry Lawrence made a transcript of the accounts, which were then in the possession of E. M. Beloe of King's Lynn. This transcript is now in the Bradfer-Lawrence Collection (II e) deposited at the Norfolk Record Office.[4]

That the accounts were in private hands is true, at one point they were in Stallard's possession while he made his initial transcription. How they later came into E. M. Beloe's hands is unknown, but given that he was a noted antiquarian and local historian of nearby King's Lynn, it is not surprising. The relationship between the two sets of transcriptions is not clear. The Bradfer-Lawrence extracts provide almost identical readings of the document to the Stallard transcription, but the Stallard version is more accurate and certainly more complete. It might be that the Bradfer-Lawrence extracts were done because of Stallard's death or that they were based on the Stallard transcriptions. The reason for suggesting this is that both versions preserve a number of identical mistranscriptions and omissions, which is unlikely to have happened if they were done separately. Stallard would have corrected these mistakes had he been able to revise his original transcriptions. A note by Stallard to himself preserved in the

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[1] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 116.
[2] A.D. Stallard, *The Transcript of the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Tilney All Saints, Norfolk, 1443 to 1589*, transcribed 1914 (London: Mitchell, Hughes and Clarke, 1922).
[3] NRO: Bradfer-Lawrence (II e).
[4] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 116.

published edition mentions as much.

> [This copy has not been revised by me, and it requires examination with the original Manuscript. — A. D. S., 18, vii. '14] [5]

This might indicate that by this time the manuscript was not in his possession any more. The pagination of the two versions naturally differs, but the foliation of the document they provide is generally consistent. Both versions label the recto of a folio as 'a' and the verso as 'b'. As the new transcriptions in Appendix Four have been based on the original they provide references as folio and verso.

I eventually located the original document, which now resides in the Wisbech and Fenland Museum.[6] The document, classmarked as M/R 99/M, is in a very good state of preservation.[7] The extracts supplied in Appendix Four have been newly transcribed from the original. Both the Malone Society and Lawrence extracts right justify the amounts for each record, and this is a reflection of the original. Since the manuscript also normally has an extended dash running from the end of the text to the amount, this is indicated in the new transcription with a uniform '—' and hence the amounts remain left justified with the text. The accounting year for the parish of Tilney All Saints ran from Good Friday to Good Friday the following year. In this discussion, when a record is said to come from a particular year, it should be understood that it is from a year that starts at Good Friday of that year and runs to the following Good Friday.[8]

Lights to Blessed Virgin Mary

One of the most repetitive sets of entries are receipts for the collection of money for lights for the Blessed Virgin Mary on All Saints Day. That these collections, amongst other irregular ones, are often made on the feast of All Saints, the dedication day of the church, is important. While not entertainment in itself, it is

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[5] A.D. Stallard, *Tilney All Saints*, prefatory note.

[6] Acknowledgement is especially owed to Miss Susan Maddock, King's Lynn Archivist, for advising me that some documents relating to Tilney All Saints had been moved in the past to the Wisbech and Fenland Museum, thus initiating my search for them there, and also to the staff of the museum for their assistance. Although the document had been catalogued and classmarked it was initially unable to be found, but was discovered in an unclassified box of miscellaneous papers to do with (later) Tilney All Saints. This has been rectified.

[7] Hereafter referenced as WFM: M/R 99/M.

[8] Thus a record said to be from 1477/8 may be located anywhere from Good Friday 1477 to Good Friday 1478. In order to not confuse matters further, no adjustments in date have been made to those records which mention a particular religious feast or event for which a date is able to be calculated.

important as a source of fundraising, as well as for its very consistent documentation. The devotional enterprises of this small village are connected to the paradramatic activity and so to the entertainment culture as a whole. Money for these lights was collected regularly almost every year from 1443/4-1489/90. That the money was collected on 'die Om*nium* S*anctorum*' makes it possible that the collection of it was central to any festivities on the dedication day of the church.

The records give little clue as to the nature of other events on All Saints day, but do mention that the money was gathered by going around the church, possibly with the light, in 1457/8.

> Item p*ro* lum*ine* Be*ate* Marie c*ircumeu*ndo ecc*lesiam* — iij^{s} x^{d} [9]

Whether this was going around inside the church, in the form of a normal collection, or outside the church is not indicated. It is also not clear whether it was the light going around the church or not. A similar receipt exists from 1477/8.

> Item rec*eperunt* in c*ircumeu*ndo Eccl*esiam* in om*nium* s*anctorum* — ij^{s} ob [10]

This provides little evidence towards the method of collection and it is a record in 1489/90 that finally suggests that it was collected in the church.

> I*tem* rec*eptum* in die om*nium* s*anctorum* p*ro* collecc*ione* in eccl*esia* — xiij^{d} [11]

This is a much smaller amount than the three to five shillings that was normally collected and suggests the possibility that when the money is not noted as being from a 'collecc*ione* in eccl*esia*' that it was more general and thus more prosperous. While people might have been more generous in those years in which it is coincidentally not mentioned that the collection took place in the church, it is equally possible that other forms of revenue from those days were being brought together under the one receipt.

This trend of less money being received when it is noted that the collection took place in the church is also reflected in collections on other days such as this payment from 1487/8.

> I*tem* rec*eptum* die assu*mpc*io*n*is B*eat*e Marie p*ro* collecc*ione* i*n* eccl*esia* — xvj^{d} [12]

Another set of regularly occurring collections was for 'Ca*n*delsylvyr' which from the

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[9] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 14v.
[10] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 32v.
[11] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 46.
[12] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 43.

very beginning (in 1452/3) makes its use clear.

> Item de le Candelsylvyr viz pro cereo Paschali de tota villa — vij^{s} iiij^{d} [13]

These records make clear that they were collections for votive candles and the rest of these records are generally not edited along with other collections for wax, which occur regularly into the late sixteenth century. 'Candelsylvyr' is not the only type of 'sylvyr' collected, as there are numerous records for May money as well.

Tilney All Saints continued its use of votive lights for six years after their use was made illegal in 1538.[14] This prohibition not only struck at one of the more common aspects of traditional religion in England, but also was devastating for parishes that used these lights a very significant source of their income.[15] A comparative discussion of the records for lights in all the communities studied takes place in the conclusion to this thesis, Chapter Eight.

Mays and May Money

'Maysilver' or income for the annual May festival was collected regularly almost every year from 1452/3-1539/40. The amount gathered ranges from five to over thirty seven shillings. A receipt from 1509/10 notes that over thirty two shillings remained 'in manibus Katerine Segrave / uxoris Roberti'.

> Memorandum quod remanent in manibus Katerine Segrave / uxoris Roberti in pecuniis de le May mony — xxxij^{s} iiij^{d} [16]

This indication that a woman was responsible for keeping the 'May money' seems at first parallel to the similar record for the Snettisham Rockfeste. As with the record for the Rockfeste, it could be that the reason she has the money and has not returned it is that it forms part of the estate of a recently deceased husband. The Snettisham record does not confirm that women were responsible for entertainment-related proceeds.

In Tilney All Saints, Robert Segrave is mentioned regularly in the accounts far past this date, and is last mentioned in 1516/17.[17] Since Katherine Segrave's husband was still alive there it is more likely that she was actually responsible for the financial

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[13] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 8v. Receipts for Easter 'Candelsylvyr' are not transcribed for the rest of the document, they, along with other collections for wax occur regularly into the late sixteenth century.
[14] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 483.
[15] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 407.
[16] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 72.
[17] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 80v.

arrangements for this May festival. The possibility exists that, as Robert Segrave was one of the churchwardens for that year, she only held the position, or had been convinced to take this responsibility, because of his influence. There are two more records concerning the May in 1501/2.

> Item receptum pro collectione de le May sylver — vij^{s} iij^{d} [18]
> ...
> Item solutum pro toppyng iij torchis pro le maii — vij^{s} ix^{d} [19]

This indicates that, although seven shillings and three pence was collected for the May, that seven shillings and nine pence was spent solely for the 'toppyng' of three torches. It is assumed that the money was collected in advance, but this could equally have been the proceeds garnered on the day, as no other receipts specifically mentioning the May are recorded that year.

What this tells us about the nature of the festival should not be ignored. Firstly, the May festival might not have been successful as a fundraising venture since more expenses are recorded than money being raised. Secondly, it required torches, and they were an important aspect of the celebration, indicating that the customary May activities started early in the morning, continued late into the night or the night itself was spent outdoors.[20] The use of torches in themselves should not necessarily be indicative of an evening event. Finally, the torches were so important to the event that well over three shillings was spent in 'toppyng' them. An alternative possibility is that these are in reality 'May lights' and not used in the festival directly.[21]

In 1536/7, there is the mention of a tree that follows on directly from a receipt for May money.

> Item receptum of Rochad Say for may money — xviij^{s}
> Item receptum of John Crystyn for a tre — xij^{d} [22]

Whether or not this tree has anything to do with the May festivities is impossible to ascertain. In the Snettisham records there were records for the searching out of a May 'rode', with a nearby payment for a tree suggesting the possibility that it was being used for the May celebrations.[23] That the record for a 'tre' follows immediately upon the record for 'may money' might suggest that it was being used in the same manner

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[18] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 58v.
[19] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 59.
[20] Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 226-43.
[21] See also Chapter Seven.
[22] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 115v.
[23] See also Chapter Four.

here.

A record, also from 1536/7, indicates that a large number of bells were used in the May celebrations.

Item payd for ij dossyng belles to ye May — x[d] [24]

'Dossyng' is interpreted in this context as 'dozen' as none of the other possibilities fit the context. Why then are two dozen bells needed at the May? The most likely answer is that there was some sort of morris dancing taking place as May festivals were and still are commonly a traditional time for the appearance of morris dances. The bells must have been fairly small, twenty four being purchased for ten pence, suggesting this type of use for them. In 1537/8 a dozen more bells were purchased for the May.

Item payd for a dosyng belles to ye may — v[d] [25]

That two dozen were purchased the year before, assuming that the bells were at least partially reuseable, means that up to three dozen small bells were available. That there were numerous bells, which were certainly inexpensive supports the suggestion of morris dancing, but no dancing of any sort is mentioned in the Tilney All Saints churchwarden's accounts.

Bells

It is interesting to note that bells were associated with the May records, but that they are found in churchwardens' accounts is not very surprising. There were regular repairs to the bells, purchases of new church bells and payments for their ringing.[26] Generally, references to bell ringing have been transcribed since it is indicative of some type of minor performance, but repairs to and other mentions of the bells have not been transcribed. Bells were not normally rung for reasons of entertainment, the commemoration of the dead was a much more common reason.[27] One exception to this is the payments to the bellman. It is of interest that as in other locations, especially King's Lynn, the bellman was often paid for duties that had very little to do with bells.[28]

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[24] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 116.
[25] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 117v.
[26] J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts From the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1913), pp. 211-7.
[27] J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 3 vols. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1749), II: p. 219.
[28] See also Chapter Three.

In Tilney All Saints there are records relating to work by the bellman from 1470/1 until 1565/6, with a few later additional payments that were not transcribed. In 1470/1 'le Belman' is said to have been paid three shillings.

> Item *pro* mensa *eorun*dem cu*m* labor le Belman — iiij^{s} [29]

This was a professional campanist repairing the bells, as other payments for trussing the bawdricks and various records of maintenance make clear. If indeed this was a different bellman, he was paid at a more usual rate in 1559/60.

> *Memorandum* yt ys agreyd y*at* Thomas Johnson shall / have to his wages for beynge bellman on every / Goodfrydaye of the Curchewardynyes — xij^{d} [30]

Although it is not recorded for the next few years, he is mentioned as receiving this wage again, which is relatively stable throughout the remaining accounts, in 1565/6.

> Item payd to Johnson ye belmane for / h*is* wages — xij^{d} [31]

This bellman was regularly employed for odd jobs around the church. Whereas in King's Lynn the bellman was paid for duties not involving bells which verged on performance — in Tilney All Saints his tasks were more mundane.[32] In 1531/2 there are two successive records mentioning the bellman's duties.

> Item payd to the Belman for dressyng / up the copes & vestement*es* for ye hole yere — viij^{d}
> Item payd to the belman for makyng clene / the stepyll — vj^{d} [33]

That the bellman was paid for dressing up the copes and vestments 'for ye hole yere' suggests that this was a consistent and expected part of his duties. The 'dressing up' could have been decoration of an artistic nature, but could also be understood as simple cleaning duties. He was paid for cleaning up the steeple for just slightly less than he is paid for working with the copes and vestments for the whole year, which implies that it was not particularly skilled work. But, the bellman might have had artistic talents as suggested by a record from 1533/4.

> Item payd to the Belman for scoryng ye candylstykes / w*ith* other ornament*es* & for fowyng of ye Gutt*ers* — ix^{d} [34]

This scoring of the candlesticks and other ornaments most likely implies nothing more

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[29] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 25v.
[30] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 164v.
[31] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 180v. A number of payments to the bellman are found irregularly in the remaining accounts but are not transcribed.
[32] See also Chapter Three.
[33] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 106v.
[34] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 110v.

than utilitarian cleaning of them similar to the 'fowyng of ye Gutters'. In 1539/40, Robert Say (also various spelt Cay), who was the bellman that year and was a churchwarden in various other years, was paid with Thomas Sayver for cleaning the steeple.

> Item payd to Robert Say ye bellman & Thomas Sayver / for makyng clen of ye Steppyl — viij[d] [35]

That there are various records for the maintenance of bells in the church is of little surprise. There is also the mention of smaller bells in 1464/5.

> Item *pro* emendac*ione* off ij handbell*es* — xiij[d] [36]

These bells were probably used in processions, and since they were available there is the possibility that they could have been used for other (possibly performative) activities. Unfortunately no records survive which would indicate that they were used this way.

The records for cleaning up the steeple are put into a different context by an interesting record from 1532/3. This indicates that, as today, the bells and steeple were seen as an item of interest in themselves and as a source of tourist revenue.

> Item rec*eptum* [—of—] gyft of a man for seyng / the stepyl & ye belles & y*at* I fownd in Chyrch — j[d ob] [37]

Although not a significant source of income, it does suggest that a visitor was willing to pay in order to see them, turning them into an (albeit minor) object of spectacle.

That bells need ropes is obvious, but ropes were used to support other things in the church. What is not so clear is the reason some of these things were suspended.

> Item payd for new ropes to the bell*es* to / the lampe to ye Rowell & to ye plowgh — v[s] [38]

The use of ploughs as agrarian ritual objects which where commonly suspended in churches is documented elsewhere.[39] The rowel, in this case, was a ring used for supporting candles, and for which there were also collections. In 1456/7 ten shillings were spent on the Rowel, Paschal, and other lights.

> Item *pro* le Rowell & Pascall et aliis l*uminaribus* — x[s] vj[d] [40]

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[35] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 120.
[36] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 19v.
[37] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 108.
[38] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 94v.
[39] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, p. 124.
[40] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 13v.

These were not the only objects which were suspended by ropes and strings, in 1536/7 there is a record "for strynge to ye Sage*r*ment"[41] and there is a similar record in 1541/2.[42] In both cases this refers to the sacrament kept in an ornamental tabernacle -- this tabernacle was probably carried in a procession.

Tabernacle

The reason that the tabernacle was of interest in King's Lynn was that it was not simply static in the church, but was used in procession, hence making it an object of spectacle imbued with ritualistic purpose.[43] In Tilney All Saints there are no explicit records indicating that the tabernacle or any sort of monstrance was carried in procession. Nevertheless, numerous records concerning processions indicate that it was most likely so used. Specifically, there are records concerning a canopy for the procession. A canopy was used in religious processions to cover the sacrament which was carried in a monstrance or some form of tabernacle.[44] There are three mentions of the tabernacle in the accounts for 1474/5, the first of which is the receipt of money collected for a new tabernacle.

Item una die colleg*e*ndo p*ro* uno novo tab*er*naculo — viij^{s} iij^{d} ob [45]

Eight shillings and three and a half pence were collected that day for the tabernacle. No other entries are recorded that year in the accounts which specify a collection for the tabernacle, although there were collections in other years, for example in 1557/8.

Item payd for the tabernacle for the / Sacrame*n*t — xiiij^{d} [46]

While only just over eight shillings are collected in 1474/5, in that year thirteen shillings and seven pence were spent on its making, and twenty six shillings and eight pence spent on its decoration. It becomes evident that with such large amounts spent on the tabernacle, that it must have been an object of immense and ornate beauty.

I*tem* p*ro* fact*u*ra cuiusd*am* tabernaculi — xiij^{s} vij^{d} [47]
I*tem* p*ro* pictura p*redicti* tabernaculi — xxvj^{s} viij^{d} [48]

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[41] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 116v.
[42] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 124v.
[43] See also Chapter Three.
[44] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 243-71, cf. J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp.142-3 for the outdated view that tabernacles normally refer to canopied recesses for votive images.
[45] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 29.
[46] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 161.
[47] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 29v.
[48] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 29v.

In 1492/3 there is a record for 'bothehyer' for the tabernacle. This might be 'booth hire', recording the rental of a booth for the tabernacle.

> Item solutum pro bothehyer pro tabernaclo — vj[d] [49]

It could be that 'bothe' in this case refers to a temporary resting place for the tabernacle, a canopy and surrounding cloth which would have been hung around it while it in the church.[50] It should certainly not be assumed to have any reference to stages or dramatic production.

There are a number of records concerning the repair of the tabernacle, and specifically ironwork was paid for in 1499/1500.

> Item solutum pro -[facta] ern wark ad tabernaclum omnium sanctorum — iij[s] iiij[d] [51]

In 1502/3 Richard Skynner was paid for mending the tabernacles (and it is specifically plural) and for making a staff for the cross. Since other records indicate that a cross was carried in procession, this record makes it more likely that the tabernacle was carried as well.

> Item solutum Ricardo Skynner pro emendacione tabernaculorum & pro faccione baculi crucis — x[d] [52]

In King's Lynn there are records for the material hung around the tabernacle while it was in the church.[53] Likewise, in Tilney All Saints there is a similar record from 1547/8.

> Item payd for wasshynge of the clothes that dyd / hange a Bowte all the tabernacles — iij[d] [54]

No more information is recorded in the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts concerning the tabernacle.

Processions

That the tabernacle was used in the procession is quite likely, and a Corpus Christi procession is the most logical, but there are no records of a procession on Corpus Christi in the parish of Tilney All Saints.

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[49] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 50.
[50] cf. *MED*, 'bothe'.
[51] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 57.
[52] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 60.
[53] See also Chapter Three.
[54] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 139v.

They had two processions which they undertook on a regular basis in Tilney All Saints, Rogation processions and a St Lawrence procession. Rogationtide processions were quite common and thus it is not remarkable that the parishioners of Tilney All Saints had them as well.[55] St Lawrence processions were less common, and there is no indication as to why they might have marked the feast of this saint with a procession. There are two St Lawrences, the archbishop's feast being on 3 February and the martyr being celebrated on the 10 August. While there is no indication which of these two saints might have been honoured with the Tilney All Saints procession, the latter is both more common and likely as a date for an outdoor procession.

No destination or route is indicated with either of the processions, and although Rogation processions often 'beat the boundaries' of the parish, there is no standard route associated with St Lawrence processions.[56] In this case, the nearby hamlet of Tilney St Lawrence was likely to have been the destination. A record from 1468/9 suggests that it was to the chapel there to which they were processing.

> Item solut*um pro* le Berynge de le Shafte prykett & le / Banneres ad capell*am sancti* laurencii *in* expensis — iiij^{d} [57]

The 'Shafte prykett' refers to the candle-pricket which they did not sell until 1544, six years after its use was made illegal. Like many rural parishes, Tilney All Saints eventually complied with injuctions for religious reform, but did so at its own pace.[58] There are also a number of surviving records which do not indicate which procession of the two they concern, or whether they are indicating a different procession altogether. Vague and non-descriptive records are commonplace but of interest when they help to explain other records.

One record from 1463/4 is characteristically vague, it states "It*em pro prosescon* days — iij^{d}".[59] While this does, at least, inform us that there was a procession in 1463/4, it doesn't explicitly tell us which procession this might have been. And yet, that it implies that the procession took more than one day makes Rogation the more likely candidate.[60]

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[55] J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 263-5.
[56] J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: pp. 197-212.
[57] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 23v.
[58] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 483.
[59] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 18. The dating of this folio is uncertain, but I agree with Stallard that the expenses of 1462 and the Compotus and Receipts of 1463 are missing from the manuscript.
[60] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 278-87.

In 1474/5 there is an expense of four pence "p*ro* porta*n*tib*us* p*ro*cessionib*us*"[61] which does not indicate which procession it was involved with, simply that something was carried. There are a number of similar records, as well as those for unspecified gatherings.

The most common processional records in the Tilney All Saints accounts are those for Rogation. These processions are recorded in most years from 1464/5 until 1588/9.[62] Expenses for the Rogation procession are often compounded with those for the St Lawrence procession. For example in 1464/5:

> It*em* for bery*n*g of bann*er*s on Rogac*i*on days & on / Sencte Lawrence day — ij^{d} ob [63]

The bearing of banners is mentioned regularly in reference to both processions. It is most likely these costs which are the unspecified "exp*ens*i*s* in dieb*us* Rogac*io*n*u*m"[64] that are the most common form of the record. These two are often put together with similar expenses for the St Lawrence procession, for example in 1489/90.

> It*em* solutum in expens*is* in dieb*us* Rogac*ion*ib*us* & in die S*anc*ti Laur*e*ncii — iiij^{d} [65]

Later, the expenses incurred in Cross week are for bread and drink. Twelve pence is paid for bread and drink in 1534/5.

> Item payd for halfe a barell on Crosee m*u*nday and bred — xvij^{d} [66]

This appears again in 1536/7, but in this record the location is provided.

> Item payd in Cros weke for bred & dryng at Shelby Cros — xvij^{d} [67]

The location of Shelby cross remains a mystery, but was probably a nearby parish boundary. Shelby cross is not the only location mentioned in respect to the Rogation processions. In 1588/9 there is a mention that on the Monday in Cross week the procession went to the northern sea dyke.

> Item for bread and drincke one Monday in / Crosse weeke at the north Sedike — ij^{s} [68]

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[61] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 29v.
[62] After 1550, the terminus date for this study, not all entries are transcribed since it is only the procession's continued existence that is being established. For a more detailed discussion of this practice throughout the thesis, see the introduction, Chapter One.
[63] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 19v.
[64] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 33.
[65] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 46v.
[66] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 112.
[67] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 116.
[68] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 222.

Not surprisingly this is at the northern end of the parish where defences had been made to abate The Wash from eroding land. This location is now much further inland since the draining of the surrounding fens. That the payments for Rogation activities were specified as for bread and drink is especially common in the later accounts.[69] In 1540/1, on Cross Monday, sixteen pence worth of bread and drink are consumed 'at ye Crosse' — possibly the aforementioned Shelby cross.

> Item payd for Bred & drynke at ye Crosse / one Crose Mownday — xvj^{d} [70]

That some bread and beer was consumed on the Monday of Cross week was a regular occurrence, as in 1575/6 there is a record "Item for breade & beare ye Munday in Rogacion weke — xij^{d}".[71] It is highly probable that this bread and beer was intended for those who would otherwise be compensated for carrying banners, or those participating in the procession.

There are other expenses for bread and drink, on the occasions of some of the major feasts. There is no other information concerning what festivities surrounded these, other than the assumed celebration of Mass and ritualistic activities such as the blessing of fields. In 1547/8, All Saints Day saw bread and drink provided for the celebration of the dedication day of the church.

> Item payd for brede & dryngke at the feast of All Sayntes / — ij^{s} ij^{d} [72]

Likewise in 1553/4 the amount spent on drink for Hallowmas night was 'more then was gatheryd', indicating that one of the purposes of these festivities was that of fundraising, at least in an attempt to cover its own expenses through gathering from the participants.[73]

> Item payd foerth for drynk of hallomes nyght / more then was gatheryd — xij^{d} [74]

By 1578/9 the use of the word 'procession' had become less common and the rogation procession is described as a '*per*ambulac*ion*'. The use of this terminology increases the suspicion that this Rogation procession was tracing the boundaries of the parish.

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[69] J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' accounts*, pp. 263-5.
[70] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 121v.
[71] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 201.
[72] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 137.
[73] For a comparative discussion of other records like this from all the communities studied see the conclusion, Chapter Eight.
[74] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 148v.

Item paid for bread & bear at the perambulacion — xij[d] [75]

Similarly, 'Rogation dayes' suddenly become 'perambulation dayes' in 1581/2.

Item layde owt ffor breade and dryncke In / the perambulation dayes — ij[s] [76]

That these 'perambulations' take place over more than one day can be assumed by the need to record that the expense was for a specific day.[77] A record from 1583/4 states that beer and bread was bought on the first day.

Item ffor beare and bread boughte the ffyrst day / off our perambulation — xviij[d] [78]

Others specify the Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday of Rogation week for example as late as 1588/9.

Item for bread & drincke one wensday in / crosse weeke — ij[s] [79]

The St Lawrence's day procession is recorded irregularly in the accounts from 1464/5 until at least 1528/9. Most of the records are similar in nature to those for the Rogation procession, consisting of expenses for beer and bread as well as the carrying of processional items. There are also records for collections in the church, which were gathered before the feast.

Item collectum in ecclesia in die dominica proxima ante ffestum Sancti Laurencii — ij[s] [80]

It is impossible to know whether this collection was specifically for expenses to be incurred at the St Lawrence procession or whether it was just a regular collection.

In 1521/2 a record for a 'Processyoner' most likely refers to a processional, a book of instructions and appropriate chants for the parish's processions.[81]

Item payd for a new Processyoner — xij[d] [82]

Alternatively, the record could refer to a processional candle intended to be carried in on of the known processions. The items carried in procession were similar for both the Rogation and the St Lawrence processions. By far the most common objects carried

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[75] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 208.
[76] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 213.
[77] cf. J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: p. 197.
[78] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 215.
[79] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 222.
[80] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 22.
[81] It should be noted that the Malone Society usually transcribes such records (although as with most of the records it was unable to do so for Tilney All Saints). cf. its editing of records from 1559 in Shipdam, Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 84. See also a similar record discovered in the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts, discussed in Chapter Four.
[82] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 89v.

were 'vexilla' or banners at an expense of two to four pence. For example, in 1465/6 a record concerning the banners simply states.

> Item ye banneres in Croce weke — iiij[d] [83]

Similar records are found throughout the accounts, and they are the most frequent indication of a procession taking place. In 1473/4, two pence are spent "in diebus Roggaccionem pro le Banneres".[84] It should be stressed that there are numerous records associating the carrying of banners with the various processions, and hence there is no reason to suspect an alternative use for them when their use in processions is not mentioned in the record.[85] For example in 1475/6 the expenses begin with:

> In primis in expencis pro portantibus vexilla in processionibus — iiij[d] [86]

The plural use of 'processionibus' suggests multiple processions and makes their use in both Rogation and St Lawrence processions a likely possibility. That both processions are distinctly associated with the carrying of banners is noted in 1503/4.

> Item in expensis in diebus Rogacionum et sancti laurencii pro portaccione / diversorum vexillorum — xj[d] [87]

Similar payments are recorded in 1508/9 with a duplicate entry in the accounts with a slightly different wording.

> In primis for beryng off banerys to / Saynt Lawrence & ye Crosse dayys — iiij[d] [88]
> ...
> Item for beryng off ye banerys a bowte / off Saynct Lawrence day & ye Crosse days — iiij[d] [89]

That banners were carried about in both the St Lawrence procession and at Rogationtide is supported by payments which mention the bearing of banners in the St Lawrence procession that have no mention of Cross week. For example, in 1517/8:

> Item solutum pro portacione vexillorum in die sancti Laurencii — ij[d] [90]

In 1504/5, there is an expense for two pence "pro portacione vexillorum in vigilia

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[83] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 20v.
[84] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 28v.
[85] cf. J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: p. 200.
[86] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 30v.
[87] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 61v.
[88] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 71.
[89] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 70v.
[90] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 82v.

Assencionis".[91] This was simply the last day of Rogation prior to Ascension Thursday.

What was depicted on the banners, or from what they might be made, is not able to be determined from these churchwardens accounts. There is only one expense, from 1537/8, for cloth which is certainly related to the construction of banners.

Item payd for a banner cloth — ij^{d} [92]

Banners were not the only objects that were carried in procession, a number of other items are also recorded, for example in 1498/9.

Item *pro* portac*ione* le banners frankensens et expens*is* — vj^{d} [93]

A canopy was also probably carried in the procession. They were commonly carried over a monstrance containing the sacrament in Corpus Christi processions. In 1472/3 there is a record for the construction of the canopy.

Item solut*um* cuidam vestiment maker pro le canepy — v^{s} [94]

There is a record for another canopy made in 1529/30. That it costs significantly less suggests that it might have been a mending or embellishment of the previous canopy.

Item payd for ye Cannepe makyng — xvj^{d} [95]

There is, it should be stressed, no record indicating that the canopy was actually carried in procession in Tilney All Saints. Other items were carried in the procession, and the records indicate that they were used in this manner. One of these is a processional cross, sometimes carried with banners or canopies during both processions, as stated, for example, a record from 1512/13.

Item solut*um* p*ro* portac*ione* cruc*is* & vexillor*um* in dieb*us* / Rogac*ionu*m in p*ro*cessione — viij^{d} [96]

In 1531/2 the banners are not mentioned:

Item payd for beryng of the Crosse in Crosse weke — ij^{d} [97]

The carrying of the cross is mentioned, in 1528/9, as taking place on St Lawrence day as well.

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[91] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 66.
[92] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 117v.
[93] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 55.
[94] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 27v.
[95] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 103v.
[96] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 76.
[97] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 107.

> Item payd for beryng the crosse & banners / upon Seynt Lawrence day — iiij[d] [98]

Only once is a person named as carrying any processional implements and this is George Long in 1557/8 who carries the cross.

> Item payd to Gorge Long for caryng / of the Crose on the Tewesdaye / in the Crose dayes — ij[d] [99]

That the procession lasted more than one day in this year is also indicated because Long was paid not only for carrying the cross on the Tuesday of this year's Cross week, but also on the Wednesday.

> Item payd to Jorge Longe for baryng of the Crose / on the Wedensdays in Crose weke — ij[d].[100]

That Long was paid such a minimal amount implies that carrying the cross for miles was not an extremely desirable or skilled job. Conversely, the acceptance of such a small fee also suggests that it was a quite desirable job. That is, participation in such a centrally religious aspect of the procession was seen to have its own, spiritual, rewards similar to the carrying of the canopy over the sacrament in a Corpus Christi procession.[101]

There is little surviving in the churchwardens' accounts for Tilney All Saints concerning George Long. He was regularly employed for manual labour around the church. Other payments mentioning George Long include those from 1549/50 and 1554/5 for "mendyng of the Cherche yaerd hege".[102] He was also paid four pence "for stoppynge of holes in the Stepyl" in 1558/9.[103] It is clear from these that Long was not a distinguished citizen of Tilney All Saints, but instead a manual labourer taking available employment at the church when it arose.

Other objects carried in procession include staves and shafts which were used to support the banners discussed above, or for carrying a feretory and the candle-pricket, for example in 1475/6.

> Item *pro* picture de le stavys to ye fertu*m* — xij[d] [104]

In this case the shafts to the feretory were being painted. The existence of a feretory, a

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[98] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 101v.
[99] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 157.
[100] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 161v.
[101] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 254-8.
[102] A.D. Stallard, *Tilney All Saints*, p. 174 and 180, cf. WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 143 and fol. 150v.
[103] A.D. Stallard, *Tilney All Saints*, p. 190, cf. WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 163v.
[104] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 30v.

shrine designed to be borne in processions, supported by staves indicates conclusively that it would have been carried in one of the processions. Which procession, and the content of the shrine, are not recorded. Shafts were certainly carried in the St Lawrence procession, as an expense from 1502/3 notes.

> Item solutum in in die sancti laurencii pro portacione de le shafte ante processionem — iiij[d] [105]

In this case the record refers to 'le shafte ante processionem' and so it is more probable that it was a ceremonial staff, or cross, carried in the front of the procession. There are other references to painting, but not of the 'stavys' mentioned above. In 1465/6 there is an expense of nine pence for "ye Paschall payntyng".[106] Then in 1477/8 a collection of over six shillings was gathered around the Church "pro imagine Sancti Jacobi".[107] While these are both likely artistic and the latter was probably for a statue, they imply a certain level of decoration in the church. Similarly in 1498/9 the church was bequeathed forty shillings by one individual and over thirteen shillings by another "ad pictacionem omnium sanctorum".[108] The next year Richard Whele donates fifteen pence "pro pictacione Imaginis omnium sanctorum".[109] All of these were certainly for decoration of the church, and not for the production of banners or images carried in procession and as such are of little interest to this thesis. The amount spent on processions and a few other parish activities was almost always raised through a variety of collections and gatherings. One of the most consistent fundraising activities was the act of gathering with the plough.

Plough Gathering

Records for gathering with the plough and plough-related festivities were also found in Snettisham.[110] While this type of fundraising is not necessarily performative in itself, it was seen that it was part of the entertainment culture of the parish itself and hence part of the context for entertainment in the greater Wash area. Forms of gathering revenue often included elements that were performative or provided a context for other performance-related activities.[111] Similar methods of fundraising also

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[105] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 60.
[106] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 20v.
[107] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 32v.
[108] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 55v.
[109] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 57.
[110] See also Chapter Four.
[111] cf. J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' accounts*, pp. 248-9.

took place in Tilney All Saints.

There are regular records for money received with the plough from 1443/4 until the late 1550s. The amount received ranges from four to thirteen shillings. Some of the receipts are vague, such as the first one in 1443/4.

> Item receper*unt* cu*m* aratro — viij^{s} x^{d} [112]

If this was the only information available in the plough records, they would be of little interest. More information is preserved concerning the nature of the collection. It was not gathered in the church, but numerous records state that it was "ci*rcumeu*ndo cu*m* arat*ro*".[113] But this leaves the question as to where they were 'going around with the plough'? That the plough was being taken around as a method of collection was in itself a type of performative act, that is made even more dramatic by the records stating that it was the town as a whole around which they were taking the plough. For example, in 1489/90:

> Item rec*eptum* in ci*rcumeu*ndo villa*m* cu*m* aratro — viij^{s} [114]

It is likely that the plough was taken around all the homes in the town and ploughed up the ground in front of those houses where no donation was received.[115] In this way the plough collections became a licensed form of acceptable extortion to benefit the church. Variations on this were found in other east Midlands and East Anglian parishes.

> At Knapton near the Norfolk coast, each of the three traditional divisions of the parish paid to keep its own light in the church. Each may have had a plough (probably the communal one) placed in front of it, for at Holbeach in the Lincolnshire marshland, and at the major Norfolk port of Great Yarmouth, there were certainly ploughs mounted in churches upon special stands.[116]

A record from 1524/5 "for new ropes to the bell*es* to / the lampe to ye Rowell & to ye plowgh"[117] shows that the plough in Tilney All Saints was also suspended in the church as in other locations. The plough itself could have become both the object of veneration through plough lights in the church, and the validating item itself which licensed the gatherers as legitimate when used for fundraising. Similarly, collections in other parishes by 'Robin Hood' were legitimised by someone dressing up as the

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[112] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 1v.
[113] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 5v.
[114] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 46.
[115] J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: p. 506.
[116] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, p. 124.
[117] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 94v.

outlaw to distinguish himself and thus sanction his gathering.[118] That the plough was venerated in some form is closely linked to ideas of a rural superstition of blessing the fields so that they produce a good yield the following year.[119] Although this was maintained through the town's Plough Light, possibly mutating to incorporate Marian intercession, there are no records in Tilney All Saints that document these activities. That the money was collected both for the plough as well as by it is partially substantiated by a payment from 1491/2.

> Item receptum de pecuniis aratri collectis in villa — vj^{s} v^{d} [120]

By 1503/4 the records start referring to 'plow' in English instead of Latin, and confirm the recognition of a Plough Monday festival in the town.

> Item ad exequias Nicholai Blower Ricardi Henrici / Margarete & Anne Bolower in die vocat Plowmunday vocat — viij^{s} [121]

These records sometimes say that the collection was on Plough Monday and confirm that it was indeed that the money was being collected, not raised through sale of ale or other goods. They do not provide any additional information concerning the method of collection, for example, in 1509/10.

> Item in pecuniis colectis a le Plowmunday — iiij^{s} ix^{d} ob [122]

At other times the collection is referred to as 'plowsilver', reminiscent of uses of 'paschalsilver' and 'candelsilver' which appear much earlier in the accounts. One of the earliest uses of 'plowsilver' is in a 1506/7 receipt.

> Item receptum of ye plowsilver — vj^{s} vij^{d} ob [123]

That the collections were done 'cum aratro' has already been established, and when the accounts start to be written in English, this is reconfirmed, for example in a record from 1507/8.

> Item in gaderyng with ye plowe — vj^{s} vij^{d} ob [124]

The gathering with the plough for Plough Monday celebrations continued until well past the terminus date for this study. Inevitably, the event will have changed slightly

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[118] See also Alexandra Johnston, '"What revels are in hand?" Dramatic activities sponsored by the parishes of the Thames Valley' in *English Parish Drama*, Ludus 1 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996) pp. 95-104.
[119] J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: p. 507.
[120] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 48v.
[121] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 62.
[122] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 71v.
[123] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 68v.
[124] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 69v.

over time. Although it would have always had agrarian ritualistic associations, the Christianisation of such rituals has been seen in the use of a 'plow lyght'.[125] Whether this is what happened, or whether this is only antiquarian supposition, is not directly illuminated at all by the Tilney All Saints records. There are only two records directly concerning plough lights in the whole of the Tilney All Saints accounts and these are from 1537/8 and 1538/9.

> Rec*eptum* of ye plow lyght — v^{s} [126]
> ...
> Recevyd for ye plow lyght — iij^{s} vj^{d} [127]

The close chronological proximity of these two records suggests that money was raised for the plough light in these years and the idea subsequently abandoned because of the injunctions against such lights.[128] And yet, because there are not any other recorded 'gaderyng w*ith* ye plow' or Plough Monday celebrations in these years, it could simply have been a different way of expressing what had been happening since the mid-fifteenth century. If this was the case, it suggests that the money raised from the gathering about town with the plough was used for an earlier (unrecorded) plough light. In his discussion concerning plough lights, Hutton finds them mostly in the East Midlands and East Anglia, but especially in the Lincolnshire fens, very close to Tilney All Saints.

> Lincolnshire was especially fond of the 'lights', which are recorded in the majority of its surviving pre-Reformation churchwardens' accounts. They are also mentioned in Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire, and Norfolk. Even in Lincolnshire, however, they were not universal, for records of churches in the same districts as those which kept up the custom show no trace of them.[129]

That they were so common in nearby parishes suggests that Tilney All Saints had one and that it simply went unrecorded, or unspecified as a light expressly for the plough. The gatherings with the plough might have been solely to provide for the plough light. No other information about plough lights is preserved in the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts.

A number of details are recorded about the physical nature of the plough itself.

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[125] J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, I: pp. 506-8. cf. E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1903, repr. as single volume, New York: Dover, 1996), I: pp. 108-121.
[126] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 117.
[127] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 118v.
[128] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 407. See also the discussion of the banning of lights and processions in the concluding chapter, Chapter Eight.
[129] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, p. 124.

In 1485/6 there are three records concerning the construction of a new plough and its painting.

> Item receperunt pro collecc*i*one in sancti sthephani pro novo aratro — ij^{s} [130]
>
> ...
>
> Item pro regardo homini de Wysbech pro novo aratro cum expensis — ij^{s} ij^{d} [131]
>
> Item solutum Willelmo Blower pro peyntyng novi aratri — xiij^{s} iiij^{d} [132]

There were two shillings collected in St Stephen which is just slightly less than what was spent in purchasing the new plough from a man of Wisbech. Why the plough was purchased from Wisbech instead of a larger market such as King's Lynn is unknown. It could have been that it was known that there was a man in Wisbech who had a plough to sell. Irrespective of the reasons for its purchase, by 1491/2 it needed repairs.

> Item solutum Thome Warde pro reparacione aratri — iij^{d} [133]

If the plough were simply a ceremonial device used to gather for the plough light, then it would is strange that it would be in need of repair so quickly. It could be damaged if the gatherers needed to plough up someone's land who was unwilling to donate. Other damage could have been caused by the group of gatherers themselves, depending, of course, on how rowdy they became. If it was solely for ceremonial and ritual use it might imply infrequent actual ploughing. Its need for repairs suggests that the plough might have been used not only for fundraising purposes but also for actual farming. This should not dampen interest in the necessarily performative aspect of taking the plough around town for fundraising, since this very act and the implied activities were forms of spectacle. That the plough was for general parish use, in some rotation system, is supported by a record from 1493/4 fining Robert Cateson for breaking the plough.

> Item Robertus Cateson debet pro casio aratri — vij^{d} [134]

The plough may have been damaged while it was being taken around the town for the collection. It would be appropriate that Robert Cateson was responsible for its repair if he broke it either as the gatherer or an unwilling person being asked to donate. Tilney All Saints would certainly not have been the only nearby village with a communal

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[130] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 41.
[131] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 41v.
[132] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 41v.
[133] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 49.
[134] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 50v.

plough. Hutton notes that nearby Leverington not only loaned a plough out but financial resources as well.

> Only the richer members of a village could afford their own ploughs, so that others had to take turns to borrow a communal one. At Leverington in the Cambridgeshire fenland, money from the 'town stock' was loaned out in the early Tudor period together with the plough, to enable the poorer farmers to launch their annual operations.[135]

There is little else recorded concerning the physical nature of the plough. There do remain a few interesting records concerning the Plough Monday activities other than simple collections (with or without the plough). There are two intriguing records from 1505/6 which mention a 'dolle' on Plough Monday. These have nothing to do with the collection 'cu*m* arat*r*o' since there is an earlier record for this in 1505/6. The two entries are sequential in the accounts, suggesting that the second took place on Plough Monday as well.

> It*em* for ye dolle on [—ploal—] Plow Mo*n*day — vj^{s} viij^{d}
> It*em* paid for ye bred to ye dolle — v^{s} iij^{d} [136]

This 'dolle' refers to the distribution of alms to the poor. That it took place specifically on Plough Monday suggests it was related to whatever celebrations took place on this day. If the second record for the distribution of bread was also on Plough Monday, which is likely, it might indicate that a large number of participants were involved. There is also a record of eighteen shillings of bread being given to the 'poore folke' in 1550/1 which is more than comparable to the five shillings three pence given above.

> Item p*aid* for bred gyvey*n* to the / poore folke — xviij^{s} [137]

What this might indicate is that both of these payments were for a year's worth of charity to the poor, and that the cross was the normal place for distributing this bread. There are also a number of records for dyrges on Plough Monday from 1526/7 until 1530/1. The amount received for making the dyrges ranged from three to five shillings. The individual records for dyrges on Plough Monday are set out below.

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[135] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, p. 124.
[136] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 68.
[137] WFM: M R 99/M, fol. 145.

1526/7: Item payd for ye Dyerge of Plou Monday — v^{s} [138]
1527/8: Item payd for a dyrge & masse of Plowgh / Munday for ye sowles yat gaffe ye iiij akeres / lyeng in medyltons medow — iij^{s} vj^{d} [139]
1529/30: Item for makyng of j dyrche / of Plowmundday — iiij^{s} [140]
1530/1: Item payd for the Dyrche of Plow Monday — iiij^{s} & vj^{d} [141]

In each instance at least three shillings is paid 'for the Dyrche of Plow Monday'. What aspects of this dirge made it specific to Plough Monday, aside from its performance on this day, are unknown. That the 1527/8 record states that it was both a dirge and mass makes it reasonable that it was an actual dirge and funeral ceremony, taking place on Plough Monday because the revenue land produced was for this collection. The commemoration for the dead is noted as specifically for those souls who had donated four acres of land in Middleton's meadow. The very particular nature of this description implies that this was not some symbolic or ritual Plough Monday dirge, but a very real religious ceremony. That all of the records mentioning dirges are within such a short period of time and that they do not appear for any other years could be explained if the four acres of land had only recently been bequeathed and other instances of dirges went unrecorded.

The plough was used for regular gathering most years by being taken around the town. It was also probably used communally for farming, and was stored in the church, sometimes being honoured with plough lights. This plough based fundraising was part of a larger Plough Monday celebration, which in itself sometimes produced significant revenue. This celebration sometimes included the distribution of alms and bread and the dirges on a number of occasions. There are records for the plough's purchase, painting, repair, breaking, and replacing. The painting of the plough suggests that it could have been solely a ceremonial plough, but does not eliminate completely the possibility that it was used for practical purposes as well — only being painted shortly before being used ceremonially. The plough was central, not only to the agrarian lifestyle, but to the celebrations of social ritual in the parish. The gathering of revenue through taking the plough about town can be seen as a performative act of social congregation and fellowship.

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[138] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 97v.
[139] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 99v.
[140] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 104.
[141] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 105v.

Organs, Players, Christmas Festivities and Stages

As it is churchwardens' accounts which are being examined, it is not surprising that there are records concerning the organs. There are a number of payments for their repair, blowing and playing, of which playing is, of course, the most performative. Playing of organs in church is often left out of surveys of entertainment, since they often focus more on secular performance.

There are a number of brief records for the repair and maintenance of the organ, and while often specific they are not extremely helpful in understanding the way in which it was employed. The organ was repaired in 1486/7.

> Item solut*um* p*ro* emendac*ione* organic*is* clerico — v^{d} [142]

In 1487/8 there is an expense for the organ maker and others:

> Item solut*um* p*ro* expens*is* div*ersis* temporib*us* cu*m* organmaker & cum aliis — v^{s} iij^{d} [143]

In 1495/6 there is an expense for glue used in repairing the organ.[144] There is a repair of "librorum & organorum"[145] in 1504/5 and 1518/9, and payments for "mendyng of ye orgens" in 1520/1 and 1524/5.[146] In 1539/40 there is another general payment "to ye orgenmaker".[147] And a pewterer repairs the pipes in 1547/8:

> Item rec*eptum* of ye pewterer for the orgayn / pypes — xv^{s} j^{d} [148]

The very next year (1548/9) there is a compounded expense for a variety of work including the organ.

> Item Resevyd of Master [—vy—] Vyker for the cepulker / & for the cays of the organys & for the bake of the / roude lofthe — xij^{s} [149]

Although this record tell us only a little about the organ itself, it is of use in raising the issue of expenses for the organ which are not performance-related. The amount received from the vicar 'for the cepulker' might refer to either the tabernacle borne in procession or the Easter sepulchre. They would have been sold off because they have been outlawed in the most recent reformation of religious practices.[150] As twenty

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[142] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 42v.
[143] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 44.
[144] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 53.
[145] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 66 and WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 84v.
[146] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 88 and WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 94v.
[147] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 120.
[148] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 136.
[149] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 140v.
[150] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 461.

shillings are spent for the organs in 1547/8, it is likely that the organ was being restored at this point.[151] In discussing whether records are indicative of performance or not, the records from 1478/9, where William Cay is twice noted as blowing the organs are extremely useful.

> Item payd to Wyllyem Cay for blowyng of ye organs — iiij^{d} [152]
> ...
> Item Wyll*yem* Cay for [—br—] blowyng of ye organs — iiij^{d} [153]

Not only do they help to establish the type of organ being used, but also they cause us to query similarly brief records. Cay is paid again in 1479/80 in a more terse record.

> Item Will*elm*o Cay p*ro* organ*is* — iiij^{d} [154]

This is, undoubtedly, Cay being paid again for blowing the organ, not playing it. One of the reasons this is significant is that there are a number of even more concise records. For a nearby example, in 1477/8 there is a record stating only: "In p*r*imis p*ro* organ*is* — iiij^{d}".[155] Records such as these, in the light of the payments to Cay, are likely to be for him blowing the organ. Although not performative in themselves, the records from 1477/8-1479/80 quoted above are very useful in raising the issue of whether or not those people being paid in conjunction with the organ should be understood as performers.

It is not an accident that those examples quoted above are all expenses of four pence. When this is compared to some of the payments which are certainly for playing of the organ, it is tempting to assume that those people paid very small amounts were not playing and those being paid substantially were performing. This is not necessarily the case, as not only are various people paid different amounts in separate years, but those who are paid a small amount are sometimes noted as playing the organ. Similarly, those paid a great deal are sometimes not noted as specifically playing the organ, for example in 1490/1.

> Item solut*um* Rober*t*o Man*ne* pro lud*endi* organ*is* p*ro* ultim*o* anno — iij^{s} iiij^{d} [156]

In the above record Robert Manne is being paid for the entire previous year's playing.

Ten years prior to this record, in 1480/1, Manne had been paid twelve pence for

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[151] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 139.
[152] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 34.
[153] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 34.
[154] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 34v.
[155] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 33.
[156] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 47v.

playing just at Easter.

> Item solutum Roberte Manne pro organis in tempore Paschalis — xij[d] [157]

And in 1494/5 he was paid twenty pence for an unspecified amount of time.

> Item solutum roberto manne pro organicis — xx[d] [158]

A few of these separate payments could easily add up to the large payment he received in 1490/1 for the whole year, making it possible that those being paid small amounts in some instances are receiving their fee for performance in a single instance.

Similarly, William Balding was paid three shillings and four pence in 1472/3 "pro le organes".[159] In 1480/1 he was paid sixteen pence "pro organis in feste Nativitatis Domini"[160] and three shillings in 1481/2 "pro organis per totum annum".[161] Balding is another individual paid a significant amount for playing the organ, but in 1502/3 a record states:

> Item solutum cuidam clerico pro organicis in die omnium sanctorum — iiij[d] [162]

Based on the earlier records it would be an easy assumption that this was for blowing or maintenance of the organ. This is a misleading as in the same year a record states that another 'cuidam clerico' is paid for playing the organs at Christmas.

> Item solutum cuidam clerico pro ludendis organis [—erga—] ad festum Nativitatis Domini — xvj[d] [163]

And yet, when comparing these two it could simply be that one is for blowing and the other for playing. There are similar records from 1499/1500 in which a lot less is paid presumably for playing at Pentecost.

> Item solutum quidam clerici in tempore Pentecostes pro organis — viij[d] [164]

And in 1503/4 sixteen pence was paid for what must be assumed to have been playing the organ at Easter.

> Item clerico pro organis in tempore paschale — xvj[d] [165]

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[157] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 35v.
[158] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 52.
[159] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 27v.
[160] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 36.
[161] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 36v.
[162] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 60.
[163] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 60.
[164] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 57.
[165] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 61v.

But, should this be considered as an expense for playing the organ or not? It is always going to be impossible to know for certain whether these unspecified records are performance-related payments or not. While it is tempting to base an assumption of the activity involved solely on the amount paid, this is problematic in the light of a record from 1504/5 in which organ playing is only paid six pence.

> Item cl*er*ico p*ro* ludendo ad organ*a* — vj^{d} [166]

It is not to be assumed that a payment for any amount is specifically for playing, blowing, or repairing an organ unless it states as much in the record itself.

There are other records for playing on the organ which have some relation to entertainment, for example in a record from 1467/8.

> Item cuidam pu*er*o joc*ulatoris* ad orgon ad ff*estu*m Pasche — xx^{d} [167]

In this case 'joc˜' has been expanded with reference to a similar record from 1470/1, instead of being understood as deriving from 'jocunditas', it is more likely that it is from 'joculator'.

> Item solut*um* organor*um* joculat*ori* ad div*er*sa p*rincipa*lia ffesta Ann*i* — iiij^{s} [168]

This record might refer to organ playing for entertainment purposes at events which that coincided with the major religious feasts. That is unlikely, but if it was the case, then a compound record like this one from 1469/70 could also be for entertainment.

> Item p*ro* le orgon player ad ff*estu*m Pasche xvj^{d} & ad ff*estu*m Pentecos*tis* / xij^{d} ad ffesta Assumpc*ion*is & Nativitat*is* B*eate* viij^{d} & ad ff*estu*m / Natal*is* d*omi*ni xij^{d} — Summa iiij^{s} [169]

Since one of these first records specifies that it is for Easter and the other for 'p*rincipa*lia ffesta Ann*i*' it is more likely that this is simply for playing at religious services. The function of music then not being entertainment but accompaniment to religious ritual. And yet, it should not be dismissed as non-performative as even music as part of a religious service contributes to the context of performance in the town.

These records help to query the meaning of the term 'playing' (in English or Latin) when found in late medieval accounts; it will always depend on the context in which it is found. In the Lestrange household accounts from Hunstanton it was seen

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[166] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 66.
[167] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 22v.
[168] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 25v.
[169] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 24v.

that playing generally referred to dicing, shooting, and card games, in Snettisham it was more likely to be sports or games.[170] In the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts it can generally be understood as playing the organ. In specific records, such as one from 1487/8, the organ is mentioned.

Item solutum clerico pro ludendo ad organa — iij^{s} iiij^{d} [171]

And yet, even in the very same year there is an expense for a group of four 'players', which out of context of the records would be certainly viewed by some scholars as actors of one sort or another.

Item solutum quatuor luditoribus in tempore Nativitatis — vj^{d} [172]

These players are assumed to be actors rather organists because of their number. Whether they were indeed actors cannot really be established. Although it could be argued that six pence was a small amount to give four actors, this would fail to take into account unrecorded aspects. Was the six pence only the churchwardens' contribution with the rest of the audience donating more? Although they were paid at Christmas, it could only have been a gift of charity, not necessarily a reward for playing. These might not be early (in 1487/8) instances of professional travelling players, but an unpretentious instance of some local talent. Four players providing an amateur play, recounting the nativity (since it was Christmas), might have found that six pence more than covered their expenses. These suppositions are without grounding, since all that can be really known is that four 'players' were paid six pence at that time.

In light of the records concerning organs, it should be reconsidered whether these were not musicians, as a travelling four member band would certainly have been more common than actors at this time. Similarly, in 1499/1500 there is a payment for players on the day of Epiphany.

Item solutum luditoribus in die Epiphanie — viij^{d} [173]

In comparison with the earlier payments for those playing the organ, this could easily refer also to a group of musicians, or even separate organists. In 1547/8, a substantial twenty shillings is paid "for the orgayns"[174] and with no other context it could have

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[170] See also Chapter Five and Chapter Four respectively.
[171] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 44.
[172] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 43v.
[173] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 57.
[174] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 139.

been substantial repairs, playing, or any number of things — in 1550/1 two shillings is paid "for me*n*dyng off the orgay*nes*".[175]

In 1547/8 a record is found that five players were paid at Christmas, earning twelve pence.

> It*e*m payd to the v players at Crystynmas — xij^{d} [176]

It is important to note that these 'players' is to only be recorded in conjunction with important liturgical feasts. This suggests that they were not actors, but musicians of some sort. Following this trend, players are recorded at Easter in 1549/50[177] and "the players at Crysmas" [178] are paid twelve pence 1563/4. Given the date of these records it is certainly possible that they do refer to travelling actors.[179]

Owing to their reliance upon the Bradfer-Lawrence collection extracts of the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts and their overlooking of the Stallard transcription, the Malone Society edits only one of these payments to players — and that incorrectly. The above payment from 1547/8 is the only one that Malone Society transcribes concerning players that might be actors. The other payments do not appear in the Lawrence transcription. If the two editings of the payments are compared, the inherent flaws of relying upon an antiquarian transcription (aside from their numerous omissions) are obvious. The Malone Society reprints:

1547

> [p. 114 (fol. 137)] to the players at Crystynmas xij^{d} [180]

Whereas a new transcription directly from the manuscript reads:

> Item payd to the v players at Crystynmas — xij^{d} [181]

The 'v players' was double checked to make sure that it did not somehow represent '*ye* players' in order to arrive at a mutated 'the players' for the Bradfer-Lawrence extract and Stallard transcriptions but the reading of 'to the v players' is very clear.[182]

Whether the 'players' mentioned above were actors or musicians, the most

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[175] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 145v.
[176] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 137.
[177] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 143.
[178] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 176.
[179] See Chapter Seven for the Long Sutton accounts which, being on a main route to Boston, record a substantial number of players.
[180] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 118.
[181] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 137.
[182] This would have resulted in 'to the *ye* players' in any case, making it extremely unlikely.

common time to record performers is during Christmas. One person paid for (possibly playing) the organ at Christmas 1475/6 was the aptly named Jon Awngyl.

> Item peyde to Jon Awngyl *pro* organis at Critynmes — xij^{d} [183]

It is unknown whether his surname had any relation to performance, but it was certainly a real name and not one assumed for Christmas festivities. He is paid again at Easter and Pentecost in 1476/7.

> Sol*utum* Johanni Awngell pro t*empore* Pasch*e* et Pentecost*e* — ij^{s} j^{d} [184]

Other records relating to Christmas festivities include the making of wax in 1539/40, "Item payd for waxe makyng ageyn crysmas — xviij^{d} ^{ob}".[185] Also there is an intriguing payment to Sir Thomas for making badges in 1546/7.

> Item payd to Syr Thomas for makyng of ye / badgys at Crystmas — ij^{d} [186]

It has been unable to determine what these badges would have been for, and whether they played any part in the Christmas festivities. The temptation is to ascribe them to 'Mock King and Queen' type events such as those found in Lord of Misrule celebrations. No indication of these events at all has been found in Tilney All Saints. Equally, they might simply have been souvenirs used for fundraising

Similarly disappointing are the mentions of the erecting of stages. As was suggested while examining the records from the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts, this is almost always scaffolding for building purposes at this period.[187] Nevertheless, they are transcribed as examples of negative evidence of the use of this word for performance staging. The first is in 1506/7:

> Item paid to ye plom*er* for takyng don ye stage — xvj^{d} [188]

While it is possible for a 'plomer' to erect a stage for performance purposes it is unlikely. As a plumber often referred to anyone who worked with lead it is understandable that he was hired to repair the steeple in 1521/2.

> Item payd to a wryght j day makyng a stage upon / the stepyll for the plomer — vj^{d} [189]

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[183] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 30v.
[184] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 31v.
[185] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 120.
[186] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 135v.
[187] See also Chapter Four.
[188] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 69.
[189] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 89v.

Finally in 1528/9 John Brown is paid for making another temporary scaffold on the steeple, and also for a 'credyll'.[190]

> Item payd to John Brown for makyng of / a stage upon ye stepyll &
> for a credyll — xij^{d} [191]

None of these, it is easily agreed, are likely to refer to stages for any sort of performative entertainment. The use of the word 'stage' in the context of churchwardens' accounts rarely indicates any relation to performative activity during this period. In 1584/5 there are two sequential records which use 'stagynge' to refer to firewood being stacked.

> Item paid for fyre woode — xviij^{d}
> Item paid for stagynge it — vj^{d} [192]

The staging of firewood undoubtedly does not refer to any sort of performance related activity.

Poor Child, Singing, and Other Records

As with the fool in the Lestrange household, there are records for the care and maintenance of an unfortunate in Tilney All Saints.[193] Unlike the records for the fool of the LeStrange household, this person is not termed a 'fool' in any way, and there is little reason to suspect a mental or physical disability, simply poverty and youth. As such, it is unlikely that the 'poor child' had any performative role, and the records are discussed briefly here to indicate this. The majority of the records for the 'poor chyld' appear in 1554/5, indicating that it was about this time that the child entered the village, or was brought to his current state. No records survive indicating the origin of the child, and it also could have been a mystery to the inhabitants of Tilney All Saints. It is equally possible that it was an orphan of some recently deceased members of the community, explaining why such care was taken over it. If it was the orphan of one of the congregation, this might help explain why the churchwardens' were reimbursing individuals for their expenses concerning the child. The records for the 'poor chyld' from 1554/5 are found on folios 150v and 151.

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[190] The cradle in this instance could have be a support device for carpentry or bells, but this should not eliminate the likely option that a normal cradle was also needed. It should certainly not be suggested that this was indicative of any sort of nativity play.
[191] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 101v.
[192] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 217.
[193] See also Chapter Five.

Item paid to *Christ*ofer Seman for norshyng the poor / chyld one weke — viij^{d}
Item paid to Alberd wyffe for makyng iij Shyrt*es* & / other ger to the poor Chyld — ij^{d}
Item paid to *Christ*ofer Seman for makyng the por Chyld / *ser*tanne garment*es* — viij^{d} [194]
...
Item paid Wyllam Sug*er* for di*midio* yer bord of the poor Chyld — xv^{s}
...
Item paid to Wyllam Sug*er* for di*midio* yer bord of the poor Chyld endyd — xvj^{s} [195]

Christopher Seman is paid eight pence for feeding the child for a week, and later for making '*ser*tanne garment*es*' for him. Alberd's wife is paid a mere two pence for making three shirts and some other clothes for the poor child. William Suger, with whom the child lived, is paid fifteen shillings for feeding him for half a year, and then sixteen shillings for another half year's food. None of this would suggest any performative role.

Six years later, another record for 'the poor chylde' is found. This could be a reference to the same child, simply older, or it may be an entirely unconnected poor child. The 1560/1 record reads:

> Item payd to [—John—] Ric*hard* Clenche for kepyng the poor chylde / of John Rayners — x^{s} viij^{d} [196]

This record is similar to the other earlier records, except that it names a possible father for the poor child. Richard Clench is paid 'for kepyng the poor chylde / of John Rayners'. No reason is given as to why Rayners is unable to keep his own child, and he does not appear elsewhere in the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts.[197]

Singing is certainly a performative activity but the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts only have one payment specifically for singers. In 1499/1500 they are paid twelve pence on All Saints Day.

> Item solut*um* qui*busdam* cantatori*bus* in regard in die dedicat*ion*is Eccl*esie* — xij^{d} [198]

This payment follows directly upon the one for "luditori*bus* in die E*pi*ph*an*ie"[199] and so suggests that these 'luditori*bus*' were singers of some sort, but this is unlikely as

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[194] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 150v.
[195] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 151.
[196] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 168.
[197] Similar records for a poor child are discussed in Chapter Seven.
[198] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 57.
[199] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 57.

they would at least have to have been musicians to retain the sense of having something to play.

The only other mentions of singing are for 'Syngyng brede' which is the Eucharist bread or wafer, called so because the priest sings or intones the mass.[200] This term is popular with the churchwardens in 1560/1.

> Item for Syngyng brede — j^{d} [201]
> ...
> Item payd for aglase & a boxe of syngynge / bred — iiij^{d} [202]
> ...
> Item payd for Syngyng brede — ij^{d} [203]

There are a number of other records, which while also non-dramatic are intriguing for one reason or another that they deserve to be briefly mentioned. The first of these is simply to briefly note that in 1447/8 they sent a single 'nuncius' to Cressingham.[204] While this is certainly only a messenger sent on church business, it is mentioned because such 'nuncii' have often been found to be associated with waits, minstrels, and other performers in the minds of those recording accounts.[205]

An enigmatic payment is also made in 1536/7 when two shillings and seven pence is "payd to hym y*a*t shold have ben clerke".[206] This is a great deal of money for simple compensation for someone else doing his job, and unfortunately no other explanatory records are given in the accounts. In 1550/1 and 1551/2 money is gathered 'of the clarkes wages at the / fene end'. The record from 1550/1 states:

> It*em* p*ai*d for gatheryn off the clarges wages att ffene ende — viij^{d} [207]

And in 1551/2 only four pence is gathered for the same thing:

> Item for gatheryng of the clarkes wages at the / fene end — iiij^{d} [208]

Tilney Fen End is about five miles inland from Tilney All Saints, and for gathering purposes at least, appears to have been considered part of the parish. It is mentioned in relation to a number of gathering or collection oriented records. Fenland areas often

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[200] J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' accounts*, p. 98, Cox notes that the term was often used in reference to the Eucharist intended for private masses.
[201] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 168.
[202] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 168v.
[203] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 169.
[204] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 4v.
[205] See also Chapter Two.
[206] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 116.
[207] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 145v. Note: 'fene end' is Tilney Fen End south from Tilney All Saints and Tilney St Lawrence.
[208] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 146v.

had large parishes incorporating several small villages, and this was the case with Tilney All Saints and a number of the smaller towns surrounding it.

In 1465/6, another intriguing payment is found in which two shillings and two pence is paid "for her burd".[209] The previous records do not indicate who the 'her' in this case might be, or why the church should be paying 'for her burd'. This is almost certainly her 'board'.

Around 1572/3 there must have been a natural disaster of some sort damaging the church, for in this year there are numerous expenses for building work, and gatherings for money for the maintenance of the church.

> Receyvyd of the gatherynges of the parishners of Tyllnye towards the wryghtinge of the Church — xxx^{s} j^{d} [210]

In 1572/3, as well, there are expenses for "gunn powder"[211] and also "for bread & dryncke when / we dyd Cast the Church bocke" and "for weyghtunge the Church boke".[212] No other information is found to suggest a greater context for these payments.

Conclusion

Tilney All Saints was an active parish which, while out of the way for travelling performers who did not wish to journey through that treacherous area of fenland, still had an active entertainment culture. Although they could simply have gone unrecorded in the churchwardens' accounts, it is more likely that travelling entertainers would likely have bypassed Tilney All Saints altogether because it did not lie on any of the nearby major routes either to King's Lynn, or to Boston (travelling through Wisbech, Long Sutton and Sutterton). In addition, performers would be more likely to continue their journey and stop at the larger King's Lynn or nearby Wisbech instead of Tilney All Saints. Instead of visiting performers Tilney All Saints relied upon its own religious and social rituals for entertainment. These blended religious worship through lights for the Blessed Virgin Mary and Rogation and St Lawrence processions with the more secular Plough Monday festivities and gathering with the plough. While the mentions of stages were included as negative evidence, there was a

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[209] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 20v.
[210] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 192.
[211] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 195.
[212] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 195v.

great deal of playing going on in Tilney All Saints — in this case probably playing of the organ. While there are no records that can be conclusively described as relating to travelling entertainers, the churchwardens' accounts of Tilney All Saints offer a good view of the type of social ritual found in a less easily accessible parish.

Chapter 7: Lincolnshire — Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton

Introduction

This chapter is different from preceding chapters in a number of ways. Firstly, it concentrates not upon the transcriptions of a single location such as King's Lynn or Hunstanton, but instead upon three villages of a similar nature. The three villages chosen are Leverton, Sutterton, and Long Sutton (Sutton St Mary)[1] which are all in the deanery of Holland in Lincolnshire. All these communities are in the fenland surrounding The Wash and while they are in the same region, their local economic areas do not overlap. For example, Leverton and Sutterton both regularly interact on economic and other levels with the intermediate Boston, but they only rarely did so with each other, and the same was also true for Sutterton and Long Sutton. This is of importance in fenland Lincolnshire because the individual parishes often encompassed huge areas of distant farmlands.[2] In the cases of the towns chosen, their local spheres of influence do not encroach upon each others'. In addition, they all have extant churchwardens' accounts examined by the Malone Society that range over different but inevitably related periods from the mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries, at which point they had similar sized populations.[3]

The basis for this information is a diocesan return, made under the authority of the Archdeacon of Lincoln, Thomas Aylmer, in 1563. It provides the parishes and hamlets of each deanery with the number of households.[4] To say that they had 'similar sized' populations is slightly misleading as Long Sutton is recorded as having 111 households while Sutterton is said to have only 67 and Leverton only 48 households. Yet, when compared with largest population centres from the Deanery of Holland,

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[1] The parish is more commonly referred to as Long Sutton, and that is how the Malone Society lists it, but references to it are sometimes listed a Sutton St Mary or Sutton-in-Holland.

[2] Long Sutton is specifically described as such a parish, see Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire: V (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1971 (repr. 1981, 1990)), p. 104. For other histories of Lincolnshire with good descriptions of late medieval Holland, see also Graham Platts, *Land and people in medieval Lincolnshire*. (Lincoln: Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 1985), and Gerald A.J. Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire: VI (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1975), for the Sutterton churchwardens' accounts see especially Edward Peacock, 'Churchwardens Accounts of Saint Mary's, Sutterton', *The Archaeological Journal*, 39 (1882), 53-65.

[3] The Long Sutton churchwardens' accounts range from 1543 until 1573. The Sutterton churchwardens' accounts range from 1461 until 1535. Although the Leverton churchwardens' accounts range from 1492 until 1625 they have only been examined up until 1550.

[4] The Lincolnshire diocesan return for 1563 is preserved in British Museum Harleian MS 618, but the information is provided in a more accessible form in Gerald Hodgett *Tudor Lincolnshire*, Appendix I: pp. 189-199.

such as Boston (471), Kirton (228), Pinchbeck (200), Swineshead (209), Long Sutton's 111 only forms under three percent of the total population for the area.[5]

Each of these towns has a distinct social culture reflected in the churchwardens' accounts which contribute to the discussions of previous chapters. And while the ritual and ceremony of the individual towns will be examined, the way each of them reflects or fails to reflect the entertainment culture of the area as a whole is also of interest. The churchwardens' accounts each have different accounting years, Leverton's accounts are made up on the third Sunday in Advent, Long Sutton's run from 21 April and Sutterton's accounts were generally rendered at Easter.

Lights

The three sets of churchwardens' accounts reflect three very different, yet in some aspects similar communities. The Long Sutton churchwardens' accounts, while rich in records relating to travelling players, only contain a very few mentions of devotional or other lights.[6] Bequests to lights in Long Sutton are mentioned in a number of wills proved in Lincoln.

> At Long Sutton bequests were made soon after this to the "rood light, plugh light, yomans light, maydens light, light of St Anne's Gild, St Jamys light, St Catherine light, St Christopher light, Holy Ghost light, Our Lady of Grace light," and it is clear that some lights had been installed by, or were the special care of, gilds and other groups in the fifteenth century ... Besides these lights, which were presumably oil lamps or cressets, the churchwardens were responsible for providing wax, or candles, for the candelabra or corona which hung before the roof loft, and for the special Paschal candle.[7]

The churchwardens' accounts from Leverton, on the other hand, evince local support for a plough light.[8] In 1498/9 an immense forty shillings is "ressevyd of ye plowth lyth of lev*er*ton".[9] In 1525/6 several years of debt to the plough light were collected

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[5] The populations ranged from 3 households in Toft hamlet to Boston's 471. Holland was the most highly populated of the rural deaneries with 3897 households, but this should be taken as indicating the size of this deanery which encompasses a great deal of fenland, rather than the desirability of the area for settlement. In addition, Long Sutton's population grew significantly during the mid-sixteenth century.

[6] There are receipts for a Sepulchre light in 1543/4, but they provide little in the way of information concerning its use or whether the 'Sepulchre' was used in procession, Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fols. 3v & 9v.

[7] Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, p. 119, Owen quotes bequests from *LRS* 5, p.132 and *LRS* 10, p. 15, p. 115, p. 178.

[8] There are also a few references to a Sepulchre light, which have not been transcribed.

[9] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 4v.

all in one year.

> [fol. 21][10]
> Rec*evyd* of Thomas Stedman of benyngton for dett of Robert Warner to ye plough lyght — xx^{d}
> Rec*evyd* of Thomas cooke of dett to ye plough lyght — x^{s}
> Rec*evyd* of Elyzabet bothby of beny*n*gton for dett of John hardy hyr oy*e*r husband to ye plou*gh* lyght — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> Rec*evyd* of Margaret Messur for dett to plough lyght — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> Rec*evyd* of Ri*chard* Wastelarr for dett to the plough lyghth — vj^{s} viij^{d}
> Rec*evyd* of Wyll*ia*m Thackar for dett to the plough lyghth — vj^{s} viij^{d}
> [fol. 21v][11]
> Recevyd of Henry Estgayte for dett to the ploughe lyght — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> [12]

The amount collected in this year totals one pound and fifteen shillings, still less than the forty shillings collected in 1498/9. Sadly, few other mentions of the plough light in Leverton are recorded, making any exploration of whether it might have been, in any way, related to Plough Monday celebrations unfeasible.

Compared with Long Sutton and Leverton, Sutterton has a plethora of records relating to lights. While the accounts contain simple receipts in the early years, such as this one from 1489/90, "Item rec*eived* of ye plowlythe — iij^{d}".[13] By 1509/10 they have progressed to a much more complicated memorandum concerning who had been elected a 'gaterar' (gatherer) for a particular light. The more common lights collected for were All Soul's, Hoggner's, May, Plough and Sepulchre Lights. Not each of these lights was collected for every year, but in most years at least three or four are mentioned. In some cases the accounts state that the occupier for a certain light was bringing his accounts up to date, often at the point where a new occupier or gatherer was appointed. The accounts for a particular light could be a few years out of date and reflect collections over a number of years, or from previous years.

The May light in particular had two distinct gathering locations centred on the two hamlets at either end of Sutterton — Dowdykend and Fishmerend. A set of simple receipts from 1519/20 show some amounts collected from each hamlet.

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[10] These accounts were made the 3rd Sunday in Advent, 17 Dec., 1525/6.
[11] This entry follows on directly from the previous folio.
[12] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 21v.
[13] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 23.

In primis Resayd off the Maye lyght of dowdychend — vij^{s}
Item of ye maye lyght of ffysmar hynde — xiiij^{s} xj^{dd}[14]
Item of m*aster* banb*es* & wyll*iam* be*n*ytte for ye v plowye lyght*es*
— viij^{s} vi[j^{d}][15]

These simple receipts from the gatherers are easily understood, but they were usually much more complicated. The memoranda from 1525/6 are a more typical set of records from Sutterton.

Memorand*um*[16] that In the 3er of owr lorde god m*ille* CCCCC
xxv[·ti] Alayn [·iij^{s} iiij^{d}] Wace and / Wyll*iam* [·iij^{s} iiij^{d}] Newelande
Ocapiars of the may lyght of fyssemer end browght up ther
account*es* and delyv*er*de to [—Robert Wace—] [·Rychard Benyt]
and Wyll*iam* Helande Newe may gravys } — S*um*ma iiij^{s} viij^{d}
Memorand*um* that In the 3er of owr lorde god m*ille* CCCCC
xxv[·ti] Thomas Sanderson and Edmunde / Berey Ocupyars of the
may lyght of Dowedyke end Browght up ther Acoumpt*es* / And
delyverde to Thomas [·ij^{s}] Gebon & John [·ij^{s}] fflede new may
gravys } — S*um*ma iiij^{s}
And the delyverd to the Church Wardons in increment*es* — vij^{s} x^{d}
Memorand*um* that the 3er of owr lorde god m*ille* CCCCC xxv[·ti]
Henry Percy [—John Josson—] [·John Watt*es*] & / [—John day—]
Ocupyars for the hognars lyght and Remanys in ther hand*es* } —
[—v^{s}—] viij^{s}
To Roger Busse and Edmund Marcheall Church wardons ·[in
increm*entes*] — iij^{s} x^{d}
Memorand*um* that in the 3er of owr lorde god m*ille* CCCCC xxv[·ti]
Wyll*iam* ffrysknay and Robert / Hutton Ocupyars for the Plowght
lyght & Remanys in ther handys — vj^{s} viij^{d}
To Roger Busse and Edmunde marchaell Church Wardons } — v^{s}
iij^{d} [17]

One of the more obvious changes in vocabulary is witnessed in the first entry. The old 'Ocapiars of the may lyght of fyssemer end' brought their accounts up to date (on what becomes known as Counte or Commpt Day), and they delivered the money to the 'Newe may gravys'. The term 'gravys' or graves used in the sense of an elected administrative position is a known Lincolnshire and Yorkshire English dialect variant.[18] Hence, in Sutterton there are occupiers of the positions of 'kirkgraves', 'plowgraves' and 'maygraves' amongst others. The term was also used associatively to refer to the accounts or sometimes the proceeds themselves.

The revenues from Fishmerend and Dowdykend were significant enough that two 'Maygraves' were elected for each. It might just have been tradition that two

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[14] There are two pence signs.
[15] The single pence mark is illegible because of binding. Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 93v.
[16] This initial word is of substantially larger size.
[17] Similar expenses for the All Soul's and sepulchre light follow these but have not been transcribed. See Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 119v.
[18] cf. *MED* and *OED* 'grave'.

gatherers were elected for each position.

The third and fifth entries above mention the returning of the money from the current occupiers of the position to the churchwardens 'in incremen*tes*'. By this, it simply means that some of the money was rendered at that point, the rest to be paid at a later date, or over the course of the year. This is quite common for many debts of all sorts throughout the Sutterton churchwardens' accounts.

The fourth entry records the transfer of office from one set of gatherers to another 'for the hognars lyght'. In this case the 'hognars' is a dialect equivalent of 'hogglers'. 'Hoggling' is the raising of "money for a church or a particular pious use by going from door to door gathering money or gifts in kind, sometimes, at least, with singing and merriment".[19]

This definition, provided by the REED project, illustrates its vested interest in emphasising that, at least on some occasions, there was entertainment accompanying this gathering. While this is not to be disputed with some of the *REED: Somerset* records, the entertainment aspect is not documented in the records of Sutterton. The revenue was consistently gathered throughout the length of the accounts and was done so in a manner that must have been substantially different from specifically the May and plough lights.

Other lights of interest, with possible connections to entertainment include, the Hogmanay light[20] and Town or Common lights. [21] The Malone Society transcribes a number of references to "owr ladys lyght"[22] because there is a record of 1523/4 mentioning a "play playd i*n* the day off the assu*m*pc*i*on off o*w*r ladey".[23] It does not edit a fair number of them, and the logic for transcribing them (and intentionally ignoring other lights) is flawed. The Malone Society transcribes them because of the perceived connection to the play, and yet several of the records note that the wax is for 'owr lady day', which is usually the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, not the Assumption. And yet, the Malone Society might be transcribing these

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[19] The best and most recently considered definition of this word is provided by the REED project in James Stokes, *Somerset*, Records of Early English Drama (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1996), in William Cooke's 'English Glossary' p. 1043 While the REED project's definition intentionally, and perhaps over enthusiastically, stresses the possibility of entertainment accompanying the gathering, it is generally more descriptive than the *OED* or *MED* definitions.

[20] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 93v.

[21] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 114v and 137 amongst others.

[22] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 123.

[23] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 112.

because of the mention of wax gathered for "owr lady day assumpcyon"[24] from 1530/1.

The mention of votive lights is even more common in wills because of their devotional quality. If one examines the types of lights to which bequests were made in the mid-sixteenth century they are numerous and diverse.[25]

Plays, Players & Play Lights

There are also number of payments for a play or player's light in Sutterton. In 1511/12 there is a receipt which follows those for several other lights which states, "Also to play lyght — iiij^{d}".[26] This might have been a devotional light in the church supported by donations by or donations for, a group of players. It is not as regularly recorded as the other lights and the next mentions are in 1521/2.

> Item payd for makyng of ye [—blars—][^—plars—] ^[plaaris]
> candellis — vj^{d} [27]

The two corrections before settling on the spelling of 'plaaris' indicates that this was an unfamiliar word or concept for the clerk. Either these are accounted for again a few folios later or additional players' candles were made in 1521/2.

> Item p*aid* the same tyme ffor makyng the plaars candell*es* — vj^{d} [28]

The next year the 'towne lyght' and 'the plaer candell*es*' are paid for by 'S*ir* John':

> Item p*aid* by the hand*es* off S*ir* John ffor makyng the towne lyght /
> & the plaer candell*es* } — xij^{d} [29]

This is not some otherwise anonymous patron or benefactor, it is John Wright, and this simply indicates which of the churchwardens paid for the making of the candles.

It is tempting to jump to conclusions as to what these candles might have been intended for. The idea of devotional lights with money collected from, or conversely collected for, players is one possibility. And yet, these could have had a more

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[24] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 131.
[25]For example, see the index of *LRS* 10, pp. 299-300. The lights listed include All Saints, All Soul's, Hoggner's, Holy Ghost, Holy Trinity, Our Lady, Maiden's, May, Plough, and Sacrament, Sepulchre, Wessal, Yeoman's and Young Men's. Also Saints Anne, Anthony, Catherine, Christopher, Erasme, Hugh, James, John, Laurence, Loy, Margaret, Mary, Michael, Nicholas, Peter, Saviour, Sunday, Sythe, and Saint Thomas.
[26] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 71.
[27]'Blars' is struckout with a struckout 'plars' above, following this is an insertion mark and 'plaaris' directly above 'candellis' Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 104.
[28] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 106v.
[29] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 110v.

pragmatic use. If they were indeed intended for actors they could have been used for lighting purposes or special effects. And yet, what these 'plaars' were is by no means unambiguous. As was seen in Tilney All Saints in Chapter Six, the term 'players' in churchwardens' accounts can easily mean players of an organ. Candles might have been used for an organ player to light the organ itself to facilitate playing. While all sorts of possibilities exist for the intended use of these candles, there is nothing in the accounts to directly confirm of deny a particular use in relation to players.

Gathering for Plays

One of the questions which immediately surfaces when considering the performance of early plays by travelling entertainers is one of a financial nature. How did they raise their money?

This is not, it should be stressed, questioning how they went about the business of acting, but rather simply the act of money gathering itself. There are innumerable payments to travelling companies to be found in many sorts of accounts, and in the Sutterton churchwardens' accounts there was a gathering from 1525/6 supporting the plays of nearby Frampton and Kirton.

> Item Resavyd of Gateryng to the plays of fframton and kyrkton — iij^{s} vj^{d} ob [30]

It is interesting in itself that Sutterton was supporting these plays since that suggests either town attendance at them or that they came to Sutterton. And yet, it is even more fortunate to have the expense for payment to the players themselves in the same year.

> Item payd to the players of fframton and kyrkton — vj^{s} viij^{d} [31]

What is exciting about this payment is that there is no other mention of a gathering recorded for the players this year. Since the accounts are so complete for these years, it can be assumed that the gathering collected three shillings and six pence and a halfpenny from the parishioners of Sutterton, but that the churchwardens supplemented this to reach a sum of six shillings and eight pence. In 1531/2 there is a receipt which is similar to this gathering for the players.

> 1531/2: fol. 132. Item Resavyd of the counte of the players — ij^{s} x^{d} ob [32]

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[30] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 122v.
[31] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 123.
[32] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 132.

The term 'counte' is used to refer to the accounts provided by the churchwardens, or those collecting for a variety of things within the Sutterton accounts. This suggests that the 'counte of the players' is an accounting of some sort being brought up to date. This could refer to organ players and mean an account of their year's wages. And yet, it could also be interpreted as pertaining to a collection for a group of players.

One of the more interesting records from Sutterton is the collection for a 'play playd *i*n the day off the assu*m*pc*i*on off ow*r* ladey' from 1523/4. Referring to this receipt, Dorothy M. Owen argues that there was a collection during the performance.

> The larger villages had their own companies of players (the young men, perhaps) whose costumes were provided by the parish, and who took their play, whatever it was, round the neighbouring parishes. In the early sixteenth century Sutterton welcomed, and paid for, players from Frampton, Kirton, Whaplode, Swineshead, and Donington, and, it seems, took up a collection during the performance.[33]

Owen's assumption that because banns-criers are paid, then a performance took place, isn't necessarily incorrect. Her belief that a collection was taken during the performance itself, while not demonstrably wrong, is certainly not indicated by the record in question.

> Item Rec*evyd* by the hand*es* off S*ir* John off th*o*mas Hutton R*obert* Hutton .[Ric*hard* qwyttyngam] Will*iam* Hobson / & Will*iam* Beyll w*ith* other dyv*ers* off the towne for *i*ncremett*es* ffor the / play playd *i*n the day off the assu*m*pc*i*on off ow*r* ladey } — ix^{s} vj^{d} [34]

This names some of the more prominent citizens of Sutterton 'w*ith* other dyv*ers* off the towne' as having donated towards the costs of a play performed on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The time of gathering is not specifically mentioned. It is mentioned that it was paid 'for *i*ncremett*es*', which suggests the churchwardens paid the cost and were recouping their investment in a manner that is very common in the Sutterton accounts. What is not said is who performed the play, or what it was about.

It is tempting to assume that because the money is received from John Wright, the sometimes 'churchmaster', and is being paid to the churchwardens that it is a local parish production. That is not necessarily the case, as it could be repaying the churchwardens for their contribution to some travelling players. Nevertheless, it is likely that this was a play for which Sutterton itself was responsible.

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[33] Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, p. 112.
[34] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 112.

Another possibility is that the production effort was shared with the nearby village of Wigtoft as earlier in the same folio there is a record for the gathering for bread and ale for Sutterton and Wigtoft.

> Item rec*evyd* by the hand*es* off Will*iam* Brandon o*n* the day off
> ascenc*ion* i*n* the / owr gederyng i*n* the [—do—] towne [& chyrch]
> ffor brede & aylle ffor Sutterton & Wygtoft } — vj^{d} [35]

As the feast of the Ascension was specified this should be understood to refer to the feast of Christ's Ascension and not the Blessed Virgin Mary's assumption. Owing to this play taking place on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Malone Society transcribes a number of other references to wax on 'owr laydys lyght', although this is almost certainly a reference to the light to the Blessed Virgin Mary which was kept in the church.

Likewise, it might be tempting to assume that because the play was played upon the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary that it was related to this in content. This would also be an unwarranted assumption, since there is nothing other than the date of the production to suggest this and the content could have been of any nature. The play could also have been related to the Assumption, and this is more likely if it was indeed a local production.[36] The religious, political and social aspects of such local productions have often been examined to the exclusion of the simple financial intentions behind them. The profit motive, and financial burden in producing them, should not be ignored. Writing about the arguments of the citizenry against the production of Chester's Whitsun Plays, David Mills reminds us that:

> ...valid though each view has been, the simple commercialism of the occasion remains a constant. Citizens had to bear the production costs and, if those costs were to be recouped, had to attract crowds in order to boost trade-income. For them, the customer came first.[37]

In Chester the surrounding towns were attracted there for the performances, but it is not at all clear that this is what was happening in the greater Wash area. Increasingly, the records indicate that the individual productions of plays toured around their neighbouring villages. The mention of gathering for the play in Sutterton should alert us to the production of a play, but cannot be taken as firm evidence for this play's

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[35] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 112.
[36] John Wasson, 'The secular saint plays of the Elizabethan Era' in *The saint play in medieval Europe*, ed. Clifford Davidson, *EDAM*, Monograph Series 8 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 241-60.
[37] David Mills, 'Who are our customers? The audience for Chester's plays', *METh*, 20 (1998), 104-117 (p. 104).

performance location.

Explicitly recorded gatherings for players are mentioned in the Long Sutton accounts at a much later date. In 1564/5 the churchwardens donated twenty two pence more than the amount which was gathered.

> Item paid to my lorde riches players ov*er* & besydes y*at* was gathered — xxij^{d} [38]

In the same year they also donated an extra five shillings to players from Ipswich.

> Item paid to the players of Ipswych ov*er* & besydes y*at* was gathered — v^{s} [39]

That both of these use the term 'ov*er* & besydes y*at* was gathered' could just point to a formulaic scribal usage, but if it is taken at face value it conveys substantial information concerning the gathering of funds for players. It implies not only that a collection took place, but also that it was thought the amounts gathered should reach some specified level, and the churchwardens would supplement it until it reached this level. Why then do Lord Rich's players receive twenty two pence and the players from Ipswich receive a full five shillings? It could simply be that more money was gathered by Lord Rich's players and so less was needed to top it up. This might be an indicator of quality of performance, but the level to which the collection was trying to reach would had to have remained constant for any real comparison between payments. It could be that the players agreed in advance to play for a certain amount, and the churchwardens added to a performance time collection in order to reach this.

These ideas depend on the unlikely premise that there was some consistent level the churchwardens were attempting to reach. It is more likely that they gave different amounts based on either the expenses of the players, or the quality of their performance. This does not necessarily mean that they would have given more for a good performance and less for a bad one, since they might have felt that they had to contribute less to a good performance as this would have been likely to garner more from the audience.

It is implied in a record from 1565/6 that there were problems gathering much money for a play by Lord Robert Dudley's players.

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[38] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 85.
[39] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 86.

> Item paid to M*aster* Vicar for that that he laied out more then coulde / be gathered whan the lorde Rob*ertes* players did play here } — ij[s] [40]

In 1573/4 a payment specifies that it was at the request of some townsfolk that the payment was made. This might mean that the churchwardens felt uneasy about making the payment and thought they should justify it.

> Item paid to the players at the / request of p*ar*te of ye towne the / week before mydsom*er* } — xj[d] [41]

The churchwardens might not have wanted to bring disrepute upon the church, at least not during their administration, possibly being mistrustful of the Elizabethan political and religious situation.

Aside from gathering for plays, and the routine gatherings for lights, there are also irregular collections for individual events, activities or purchases. In 1566/7, for example, the clock maker was paid seven shillings and ten pence more than was gathered.[42] There are other expenses for the clock this year and for maintenance in other years. The idea of the churchwardens paying to make up a certain amount of money based on what the parish has donated is supported by a payment from 1571/2.

> Item paid ov*er* gevene to the man that / gathered for Crowland church to make up / his monye that the P*ar*issh gave hym vj[s] viij[d] } —xxj[d] [43]

Banns

The other payments inherently related to gathering for performances are those relating to banns-criers. In 1525/6 in Leverton the churchwardens paid 'Maister holand of Swynsed' three shillings and four pence.

> paid to Maister holand of Swynsed [—of S—] & ye plaers of the same town / whan thei rood & cryed thare bayne att lev*er*ton } — iij[s] iiij[d]
> paid for breed & ayle atthe same tyme to cause them & y*er* company to drynke — viij[d] ob [44]

These two payments are quite useful in that they establish a number of details concerning banns. Firstly, it explicitly connects the crying of banns and players. Also it states that the banns was cried at Leverton instead of some other location. The very next payment states that bread and ale was supplied to the company.

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[40] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 88v.
[41] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 109v.
[42] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 90.
[43] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 98v.
[44] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 22.

There are several uses of terminology which are significant. The term 'company' was being used by this time to refer to groups of actors, but it is also a word which was used generally. Hence a payment for 'John mereld and hys compenye' in 1536/7 is most likely for the carriage of goods relating to church repairs.

> Item payd to John mereld and hys compenye for / Rydyng be3ond boston — xvj^{d} [45]

The players from Swineshead mentioned earlier are said to have 'rood & cryed thare bayne att lev*er*ton'. That banns were cried is understood, but to ride banns might originate from a single performer riding to a number of nearby villages to announce an upcoming performance. As well there is the question of whether they performed in Leverton or simply cried (or in this case rode and cried) their banns at Leverton in order to announce a play elsewhere, either back in Swineshead, or maybe Boston, as either were within possible walking distance.

There is only one possible crying of banns recorded in Sutterton, and whether or not this refers to banns is dependent on the Leverton mention of 'rood & cryed'. In 1530/1 players from Whaplode are paid seven pence.

> Item payd to the playres of Whapplett When they Rode ther play — vij^{d} [46]

The question which immediately raises itself is whether it was a performance of a play which took place when these players 'Rode ther play' or whether this is just a record of the banns-criers having ridden for a later performance. The expense, of seven pence, might be suggestive less of a full performance and crying of banns, and more of the expenses of bread and ale for the banns-criers.

There are no other mentions of banns being cried in Sutterton, but in Long Sutton a number are recorded. In 1543/4 there is a payment not only for bread and ale for the banns-criers, but an additional payment to the players for crying their banns.

> Item payd in reward to the Bayne of Fres*t*on / in [—Bred and—] ale — ix^{d} [47]
>
> In prim*is* payd to freston playars whan thay cryed ye bane here — v^{s} [48]

In 1563/4 there is a six shilling payment for banns from Donington:

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[45] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 33.
[46] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 131.
[47] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 5.
[48] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 11.

Item paid to ye bayne of dunyngton — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item paid to Agnes Durbag for cakes beare then — xx^{d} [49]

What makes this interesting is it refers to a play by Donington players for which there is an extant cast list. The Donington cast list has recently been re-examined by James Stokes the editor preparing the *REED: Lincolnshire* volume intended to supersede the Malone Society *Collections VIII: Lincolnshire* Volume and Stephen K. Wright.[50] Their study suggests, and this is evinced by the records presented here, that Donington was not unusual in having a local play which toured around other nearby towns.

> The high number of these plays in rural Lincolnshire during the first seventy years of the sixteenth century suggests that Donington was typical both in having a play and in traveling to announce or perform it in other towns.[51]

Obviously the payments for cakes and beer will have been significantly less than the amount collected for the banns, and Agnes Durbag, wife of Thomas Durbag is also recorded as providing beer, bread and cakes to the Rogation procession. There is always the possibility that the amount paid for the banns included any other expenses for bringing the production to Long Sutton and that explains why a contribution to the banns is recorded but not the performance of the play.

In 1564/5 the churchwardens' accounts of Long Sutton record two banns each with accompanying expenses for bread and drink in a single block of expenses.

Item paide to the bayne of Leake the som*m*e of — x^{s}
Item paid more for breade & drynck than — xiiij^{d}
Item paid to ye bayne of boston — x^{s}
Item paid more for breade & drynck than — xj^{d} [52]

In at least the appearance of a very egalitarian distribution, the banns of Leake and the banns of Boston both receive ten shillings. Furthermore, fourteen pence and eleven pence more are spent 'for breade & drynck' at the same time. That it specifies that this was more paid towards it implies that other payments for banns, or performances of players, had the expenses for bread and drink for the performance already included in the total sum. Similarly, in 1565 there is a record of another ten shillings having been paid for the banns of Kirton and at the same time eighteen pence is paid for bread and drink.[53]

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[49] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 83.
[50] James Stokes and Stephen K. Wright, 'The Donington Cast List: Innovation and Tradition in Parish Guild Drama in Early Elizabethan Lincolnshire', *Early Theatre* 2 (1999): 63-95.
[51] James Stokes and Stephen K. Wright, 'The Donington Cast List', p. 80.
[52] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 85.
[53] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 87.

Comparison of banns-criers with records for performances found in other churchwardens' accounts highlights multiple instances of banns-criers for the same year. For example, the churchwardens of Wigtoft, near Sutterton, are recorded as having rewarded banns-criers from Swineshead (1525) and also Spalding (1532).[54] While no comparison is found with the Spalding banns-criers, as mentioned earlier, "Maister holand of Swynsed" and his players are recorded as having ridden and cried their banns at Leverton the same year.[55] In this case, this almost certainly must have been the same group of players advertising their play, and possibly performing it more than once, in Leverton and Wigtoft. Unfortunately, no more precise dates other than the year are recorded in reference to either of these performances. They could be either multiple announcements for either a single performance in Swineshead or separate performances, presumably with Wigtoft having been an earlier performance on the way to Leverton.

When Did These Players Come?

The Long Sutton churchwardens' accounts are fortuitous in the number of references to sixteenth century players they contain. A significant number of these payments also record the time of year in which they were made. Thus the time of year at which players were more likely to have been found in Long Sutton is able to be explored.

Out of all the visits of players recorded in the Long Sutton accounts, generally precise (or calculable) dates are given in only eighteen instances over the years covered by the churchwardens' accounts. These range from 1543/4 to 1573/4, and of these, five came during 'Christmas' including one group which came on Twelfth Day. Only one group of players came to Long Sutton after Twelfth Day in January, three are recorded in February, three visited in March, a single group is recorded as specifically visiting in both April and May, two groups of players came by Long Sutton in June while none were recorded as having specifically visited in July. A single group of players is recorded as having visited in both August and September one year, and two groups visited during November. Other than those who visited during the Christmas

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[54] The Malone Society does not edit these, cf. John Nichols, *Illustrations of the manners and expences of antient times in England, ... deduced from the accompts of churchwardens ... with explanatory notes* 'Churchwardens accompts of Wigtoft, Lincolnshire' (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1797) p. 216 and p. 222.

[55] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 22.

season, no more players were found to have visited during December.

Little can be understood from this owing to the small dated sample and the large number of players for whom no calculable date is available. Christmas was a slightly more popular time for travelling entertainers. While inclement weather might have been expected to keep travelling performers away, it is the normally milder months of July and August in which few or no performers are specifically recorded in the Long Sutton accounts. Explanations of all sorts could be posited: that those from neighbouring villages were busier with agricultural work, or that professional players were in London or with their patron, during these months. There is not enough of a scope for investigation given the limited amount of records. As more and more records for entire regions from projects like REED become available, studies such as this on travelling routes and times will be more feasible.

Where Did These Players Play?

One of the inherent uncertainties of payments to players is the location of performance. As has been mentioned in reference to the crying of banns, the possibility exists that they were announcing a performance which was to take place in another location. The same problems exist in relation to payments to the players themselves. For example there is a simple record from 1519/20 stating "Item for yc plaars rewarde of qwatlode — ix^{d}".[56] Charles Cox, relying on extracts from the Sutterton churchwardens' accounts by Edward Peacock, reads this as "Quoublods", but still arrives at the conclusion that it refers to Whaplode.[57] While it is probable that this a payment for a performance in Sutterton, it might have taken place elsewhere. The bulk of the evidence points to churchwardens rewarding players for coming to the town, not performing elsewhere. And yet, this would argue against the idea of banns-criers collecting for, or encouraging attendance at, plays in other locations, but instead supports the idea of them travelling around offering plays and then bringing the production to the town in question should they want it. This is really only an issue with performers visiting from nearby locations. Those troupes of performers travelling great distances from their home town or patron would have had less need for banns-

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[56] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 96v.

[57] J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' accounts from the fourteenth century to the close of the seventeenth century* (London: Methuen, 1913), p. 276 and Edward Peacock, 'Churchwardens Accounts of Saint Mary's, Sutterton', *The Archaeological Journal*, 39 (1882), 53-65.

criers since they would already have been travelling in a single group.

The location the players played in is specified in some payments. The payment for "whan thei rood & cryed thare bayne att lev*er*ton"[58] states explicitly that the banns were cried at Leverton. It does not mention where (or if) a performance, outside of the crying of banns, took place.

Long Sutton having the most records for players of all towns examined gives the best overall picture. In 1543/4 Frampton players are said to have been rewarded "whan*e* they were here".[59] While this doesn't specify precisely what they were doing in Long Sutton, it does give their physical location as having been there. In 1560/1 payment is made "to the players that came from bullyngbrooke".[60] This implies, at the very least, that the players were away from home.

Similarly, in 1570/1 players are paid "that came out of keston".[61] And in 1572/3 "certain players" are paid "that came fro*m* Lincoln".[62] Both of these also imply that the players originated from these cities and travelled to Long Sutton probably on their way to somewhere else. In the case of Lincoln, the detailed records that survive indicate the production of a large amount of drama. It might be that one of these plays toured to neighbouring villages. Unlikely suggestions have been made that the large plays from Lincoln, as well as the N-Town plays, might have been touring productions, but the bulk of the evidence tends to indicate that saint plays were much more common.

> On the other hand, Stanley Kahrl, Hardin Craig, and numerous others have proposed that cycle plays such as the N-Town Cycle traveled through the countryside of the East Midlands. But such descriptive evidence as survives invariably points instead toward saint plays and other history plays that dramatize well-known stories with clear moral or religious themes and strong popular appeal, with some relevance to the local community, and featuring rather large casts, elaborate costumes, and sophisticated props.[63]

If this payment to players that came from Lincoln specified that they were acting, it might be used by those wishing to see the plays as touring. It could easily be argued that this was a single instance of an unrelated group of players originating

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[58] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 22.
[59] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 11.
[60] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 75.
[61] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 94v. This is most likely 'Kesteven' an area around Sleaford.
[62] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 104.
[63] James Stokes and Stephen K. Wright, 'The Donington Cast List', pp. 80-1.

coincidentally from Lincoln.

A payment from 1565/6 to children from Wisbech is more specific in stating that they played in Long Sutton.

> Item paid to the childeren of wisbich whan they played here — vj^{s} ij^{d} [64]

This establishes only that the children from Wisbech played in Long Sutton and that they were paid to do so. Unfortunately, it does not say where in Wisbech they played, nor of what this playing consisted. That some number of children, of whatever age earned over six shillings makes some form of dramatic or musical performance likely.

There are only two records in the three towns studied, both originating from Long Sutton, which help to clarify where in Long Sutton the players might have been playing. In 1547/8 players were paid who had played in the church.

> Item payd to the player3 in the churche — ij^{s} [65]

Of course, this record is ambiguous and could be read simply to indicate that this was the location where they were paid. This is unlikely in light of a more specific record from 1572/3.

> Item paid to the playeres which played / in the church upon Mydlent Sonday } — xvj^{d} [66]

This record explicitly states that these players played, and they did so in the church and were paid sixteen pence to do so. Although this absolutely locates the playing space as the church, it does not indicate what they were playing. While the temptation is to assume they were actors, they also easily could have been organists or other musicians. It raises the possibility that actors might have been performing in St Mary's church in Long Sutton.

Should this be surprising? The parish church was a central gathering point for many fenland communities. In some cases the church was the only large meeting place available, and so the church or possibly the churchyard would naturally have become the venue for any generalised entertainment.

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[64] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 87.
[65] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 35.
[66] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 106.

> If the church provided the only large building in a parish, the church-yard must often, in densely cultivated country or fenland, have offered the only open-air meeting place in some parishes. This, no doubt, is one reason why markets were sometimes held there ... Churchyards were equally tempting for the playing of games and the holding of feasts.[67]

There are no other specific records in any of these towns which might help to establish the church, or churchyard, as a routine playing place.

Where Did These Players Come From?

The origin of players recorded in Sutterton, Leverton and Long Sutton in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries suggests a highly developed local culture of dramatic performance. Leverton only has one record of players in its churchwardens' accounts.[68] This indicates that only performers from a localised area were more likely to venture in this direction. Unless one is intending to follow the coastal road, most travellers leaving Boston would be heading South West towards the Great North Road, or North to Lincoln.

Sutterton being on the road to Boston had substantially more entertainers visiting from nearby towns. These included Donington, Frampton, Kirkton, Swynshede, and Whaplode. All of these are within eight and a half miles of Sutterton, with all but Whaplode being within four and half miles.

Long Sutton evinces even more performers from a local area. Performers (including players, banns-criers, and dancers) are recorded as having come from Bollingbroke(22 miles away) a number of times, and Boston(13), Donington(15), Frampton(12), Freiston(13), Gosberton(12), Ipswich(around 80), Kirton(12), Leake(20), Lincoln(33), Moulton(8), Nottyngham(51), Spalding(8), Walsoken(8), Whaplode(7.5), and Wisbech(8). When origins of performers are noted, those from distant locations are significantly rare in comparison with those from closer towns and villages. The most distant performers from named locations (rather than those noted as being from a specific patron) are from Ipswich, Nottingham, and Lincoln.

The Malone Society missed some records of players from Long Sutton, only

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[67] Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, p. 105.

[68] It should be noted that there are records for performers such as the waits of Boston in the Overseer's accounts, but since these do not start until after the terminus date of this study neither they nor the Constable's accounts were examined. The Malone Society appears not to have consulted them either. See 'Leverton', pp. 549-75 in Pishey Thompson, *The history and antiquities of Boston and the villages of ... Leverton ... etc.* (Boston: John Noble, 1856).

one of which might affect this discussion concerning players' origin, being to players of the 'hye countrey'.

Item paid to ye playars of ye hye countrey — vj^{s} [69]

Given the marshy fenland location of Long Sutton, if the record is a simple geographical description, most of the country could be referred to as the 'high country'. It is more likely that it refers to a specific area, and most likely one of the sets of hills in central or northern England. It could also refer to the Lincolnshire broads, although one would expect to find other references mentioning this area throughout the accounts if this was indeed the case. It might be that it refers to players from Scotland or the continent — perhaps 'high' Germany given the Hanseatic trade connections of The Wash.

One of the conclusions which can be made concerning players is that the type of locations recorded as producing players are all of a significant population.[70] Leverton is visited by players from Swineshead (209 households). Sutterton records players originating from Donington (127), Frampton (112), Kirton (228), Swynshede (209), and Whaplode (115).

Long Sutton was entertained by players from Bollingbroke (40), Boston (471), Donington (127), Frampton (112), Freiston (147), Gosberton (107), Kirton (228), Leake (127), Lincoln (at least 459), Moulton (90), Spalding (154), and Whaplode (115). Except for Lincoln which was its own deanery, and Bollingbroke which was in the deanery of the same name, all of these towns are from the deanery of Holland. They all had populations of at least a hundred households. Exceptions to this are Bollingbroke and Moulton. Bollingbroke was truly an exception since it was outside Holland, and was also still a very small place. If one added the nearby Moulton Chapel hamlet's households (41) to the population figure of Moulton, it would compare equally to the other locations.

All of this comparison though, leads to an easily apparent conclusion. Those towns producing entertainment which travelled within the local area were towns of a significant population. This is understandable as a certain base population would have needed to exist in order to have had enough people to draw on to provide the

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[69] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 82.

[70] Population is given in number of households and is taken from the Lincolnshire diocesan return for 1563, British Museum Harleian MS 618, cf. Gerald Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp. 189-199.

performers. The smaller villages and hamlets might not have had the population to undertake entertainments which would have gained a significant profit. While religious intention was important to the production of local medieval drama, the aspect of profit making and fundraising should not be ignored.

Patrons of These Players

Ignored in the calculations are the mentions of unspecified players (those which give no identifying reference at all), and those with named patrons.

In most cases those studying the movements of performers are more interested in the movements of performers on a national scale.[71] Most easily traced of these are players who were named in reference to their patron. For example in 1550/1:

> Item to my ladie soffolks plaiars — vj^{s} viij^{d} [72]

It should be explicitly noted that this type of reference, to what is normally seen as travelling troupes of professional players under the patronage of a noble, become much more common in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Briefly, those who appeared in Long Sutton included Lord Rich's players[73] (1564/5), the Duchess of Suffolk's players[74] (1565/6), Lord Robert Dudley's players[75] (1565/6), Sir John Gaskin's players[76] (1566/7) and Master Sampal's men[77] (1573/4). In listing these players, John Wasson finds it puzzling that so many groups of players came through Long Sutton, and suggests that they might have been known to be a welcoming performance location.

> Why so many different groups of players came to Long Sutton is not clear. Perhaps the parishioners had a reputation as supporters of drama, for in addition to all these visiting players, banns criers from Freston[*sic*], Donington, Leake, Boston and Kirton also came to town to advertise their plays.[78]

It is more likely that, although the parishioners were supportive of players, the location

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[71] See, for example, Peter Greenfield, 'Touring' in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 251-68 and Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[72] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 42v.

[73] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 85.

[74] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 87.

[75] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 88v.

[76] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 90.

[77] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 111.

[78] John Wasson, 'The English Church as Theatrical Space' in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 27.

of Long Sutton explains its fruitful records. Anyone travelling from the South to Boston, and some of those travelling to Lincolnshire might have opted for the fenland route which went via Wisbech through Long Sutton and Sutterton to Boston. As a consequence, a certain amount of traffic probably flowed through Long Sutton, making it a convenient stopping point along the way. It was the nearest medium sized town after crossing the river Nene. This route could have been used to get to Lincoln, although it would have been an indirect one.

What The Malone Society Missed

Statistically it is most likely that out of the three villages studied, the Malone Society would have missed some payments to players in Long Sutton since more records for players are found in these accounts. True to this, the Malone Society has not missed much from the Leverton and Sutterton churchwardens' accounts, although it did not consult the Leverton Overseer's and Constable's accounts.

In the Long Sutton accounts, the Malone Society has also missed very little that would have fallen under its publication guidelines. Nevertheless, it might have missed four records on folios 82 and 83. These are clearly written and found in blocks of expenses similar to all the other records the Malone Society transcribes from the Long Sutton churchwardens' accounts. As they are all from 1563/4 it could simply have been due to human error, or because the folios following folio 75 were at one point damaged and detached from the binding.

> [fol. 82]
> ...
> Item payd to ye players — vj^{s}
> ...
> Item paid to ye playars of ye hye countrey — vj^{s} [79]
> ...
> [fol. 83]
> ...
> Item paid for breade & drynck on the Commpt daye — xv^{d}
> Item paid to ye bayne of dunyngton — vj^{s} viij^{d}
> Item paid to Agnes Durbag for cakes beare then — xx^{d}
> Item paid to the mawrice Danncers of Spalldynge — ij^{s}
> Item paid to the mawrice Danncers of Whaplode — vj^{s} viij^{d}
> Item paid to a play of fowre boyes beynge straungers — v^{s} [80]

The Malone Society did not miss the payment to "a play of fowre boyes beynge

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[79] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 82.
[80] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 83.

straungers".[81] Which indicates that instead of missing the payments to the morris dancers, it is likely that it consciously decided not to include them. While it is possible that they were missed, since the spelling and legibility of 'mawrice Danncers' was not particularly conducive to easy reading, it is unlikely that in transcribing something from a generally legible folio that the Malone Society would not have considered these entries carefully.

The differences between the 'principles of selection' of the Malone Society, the REED project and this study are highlighted by examples such as this. While the REED project would have transcribed the records for the morris dancers, the Malone Society did not. As well, the Malone Society decided not to edit the payment to Agnes Durbag for cakes and beer at the time of the banns from Donington whereas the REED project would be much more likely to include this contextual information.

The principles of selection used by different studies of the records will always lead to disagreement and divergence in the comparison of edited extracts. But the decision of what to include or not is not the only problem. Palaeography and transcription can also lead to errors, and in their transcription of the records of Sutterton the Malone Society mistranscribes 'mercymentt' as 'merryment' in 1535/6.[82]

> Item p*ayd* ffor the mercymentt in quatryng — ij^{d} [83]

While this one small mistake is easily understandable, a palaeographical comparison to earlier uses of the same word in the Sutterton churchwardens' accounts, of which there are a number, leads to the conclusion that this is a 'mercement'[84] or amercement. For example, in 1532/3:

> Item payd for ij mercement*es* — ij^{s} x^{d} [85]

Part of the difficulty with errors in published collections of edited extracts is that they are then taken as fact by some researchers without recourse to the originals. The appearance of "the merrymentt In quatryng"[86] in the Malone Society's Appendix D is then used in lists of dramatic activity compiled by others.[87]

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[81] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 83.
[82] cf. Malone Society, *Collections VIII: Lincolnshire*, p. 93.
[83] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 141v
[84] From Medieval Latin 'mercia, -iamentum', cf. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Wordlist*, p. 296.
[85] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 135.
[86] Malone Society, *Collections VIII: Lincolnshire*, Appendix D, p. 107.
[87] James Stokes and Stephen K. Wright, 'The Donington Cast List', p. 79. They include Quadring in their list of performers visiting Sutterton.

There are also always many examples of words which at first examination appear to be of interest, but then prove not to be. One of these is the use of 'glayer' in a record from 1545/6 in the Long Sutton churchwardens' accounts, "It*em* to the glayer — viij^{d}".[88] This is almost certainly a mistake for 'glayser' as a number of other references to glaziers are found with this spelling in nearby records — however tantalisingly 'p'-like this is certainly a 'g' for 'glayer'.

Along with the problems with principles of selection there is often a problem trying to determine whether the record is in reality referring to performers of any nature. For example, the Malone Society edits a record from 1573/4 with no mention of playing.

> Item paid to the children of Spaldinge — xx^{d} [89]

That the children of Spalding had travelled to Long Sutton and earned twenty pence is in itself suggestive of performative activity. This is especially likely in comparison with other references to children performing, such as this record from 1565/6.

> Item paid to the childeren of wisbich whan they played here — vj^{s} ij^{d} [90]

In the records of the Lestrange household of Hunstanton mention was made of the singing children of Boston from 1534.

> Item to the syngyng chyldern of Boston — viij^{d} [91]

The 'playing' of children in such records might have been singing or musical performance. And yet, dramatic performance should not be discounted simply because of their youth.

Other records are confusing simply because of their syntax, for example, the record mentioned earlier from 1563/4.

> Item paid to a play of fowre boyes beynge straungers — v^{s} [92]

This has two distinct possibilities. Firstly, and most easily accepted, that four boys who were strangers were paid for performing a play. The only queries with this reading are whether 'straungers' refers to people from outside of Long Sutton or more likely those who were foreigners in a broader sense, and whether the money was paid

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[88] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 25v.
[89] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 111.
[90] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 87.
[91] NRO: Lestrange P/3, p. 259. See also Chapter Five.
[92] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 83.

for a performance or 'paid to a play' that was to be performed later (as with banns-criers). The second interpretation of this record is that the money was paid to 'a play of fowre boyes beynge straungers'. That is, that the money was paid towards a play the content of which concerned four boys who were strangers. No biblical or known saint's story that easily corresponds with this has been located, but it remains a possibility.

Church Ales

Drinkings or church ales are not normally transcribed by the Malone Society. Leverton had one specifically in 1536/7, but then records no others. The records from 1536/7 run:

> [fol. 32]
> ...
> Item Resavyd att the dryngkyng for the churche telled by mast*er*
> thamworth — iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} [93]
> Item Recevyd att the same tyme that was sent to gus*berton*[94]
> be3ond boston and of oder gudmen / — xj^{s} v^{d} [95]
> ...
> [fol. 32v]
> ...
> Item payd for bred for the dryngyng — x^{s} [96]
> Item payd for cakes att the same tyme — xviij^{d} [97]
> Item payd to davytt the wryght whan 3e mayd / yowr drynckyng for
> the churche } — xx^{s} [98]

This church ale produced over three pounds of revenue as 'telled' or counted by Master Thamworth, and although it is uncertain whether the expenses for the men who were sent beyond Boston and 'davytt the wright' were incurred as a result of the drinking or bear any relation to it other than coincidental timing. There are also expenses for ten shillings worth of bread, and eighteen pence of cakes. While ten shillings was a great deal to spend solely on bread, it should be noted that the same amount was spent later "for x do3en of Breade / agaynst the Rogac*i*on dayes".[99] There are no recorded expenses for the actual production of ale or beer this year in the Leverton accounts, which is strange given that they were having a church ale. It is possible that this was

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[93] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 32.
[94] This expansion is uncertain.
[95] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 32.
[96] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 32v.
[97] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 32v.
[98] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 32v.
[99] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 104v, cf. Chapter Six, in which a large amount of money is spent on what might be Plough Monday bread.

donated or that the expense went unrecorded having been subtracted from the amount received.

Food and Drink

Food and drink were a major constituent of most social events recorded in those churchwardens' accounts examined. As previously mentioned, when "Maister holand of Swynsed"[100] and his players visited to cry their banns, the Leverton churchwardens "paid for breed & ayle atthe same tyme to cause them & yer company to drynke".[101] Sutterton records both the gathering for bread and ale, and how much was paid for the same bread and ale.

> [fol. 138]
> ...
> Item resavyd of the gatryng for bred and ale at medys Crosse — xix^{d} [102]
> ...
> [fol. 139]
> ...
> Item p*ayd* for bred & ale at medys Crosse — ij^{s} [103]

While only nineteen pence was gathered, exactly two shillings were spent on bread and ale. It is assumed that the extra five pence was given by the churchwardens. In Long Sutton there was a similar use of food as a reward for players. In 1543/4

> Item payd in reward to the Bayne of Fresto*n* / in [—Bred and—] ale — ix^{d} [104]

It is assumed that this sustenance was meant for the banns-criers. This is not the only reward the banns-criers from Freiston received that year in Long Sutton, nor were they the only players for whom bread and ale was purchased.

> [fol. 11]
> ...
> In prim*is* payd to freston playars whan thay cryed ye bane here — v^{s}
> Item gyven in rewarde to framton players whan*e* they were here — v^{s}
> Item payd for brede & ale than — vj^{d}
> Item payd for chese at crosdays — viij^{d} [105]

The Freiston players are seen to have received five shillings in addition to the bread

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[100] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 22.
[101] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 22.
[102] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 138.
[103] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 139.
[104] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 5.
[105] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 11.

and ale received earlier. When the Frampton players came through the town they also received five shillings, but only six pence in bread and ale. This suggests that there were less players from Frampton. As has already been noted in 1563/4 the payment "to Agnes Durbag for cakes beare" immediately follows a payment "to ye bayne of dunyngton".[106]

In 1564/5 both the banns-criers of Leake and those of Boston received bread and drink in addition to the ten shillings that they were given.[107] In 1565/6, the banns-criers of Kirton were also given ten shillings, as well as eighteen pence worth of 'bread & drynck then".[108]

Food and drink are provided at other occasions — and in Sutterton during 1524/4 it is provided at the striking of a new bell.

Item payde for brede and drynck when we stroke the bell — vj^{d} [109]

By far the most consistent provision of food at an event of social spectacle is represented by the Long Sutton Rogation procession.

Processions

The Long Sutton Rogation procession is one of the few processions recorded in any of the three villages.[110] As there are no surviving records concerning the nature of the procession, its entertainment, or the route the procession took, records concerning what was carried are the best way to discover more about it.

In 1543/4 there is a payment "for the schaft ale at crosdayes"[111] which, in the light of the Snettisham and Tilney All Saints records, probably refers to ale purchased for those bearing the shafts.[112] This is the only mention of shafts being carried in the Rogation procession, more often payments for bearing the cross are recorded. An example of this is also seen in 1543/4.

Item p*ay*d for the Beryng the crosse uppon crose dayes — iij^{d} [113]

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[106] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 83.
[107] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 85.
[108] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 87.
[109] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 116.
[110] There is an expense for "gyldyng of ye scepulker" as well as for silk lace "to strynge the purse that the Sacramentt ys borne in" within the Sutterton churchwardens' accounts, but these are not conclusive evidence of a procession, cf. Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 22 and 131.
[111] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 10.
[112] See also Chapter Four and Six.
[113] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 4.

A similar expense is recorded the following year, except that four pence was paid to the bearer. In 1545/6 the cross is not only borne in the procession but was also repaired.[114]

> It*em* payde to the golde smythe mendynge of the best crosse — ij^{s} iiij^{d} [115]

While this could simply have been a cross in the church, it might also have been the same cross that was borne in procession that year. We can assume that at least a portion of the cross must have been made of gold, since a goldsmith was employed to repair it.

During a list of expenses for food consumed at the 'crosse days' there is a record mentioning the repair of another item which was commonly used in processions, "It*em* for mendynge of the canabe — xij^{d}".[116] As illustrated earlier, canopies were often carried over the tabernacles or monstrances containing the host during Corpus Christi processions.[117] There is no mention of a canopy in connection with any procession throughout the rest of the Long Sutton churchwardens' accounts. There are a number of other records for the bearing of the cross during Rogationtide, some of which name individuals, and in 1547/8 it is not only the cross which is carried.

> It*em* for berynge of the Crosse in Crosse days — iiij^{d}
> It*em* for berynge of thre bannard*es* then — vj^{d} [118]

These banners were most likely to have been the same type as those banners or 'vexilla' carried in other places such as Tilney All Saints. The carrying of shafts, also mentioned in a number of places, might in reality refer to the carrying of banners on shafts. These banners often had guild crests on them, or displayed religious images of special significance to the community. Alternatively, these shafts could have supported a feretory or candle-pricket as was found in Tilney All Saints.[119] In 1557/8, two individuals are named in reference to bearing the cross and carrying the banner in Rogationtide.

> Item payde to Henry Johnson and to will*ia*m Glepps / for Beareynge of the Crosse and the banner in Crosse weke } — x^{d} [120]

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[114] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 20.
[115] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 25.
[116] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 25v.
[117] See also Chapter 3.
[118] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 34.
[119] See Chapter Six.
[120] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 63v.

No single individuals are repeatedly rewarded for bearing the cross or banner, which indicates that either it was a coveted position or one no one wanted to repeat. In 1558/9 Richard Hawe was paid for carrying the banner while John Freeman bore the cross.

> Item paid to Rycharde Hawe for bearynge / of the banner in Rogac*ione* weke } — vj^{d}
> Item payde to John ffreman for bearynge of ye crosse then — vj^{d}
> Item payde to Thomas Stock*es* for the crosse foole — vj^{s} viij^{d} [121]

This mention of 'Rogac*ione* weke' confirms the suspicion that the Rogation procession took place on multiple days as in Tilney All Saints and Snettisham.[122] The final payment, to 'Thomas Stock*es* for the crosse foole' is intriguing. This could refer to a jester performing some sort of entertainment. It was almost certainly more than simple participation in the procession, as the level of recompense far exceeds those for carrying objects. It also might refer simply to some ornament for the cross.

Food and Drink at the Cross Days

Bread and beer are the two most often recorded staples of processions in many locations, and this proves true with Long Sutton as well. In 1544/5 someone, perhaps by the name of Crosse (if that is not a scribal error), from Wisbech was paid for two half barrels of beer for Rogationtide.

> Item payd to crosse off Wysbych for / too half barryl*es* of bere ageynst crosse Weke } — iij^{s} viij^{d} [123]

Beer was also bought for Cross week in 1545/6, 1547/8, 1550/1, and 1557/8. From 1557/8 the names of those providing the beer are sometimes entered. In 1557/8:

> Item payde to Thomas Durbag*es* wyfe for ij / gallons of Bere & for sex pennyworthe of Brede } — xx^{d} [124]

One aspect of these payments that is interesting is the fluctuating price of the commodities, the price of beer each year having been influenced by various factors. But it could be that a barrel of beer bought one year might not necessarily have been the same size as the barrels bought in a different year.

Some names become routinely associated with the provision of sustenance for the Rogation procession. Isabell Allen, William Crane, Margaret Daniel (William

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[121] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 69.
[122] See also Chapter Four and Six.
[123] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 16.
[124] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 63v.

Daniel's wife), Thomas Downam, Agnes Durbage (wife of Thomas Durbage), Christian Gonell (John Gonell's wife), Richard Holbun's wife, and Rose White. Some of these only appear once or twice, but some are recorded regularly through the accounts providing food or drink at a variety of times.

But these people were not only paid for providing beer, and more than bread was offered at the Rogation procession. Aside from bread and beer, two other types of comestibles were routinely provided — cheese and spice.

In 1543/4 eight pence was spent "for chese at crosdays".[125] The next year fourteen pence was paid and the amount bought specified as, "a stone of chese at crosse days".[126] In 1545/6 bread, cheese and spice were all bought at the same time.

> It*em* for brede agaynste crosse dayes — iij^{s} ij^{d}
> It*em* for schese agaynste ye same dayes — xvj^{d}
> It*em* for spyse than — iiij^{d} [127]

In addition to these, there are two extra payments for "spyse at crosse dayes" during the same accounting year.[128] In 1546/7 four shillings was spent on spice and bread, "It*em* payd for spyse & brede at crosse dayes — iiij^{s} viij^{d}".[129] The following year, beer, bread, spice and a stone of cheese was bought.[130] 1557/8 is the first mention of two types of baked goods, "Item paid to will*ia*m danyell wyfe / for twoo doosyn of Brede & kakes than } — ij^{s}".[131] Cakes after this date, along with bread, cheese, spice and beer, become regular expenses each year for Cross Week. In 1558/9 there is a payment for "gese the same tyme"[132] as other Rogation expenses. These 'gese' are almost certainly geese, but could also be a phonetic variant of cheese.

The number of participants at an event could be estimated based on the amount of food purchased as, for example, the number of loaves is sometimes given precisely. In 1559/60 "fyve dussen of brede & kakes"[133] were provided, while in 1563/4 "fower dosyn of breade"[134] and "iij dosyn of cakes"[135] were purchased. There are extra payments in 1570/1 for bread, cheese, and spice, but also "twoo dosyn and a halfe of /

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[125] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 11.
[126] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 17v.
[127] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 21v.
[128] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fols. 24 & 25.
[129] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 29v.
[130] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fols. 33v & 34.
[131] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 63v.
[132] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 69.
[133] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 72.
[134] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 83.
[135] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 83.

kakes" and two stones of cheese.[136] The Rogation week expenses for 1572/3 are more expensive than previous ones, indicating a more lavish affair, and "x doʒen of Breade"[137] were purchased.

The amount of money spent on food, and the routine nature of the payments, recurring almost every year, indicates that the consumption of food was an established part of the Rogationtide events. This might have taken the form of an important meal, but might also have been intended as a reward to the participants who, if the procession was 'beating the boundaries', would have travelled for a fair distance and have been in need of sustenance.

Bread and beer is also purchased on the 'counte day' in a number of instances. The amount spent on food and drink at this day upon which the rents and debts were collected and the churchwardens' accounts are rendered was very small.[138] This would indicate that it is bought for a significantly smaller number of people.

There are two payments for a dinner of one of the churchwardens which shed some light upon how the beer was sometimes purchased. In 1544/5 there is a record for a dinner at Wisbech.

> Item payd for my dynner at Wysbych whan / I spake for bere ageynst crisse dayes } — ij[d] [139]

This could simply refer to the churchwarden purchasing the beer from Wisbech, or more likely arranging in advance for its purchase; the phrase 'I spake for' probably refers to some other sort of fundraising. There is a similar payment the next year.

> Item for my drynke whan I spake for the bere agaynste crosse / dayes } — ij[d] [140]

In a number of instances some of the food and drink provided at Rogationtide is recorded as being purchased from other places such as Wisbech, but no other records of these products being 'spoken for' are recorded and this probably only refers to the arranging for purchase of the beer.

There are a number of payments which do raise money for the procession. For example, in 1543/4 twenty pence is received from Master Billingham.

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[136] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary. Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 93v.
[137] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 104v.
[138] e.g. Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 69.
[139] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 16.
[140] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 20.

Item Recevyd of master Byllingam for crosse Weyke — xx^{d} [141]

In 1545/6, twenty pence is received from "the vycar at cross dayes".[142] It is unknown how these funds were raised, and whether they 'spake for' them or even preached for them. Very few other receipts for money raised through Rogation activities are found in the accounts, indicating that it most likely was not intended as a fundraising activity.

Master Whytelare is paid five shillings in 1566/7 for preaching during Rogation Week. The accounts run:

> Item paid for spyce ageynst Rogac*i*on dayes — xxij^{d}
> Item paid for Chese than — v^{s}
> Item paid to Thomas Dwnam for beare then — viij^{s}
> Item paid to Will*ia*m Byrde for makynge a / newe leddar to the pulpet } — ij^{s} vj^{d}
> Item paid to Maister Whytelare for preachinge in Rogac*ion*e Weke — v^{s}
> Item paid for a newe booke of ye secende toombe of homelyes — iij^{s} viij^{d} [143]

That a new ladder is made to the pulpit this year suggests that extra preaching in Rogation week was an unusual activity. Conversely, it could be that additional preachers visiting the town for Rogation week were quite common, but that a special effort was being made to impress Master Whytelare.

Bells

As with most churchwardens' accounts there are numerous payments for the maintenance of bells in Long Sutton and Sutterton. Bellmen are recorded as undertaking a variety of jobs in and around the church. In Sutterton, the bellman was responsible for the collection of revenue from obits, including sixth, month, and year days. Hence, most years feature a list of names and which type of commemoration was undertaken, from which it can be assumed that bellringing played a large part of marking these anniversaries. These have not been transcribed.

There are a number of payments for the ringing of bells on other occasions, especially hallowmas in Long Sutton. In addition, the bellman was paid eight pence "for watchynge of the sepulture lyght"[144] on two occasions in 1545/6 in the Long Sutton churchwardens' accounts. These do imply the existence of ceremony in which:

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[141] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 3v.
[142] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 19v.
[143] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 90.
[144] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 20.

> volunteers watched the sepulchre from the moment that it was closed until the Easter morning, in memory of the soldiers who guarded Christ's tomb. The churchwardens paid for bread and ale for them, and sometimes for coals to keep them warm at night.[145]

The expense to the bellman might have been for bread and ale to help pass the night. It is assumed that this 'sepulture lyght' was by an Easter sepulchre or tabernacle into which the host had been placed in remembrance of Christ's burial. While this is likely, there is nothing in the records to indicate that this must have been the case.

Other than these differences from other churchwardens' accounts examined earlier, there is little else to illuminate the many faceted role of the bellman within these churches.

Other

Various other records are also worthy of comment. The first of these records is one which increases the vast pantheon of lights to which the inhabitants of Sutterton contributed. In 1523/4 there is a mention of a 'fudball lyght' which raises the question of whether these lights were being used as illumination at sporting activities.

> *Memorandum* in the fudball lyght iij Ca*n*delle*s* [146]

There are no other references to 'fudball' in the accounts or lights for it which might help to explain this record. Another similarly enigmatic record is payment also from Sutterton in 1524/5.

> Item payd to our man for techeyng us the way over the nyght — ij^{d} [147]

Two payments are preserved in the Long Sutton accounts for a 'pore chyld' and his keeping. No other payments concerning the child are found in the accounts.

> Item payd to Robert Thomas for the pore chyld & fownd by the [gysthe][148] — v^{s}
> Item to Alyce harpley for the Sayd chyld bord — ij^{s} viij^{d} [149]

Except for the mentions of May lights, there has been no discussion of May Day festivities because there are no records explicitly concerning these in any of the churchwardens' accounts examined. In Long Sutton there is frequent reference to May

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[145] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 190-1.
[146] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 121.
[147] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 116.
[148] The reading of this word is obscured owing to damage on the folio.
[149] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 38v.

Day rents being collected, but as there is never any hint of festivities on this day, these references are not transcribed. For example, from 1543/4:

> Item Recevyd in my nown hand*es* of may daye / ferme that ys to come } — xvj^{s}
> Item [—p*aid*—] Recevyd of rob*er*t recheman for may day / ferme that ys to come } — v^{s} [150]

Conclusion

The three small towns whose churchwardens' accounts have been examined in this chapter have been surprisingly rich in dramatic activity. Even in the case of Leverton, which is located away from well travelled routes, there are records of players visiting, plough lights and church ales. In Sutterton and Long Sutton, both on the road from Wisbech to Boston performers are recorded with a higher degree of frequency. The majority of these were players and banns-criers from the greater region around The Wash. While the records from Sutterton and Long Sutton actively reflect the dramatic culture of the greater Wash area, the churchwardens' accounts from Leverton, while useful, do not give as accurate a picture of the dramatic context. In recontextualising the extracts of the Malone Society, a reselection of records and their subsequent reinterpretation was undertaken. The Lincolnshire fenland surrounding The Wash was an area not only unexpectedly rich in dramatic activity, but also in travelling productions.

> Numerous records in Lincolnshire and East Anglia show that parish players in the greater region of The Wash traveled to advertise their plays or to perform them not only in nearby towns, but sometimes in their respective neighboring counties.[151]

Plays and players were not the only records of entertainment to be found in the Lincolnshire fenland, and numerous instances of lights, and the detailed records concerning the Long Sutton Rogation procession show a strong communal sense of identity. The procession, inherently an event of spectacle, was also simultaneously a defining congregation of the community and a delineation of that same community's boundaries. In examining the players performing in this area the basic questions of who came, when they came, whence they came, and where they performed were examined. The inherently financial nature of these players' activities was intentionally

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[150] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 1v.
[151] James Stokes and Stephen K. Wright, 'The Donington Cast List', p. 75.

highlighted to stress the often overlooked basis for some productions as revenue producing sources for activities of communal significance. To this end the methods of gathering and the inevitable expenses for food and drink were explored. The Lincolnshire Wash area, while individual in the types of ritual and local events that have been uncovered, is similar to those other communities surrounding The Wash in that it evinces a high degree of local mutual interaction between communities within a localised area. The Lincolnshire fenland is indicative of other localised areas in the East Midlands and East Anglia which were rich in cultural and dramatic spectacle.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This thesis has studied a broad range of communities surrounding The Wash and has undertaken a recontextualisation of the Malone Society's extracts, a reselection of new extracts based on broader principles of selection and a reinterpretation of these extracts based on their documentary context. In doing so a variety of communities and types of document have been investigated. New transcriptions have been made of the records discussed and these are provided in the appendices often with a greater degree of documentary context than is available in the Malone Society *Collections*.[1]

The introduction to this thesis examined the methodology, theoretical background, limitations of scope and the historical context of the thesis itself. The busy late medieval port of King's Lynn has left a rich and varied collection of documents and the investigation of entertainment in the city has concentrated on the many surviving civic and guild accounts. In Chapter Four, the study of the churchwardens' accounts of the small rural town of Snettisham evinced a great deal of interaction with neighbouring communities. In Chapter Five, the extremely detailed accounts of the Lestrange family of Hunstanton were studied and it was found that the amount of performed drama recorded was minimal as the household appeared to prefer other forms of entertainment. Chapter Six studied the rediscovered churchwardens' accounts of Tilney All Saints and found a great number of parallels between the entertainment of this small rural parish and that of Snettisham in Chapter Four. Chapter Seven, a comparative view of three parishes from the Lincolnshire side of The Wash, found many more records for travelling players than in Snettisham and Tilney All Saints. This concluding chapter summarises the chapters of the thesis, and while unavoidably repetitive, continues by thematically examining the discoveries made, considers the implications that these have for the study of medieval entertainment and their benefits to the wider field of scholarship, and finally it indicates those questions the thesis raised which might benefit from further research.

Summary of Thesis

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[1] David Galloway and John Wasson, eds, *Collections XI: Records of Plays and Players in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1330-1642* (Oxford: For the Malone Society, Oxford University Press, 1981) and Stanley J. Kahrl, ed., *Collections VIII: Records of Plays and Players in Lincolnshire, 1300-1585* (Oxford: For the Malone Society, Oxford University Press, 1975 for 1969).

Chapter One

The first chapter introduced this thesis and the type of study that it comprises. It highlighted the need for a re-examination of the documents from which the Malone Society extracted records of dramatic activity. Moreover, the core benefits of the thesis' ability to recontextualise these extracts, reselect what should be included and reinterpret the new extracts within this greater context were explained.

The methodology of the thesis was carefully considered, especially in relation to recent developments in literary and cultural theory. The notion of antiquarianism and archival research and their legitimate place within the disciplines of history and especially literary history were examined. This was followed by a section on the theoretical developments of new historicism and their relationship not only to the production of extracts of early dramatic activity embodied in this thesis, but also the Malone Society and REED project's endeavours. In turn the nature of this thesis, in comparison especially with the REED project, was considered through discussions concerning its own methodology and theoretical assumptions.

These sections on the theoretical bases behind the thesis were followed by more traditional sections. The degree of context to be explored, the nature of comparative research and the manner in which the thesis is organised were explained. A brief survey of the field of study was undertaken, concentrating especially on those types of works which have benefited from the Malone Society and REED publications. This was followed by a consideration of the contributions the thesis makes in terms of its methodology as well as the substance of some of what it discovers. The political context of the documents to be studied and its relationship to the investigation of early drama was examined in conjunction with analysing the distortions created by our own perspectives of the past.

The differences between the REED project, the Malone Society *Collections* and the nature of this thesis were then examined. Following on from this the principles governing the reselection of material for inclusion in the transcriptions was discussed. The time period covered and the general use of dates in the thesis were outlined together with the reasons for the chosen geographical location of the thesis. The editorial conventions were explained with a brief consideration of the aspects of textual encoding in relation to the type of transcription undertaken. This was followed by a brief précis of each of the chapters.

Chapters Two and Three: King's Lynn

Chapters Two and Three both concern the entertainment from King's Lynn as found in the numerous documents in the city's archive. The large number of surviving documents enabled two particular types of contextual study. Firstly, individual forms of entertainment were studied through a variety of types of documents. In doing this, the thesis was able to more fully explore the nature of records within the context of the archive as a whole. This comparative analysis used many different documents to help interpret a single topic. Secondly, a single type of entertainment taking place in this busy port was studied within a single set of documents. For example, in Chapter Three, the entire run of Guild of Corpus Christi accounts was helpful in understanding the nature and development of the Corpus Christi procession.

In Chapter Two the thesis examined extant records for drama and music in King's Lynn and included a brief introduction to the social and historical context of the town. This was followed by a survey of records for dramatic performances, games and various forms of civic entertainment. The comparison of records in their context facilitates the reinterpretation of earlier assumptions. For example, the supposed existence of 'Corpus Christi plays' in the town was disputed since all that is recorded were 'ludi on Corpus Christi day' — and whether these 'ludi' were plays as we now understand them or simply games is important to our understanding of late medieval entertainment as a whole.

This thesis then undertook a detailed study of the Malone Society's editing of the records concerning a local production in the Christmas season of 1444/5. The thesis re-examined the records it chose to edit and uncovered other unedited records which shed light on the people involved in this entertainment. It is shown to be one of the few productions instigated by the civic government, possibly with the political aim of gaining the favour of Lord Scales. While performances in both King's Lynn and nearby Middleton cannot be conclusively proved, they are quite likely.

In the second half of Chapter Two, the surviving records for music and minstrelsy were considered in conjunction with the theoretical problems caused by our own semantic interpretation of the records' terminology. Extant records for both travelling and local minstrels were examined, including a rare letter of recommendation for a piper discovered during the research for this thesis. Leading on

from this, an investigation of the early waits of King's Lynn discovered many records not contained in the Malone Society volume. These records demonstrate the existence of waits as civic musicians almost a century earlier than the Malone Society had believed. One wait in particular — William Wylde — was shown to be termed a 'vigilator', a 'wait' and a 'minstrel' all at the same time, which helps to redefine the evolution of the position of civic waits.

Chapter Three was composed of a study of the paradramatic activity of King's Lynn with a concentration on the city's Corpus Christi procession and its relationship to spectacle. Through the study of expenses relating to the physical attributes of the city's Corpus Christi procession, especially including the act of bellringing, the tabernacle, the canopy, the hearse, the candles and torches, and the 'Gesyne', a greater understanding of the procession was gained. As mentioned above, this investigation was undertaken primarily using the set of surviving accounts from the Guild of Corpus Christi. A variety of organisational aspects of the procession were also examined including its route, its funding, the music and minstrels in the procession. In addition the relationship between the procession and the celebratory feast of Corpus Christi was also investigated.

A consideration of the development of the civic office of the Bellman — which in itself is partly performative in nature — followed on from the study of the Corpus Christi procession. While it originated from the earlier office of bedesman it gradually transformed into a mainly secular position. The use of a processional 'dragon', and its corresponding use as a symbol of civic identity, was also briefly considered.

Chapters Two and Three consisted of an investigation into the entertainment of King's Lynn, entertainment that was full of drama, music and spectacle. Through the examination and comparison of multiple documents within the context of the archive as a whole a significantly greater understanding of the entertainment in late medieval King's Lynn was gained.

Chapter Four: Snettisham

The type of contextual study undertaken in Chapter Four differed vastly from those in Chapters Two and Three. In the preceding chapters the numerous documents which fortunately survive in the King's Lynn archive allowed for comparisons between documents, and also between different perspectives on the same individuals and

activities. In striking contrast to this, the small rural parish of Snettisham has only one significant late medieval document that survives. Thus, the study could only come to an understanding of the entertainment of the parishioners of Snettisham through its single volume of churchwardens' accounts.

This does highlight one of the aspects of local contextual studies, in that their scope is often inherently determined by the chance survival of manuscripts or conversely their absence. This does not mean that it was an accident that this parish was chosen or appeared next in the body of the thesis. Whether manuscripts survive or not is out of our control, but this should not be taken to mean that the inclusion or concentration upon a particular manuscript was accidental or determined specifically because of these survivals. As explained in the introductory chapter, while the area for this thesis is geographically determined — and a limited number of communities with manuscripts used by the Malone Society survive within it — those communities chosen and the area itself were consciously determined.

This study of Snettisham highlighted one of the most interesting features of its entertainment, its degree of intercommunality. So, although a single parish's entertainment was studied through its single volume of churchwardens' accounts, its interaction with surrounding villages gave us a better insight into the nature of late medieval rural entertainment. Of particular note were the intercommunal fundraising efforts which served to produce a greater amount of entertainment than their individual financial capabilities.

Interesting methodological issues were raised owing to the lack of chronological foliation of the manuscript. Following the method of the Malone Society's extracts, the new transcriptions were organised chronologically allowing for a reconsideration of the Malone Society's decisions concerning the dating of individual folios. This facilitated comparisons with records from the same chronological period.

This study of the entertainment of Snettisham has revealed a great variety of dramatic and paradramatic activities. The few surviving records for plays and stages were briefly considered, but a much more thorough study was made of the various processions. The churchwardens' accounts revealed two annual processions, the Ingoldisthorpe procession coming to Snettisham and more importantly the St Edmund's procession. This thesis discovered that the latter of these went from Snettisham to St Edmund's chapel on the coast near Hunstanton. This discovery was

enabled solely by the re-examination of the extracted records' documentary context. By transcribing the records for the purchase of a lamb which routinely accompany those records of the procession — something the Malone Society decided was not useful to extract — its unusual destination was discovered.

A variety of intercommunal events such as Mays and games were also investigated in this chapter and the fundraising links between Snettisham and nearby villages explored. Following on from this, the enigmatic 'Rockfeste', a consistently good way of raising money, was examined. Similarly other fundraising activities such as dances, the use of lights, plough festivals and ales and a variety of other gathering methods, were surveyed. The few surviving records for 'Christmas Lords' were also discussed.

Chapter Five: Hunstanton

Chapter Five undertook another contextual study of a single community, this time through the examination of a single set of documents. This differed from the examination based on the King's Lynn Guild of Corpus Christi in Chapter Three because the accounts were made by several people within one localised familial organisation. The Lestrange household of Hunstanton kept detailed records and accounts by different members of the family and their employees. This enabled an examination of accounts from a variety of members of the household. The nature of the expenses recorded are necessarily different in scope from those recorded in civic or ecclesiastical accounts and instead detail those types of daily expenses that occur within a late medieval noble household. The nature of the entertainment recorded also differs from that of Snettisham and King's Lynn. This is partly a result of the nature of the documents (household accounts instead of civic or ecclesiastical ones) and partly a result of the isolated geographical location of Hunstanton.

These detailed household accounts were compiled in such a way that they are generally chronological — most of the records for an individual year, by a particular scribe, are at least in close proximity to each other. The individual extant accounts range from general accounting notes for a specific day to condensed and compiled accounts for a whole year. Nevertheless, the individual accounts from the various members of the household are then sometimes ordered chronologically. In some cases, a chronological context for a variety of accounts is created even though the

surrounding folios contain accounts of other members of the household. The problematic nature of examining these accounts through extracting and editing them into chronological order, as the Malone Society did, was considered. With the Snettisham accounts this method of reordering was a necessity in order to understand them, in the Lestrange accounts their generally chronological binding made this less of a problem. The documentary contexts are sometimes simultaneously chronologically structured, but socially or scribally distinct. Hence, the transcriptions for this chapter were kept within their documentary context but ordered chronologically within that for greater clarity and coherence.

As with the records of Snettisham there is a significant interaction with other nearby communities, and the strangers that visited the household were examined along with any records for entertainers and performances. These were compared to the donations to non-performers, including a detailed consideration of the 'foole of the kechyn'. This raised the issue of how one defines spectacle and the relationship between folly, charity and entertainment. This discussion of the nature of entertainment led to the consideration of other forms of amusement which took place within the household. The most common types of entertainment recorded in the Lestrange accounts were 'dycing', 'schotyng' and especially 'pleying at cardes'. The Malone Society found many records in the later Lestrange documents relating to musical instruments, and so the lack of such references to musical activities was also considered.

Chapter Six: Tilney All Saints

The form of contextual study found in Chapter Six, in which the churchwardens' accounts of Tilney All Saints were examined, was superficially very similar to that of Chapter Four which concentrated on the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts. In the late Middle Ages both Tilney All Saints and Snettisham were small rural parishes and their surviving churchwardens' accounts cover similar periods of time. This meant that there were also similarities in the type of entertainment these accounts contained and hence the themes explored in these two chapters. Yet, there was one major difference between the type of contextual study in Chapter Six and the other chapters. The Malone Society found neither the still extant manuscript of the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts nor the early twentieth century complete transcription but

instead relied upon very flawed antiquarian extracts for its volume. After an investigation, I rediscovered the manuscript in the Wisbech and Fenland Museum.[2] Since the basis of this thesis has been the return to the documents from which the Malone Society provided extracts, the use of a manuscript that it did not find is problematic. The documentary context of the Malone Society's extracts for Tilney All Saints is the set of antiquarian extracts it used. Since the Malone Society regretted not being able to transcribe from the original, it was decided to make the transcriptions from the rediscovered manuscript and this is one of the few cases where a document not directly studied by the Malone Society is transcribed.[3] This was beneficial not only since more records of dramatic activity were found in the original manuscript than in the Malone Society volume, but also because it foregrounded the relationship between the manuscript, the antiquarian extracts, the Malone Society edition, the complete transcription and this thesis.

In the churchwardens' accounts of Tilney All Saints there are many annual payments for lights to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and these were briefly surveyed in this chapter. These records were important, not because of any performative quality, but because of their consistently documented use in their fundraising. They also raised the inherent relationship between a great deal of ritual activity and performative spectacle that is also present in the processions.

Similar topics to those discussed in relation to Snettisham were also studied at this point, including the records for Mays, bells and the tabernacle. It was especially the Rogation and St Lawrence processions that were investigated as many of the records described the types items carried in these processions. In addition, similarities were discovered in the methods of fundraising and gathering for these events, especially in the use of plough-based gathering techniques. The village's Plough Monday celebrations are recorded. The participants in this gathering of funds went throughout the town with a plough.

The records for organs, their players, Christmas festivities, stages, the

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[2] Although the staff of the Wisbech and Fenland Museum had catalogued and conserved the manuscript and certainly knew of its existence, its whereabouts after leaving the King's Lynn archive was unknown to a number of scholars. Moreover, on attempting to find it in the museum's archives it was eventually discovered in a completely different, unclassified, box of materials. This has now been rectified.

[3] The other documents which the Malone Society did not transcribe include the letter of recommendation from the formulary book of William Asshebourne (KL/C/10/2, fol. 26v) and the indenture for the provision of candles for the Corpus Christi procession and in the church (KL/GD/33A).

donations to a poor child and the provision of singing were also studied; many with emphasis on understanding their confusing terminology. Understanding whether a payment in relation to an organ was for playing, repairing or blowing that organ was shown to be inherently problematic because of the terseness of the records themselves. Similarly, the constant ambiguity over any form of 'playing' or 'players' as relating to drama was also reconsidered in the light of payments for players in Tilney All Saints.

Chapter Seven: Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton

Chapter Seven was both a departure from the types of contextual study undertaken earlier in the thesis and an extension of the localised comparative studies from previous chapters. Instead of studying a single location, as all the other chapters have done, multiple locations from the Lincolnshire Wash were investigated. The Malone Society's *Collections* volume for Lincolnshire was used as a basis for this study which recontextualised its extracts for Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton. This enabled not only the comparison of multiple documents, such as was seen in the study of King's Lynn, but also the simultaneous investigation of multiple locations. These locations were not chosen randomly — they were similar in size and economic nature. More importantly, they all had surviving churchwardens' accounts covering broadly similar chronological periods. These were also broadly similar to the churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham (Chapter Four) and Tilney All Saints (Chapter Six), with the important difference that these towns were all known to be on routes frequented by travelling performers heading into southern Lincolnshire. As with Snettisham (which was on the Norfolk coastal road) Leverton had entertainers passing through it on the way to Boston. Nevertheless few of these entertainers are recorded as stopping there.

The need to re-examine the Malone Society's volumes, and in specific the one for Lincolnshire is emphasised by the REED project's return to this area as well. James Stokes, who is undertaking a REED volume for Lincolnshire, is not only recontextualising the Malone Society's extracts but searching through the archives for records that the Malone Society did not find. This includes not only the broadening in the principles of selection which the REED project — and the field as a whole — has experienced since the Malone Society's volume, but also the examination of documents which were not previously accessible. That similar types of entertainment and paradramatic activity as found in Snettisham and Tilney All Saints also appears in

these towns is partly a consequence of the similar nature of the documents (churchwardens' accounts) themselves.

Throughout the comparison between the churchwardens' accounts of Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton, one is struck by the differences between Leverton and the other two towns. While the Leverton accounts yield comparatively little, the accounts of Long Sutton and Sutterton are richer in entertainment. The records for lights were studied and similarities to those in Snettisham and Tilney All Saints noted. The plays and players, the gathering for plays and crying of banns, when players came, where they played and where they came from, were studied in addition to their patrons. Sections followed this on the records that the Malone Society omitted, and the records for church ales as well as food and drink. The processions, and especially the Long Sutton Rogation procession, were seen to be similar to those studied in the Snettisham and Tilney All Saints parish accounts. In addition to this, the use of bells seen in King's Lynn and Tilney All Saints, was also examined in these three towns from the Lincolnshire Wash. An extremely strong culture of regional entertainment was discovered in Lincolnshire, which (as in Norfolk) varied between enjoying the performances of visiting entertainers and the creation of their own unique forms of spectacle.

Thematic Analysis

In having examined the various communities and their extant documents from the area around The Wash, there has been little opportunity for a comparative analysis between the individual chapters. While Chapter Seven undertook this for the three Lincolnshire villages studied, there are also similarities between them and the other communities and indeed, between the Norfolk communities themselves.

This thesis concentrates on the construction of a variety of contextual studies of documents from which the Malone Society extracted records of entertainment. Although these studies have concentrated on individual locations with different documents covering different periods, the similarities are striking. While the nature of the entertainment varied between locations and types of document, nevertheless a consistently rich body of evidence for a variety of forms of spectacle and entertainment was found. While there is some inherent repetition with the summary of the chapters above, it is important in analysing the discoveries and their implications for our study

of medieval entertainment to consider also some of the more important themes seen throughout the thesis. As such, discussions concerning these themes are gathered together under their relevant topics below.

Plays and Drama

Given that the title of this thesis refers to 'dramatic records' it is surprising to discover exactly how few records of plays and players survive in this area. Even the assumption that it is a lack of extant records that must explain the absence of actors and traditional performed drama has been challenged throughout the thesis. This seeming dearth of dramatic records is more a result of our own perceptions as to what the performative and entertainment culture of the late Middle Ages was like, rather than some deficiency of the accounts themselves. A great deal of the study of early English drama has previously concentrated on such topics as: drama in the capital, entertainers with important patrons, specific play texts, and most obviously anything Shakespearean. While all these are important topics, and all have undergone recent reappraisals in relation to revisionist and postmodernist theories, the concentration on these was often to the exclusion of a broader view of entertainment throughout the rest of England. Since the seminal works by E.K. Chambers, amongst many others, the field has been becoming less exclusive. The *Collections* volumes of the Malone Society were a significant step in helping to redefine our knowledge of early English drama, and this has been expanded even more by the REED project. One of the major benefits of the resulting increase in the scope of what is considered 'dramatic' is a more accurate understanding of what late medieval entertainment was like. It is out of this diversifying culture of an academic understanding of 'dramatic records' that this thesis originates. Detailed academic debates usually have little impact on the popular understanding of the same topic. This is also true of the study of early English drama in general the depiction of which in mass media is based on very dated concepts of the historical realities behind the entertainment.

The inclusion of a great deal more types of paradramatic activity and spectacle under the heading 'entertainment' gives a more accurate view of the amount of entertainment that existed in late medieval England. Not only because the number of records for mimetic drama are simply more scarce than some would believe, but also because of the continually expanding redefinition of 'dramatic' to increasingly include

more, a great deal of the 'dramatic records' studied were in reality other forms of spectacular and paradramatic entertainment. This use of the term 'dramatic records' was discussed in more depth in the first chapter and is only raised here in prologue to the discussion of plays and drama to highlight their relationship within the thesis.

In Chapter Two, concerning the drama and music of King's Lynn, the terminology that the records use in relationship to players and plays in the records was discussed to help explain their ambiguity. It was found that often records of 'ludi' were just as likely to have been games rather than the plays assumed by some scholars. Whether the record does in reality refer to mimetic dramatic activity or not was debated with many of the records studied. In several instances it was seen that, because of the ambiguity of the record itself, we are often unable to be certain what sort of event took place.

Nevertheless, in the King's Lynn chamberlains' accounts for 1384/5 the two records for "ludent*ibus* int*er*lud*ium*" are clearly referring to interludes.[4] One of these is certainly an interlude of Saint Thomas the martyr. While this is notable because it is the earliest recorded play of St Thomas the martyr so far discovered, the other reference, to an interlude on Corpus Christi day, evoked more discussion. The interlude on Corpus Christi day has been misunderstood by some scholars as a 'Corpus Christi play' instead of simply a play upon that day. While a Corpus Christi play remains a significant possibility, as with so many of the other records concerning drama throughout this thesis, we are unable to prove this from the available records. Throughout the investigations of the records, this thesis not only tries to accept only what the records themselves explicitly state, but also takes pains to point out the multiple interpretations made possible by the inevitably ambiguous records.

With a large centre such as King's Lynn, the performance locations mentioned in the records are also significant. It was discovered that plays were sometimes played in the guildhalls and the market places, and this was useful in understanding their physical context. A number of other records which give their performance location were contrasted to those whose location is ambiguous.

The types of players, local or visiting the town, were also discussed in the body of the thesis. Unease was expressed about the critical terminology referring to early 'travelling' or 'touring' players, which implies the more specific circuits that began to

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[4] KL/C/39/40.

develop in the late sixteenth century. The topic of the patronage-based relationship between players and their noble patrons was also mentioned. Usually the most important aspect of late medieval secular drama (to the players themselves at least) was the financial remuneration. How performers collected their money and what role the payments by the local government had in relationship to the possibility (or amount) of audience donations was also questioned. In studying the records for plays and players in King's Lynn, it was found that it possessed a vibrant entertainment culture.

A number of other records for players visiting King's Lynn that fell outside the temporal scope of the thesis were briefly mentioned. This raised the issue of players being paid not to play and the relationship this has especially to the fears of plague. A record for the Earl of Sussex players may refer to the same performance that Thomas Heywood later described in his *Apology for Actors* — a performance that may have inspired a passage in *Hamlet*.

In Chapter Two there was also a detailed investigation of the records for the King's Lynn Christmas Play of 1444/5. The roll these records appear on had been misdated by the Malone Society (and a much earlier archivist) to 1445/6. The Malone Society's editing of these records was discussed in detail in an attempt to understand as much as possible from the records about this production. This included examining other documents for information concerning those people mentioned in the records. One individual in specific, a skinner named Martin Wright, was found to have held a variety of civic positions and be a member of the *potenciores* of the city. His involvement in the 'div*er*sor*um* ornamentor*um* & vestimentor*um*' is significant as it lends credence to the idea that this was a civic-sponsored and highly politicised event. That other records indicate that the play was shown before the Lord Scales (from nearby Middleton) and that the town was collaborating with the Lord Scales on a number of projects, including a new mill, turn a Christmas celebration into an event with a political agenda. A record indicating that 'le Mary & Gabriel' were taught to sing for the play indicated the possible content, and led on to a discussion concerning the language of the production. This in turn raised the possibility that this may not have even been a purely dramatic play, but a liturgical exchange, a quasi-liturgical dramatic production, or some mixture of these. Whatever its true nature, this is the only instance in the thesis of a large number of records all for the same individual production and as such is significant.

In Chapter Four, studying the churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham, there are a few records for plays and stages. While one of these from 1485/6 was probably for a dramatic performance, the remaining records are for 'stages' in the sense of scaffolding rather than theatrical stages. The assumption that 'play' refers solely to dramatic performance, as opposed to games and sports, was also challenged. This rural village was seen to have significantly fewer visiting players (and other entertainers) than in King's Lynn and both its size and geographical location (a small village on the Norfolk coastal road) have been suggested as possible reasons. Whilst King's Lynn was a large, wealthy and important port, and as such attracted a great number of visiting entertainers, Snettisham would not have attracted so many entertainers since they would have found it more profitable to stop in King's Lynn. Another possibility is that visiting players did perform in Snettisham, but were not recorded in the churchwardens' accounts.

In studying the entertainment in the Lestrange household accounts in Chapter Five there was found to be a great deal of 'playing'. Unfortunately, the majority of this is not dramatic or even musical in nature, but the 'pleying' of dice or cards. Nevertheless, there are some payments to players that are likely to have been performers. A variety of records of entertainers survive in these highly detailed accounts. The King's Players are recorded as having visited the household in October 1537; although there is no record of an actual performance, it has been assumed that they performed. Three years later the King's Game Players were rewarded, again suggesting the multifarious meanings of 'play' related words. That there are not a wide variety and number of visiting players as in King's Lynn cannot be wishfully explained away in the very complete Lestrange household accounts by an absence of records. If numerous players were visiting, they would have been recorded somewhere in these accounts. The only conclusion available is that there was not a great deal of mimetic entertainment provided by visiting players in the household of Thomas Lestrange. Those entertainers which do make an appearance in the Lestrange accounts either had noble patrons or were from relatively nearby places (Wymondham, Dereham, Newmarket and King's Lynn). The entertainers from these locations were more likely to travel within East Anglia than entertainers from outside this area. All of these locations were also on major roads through medieval Norfolk. Given its location on the Norfolk coastal road, Hunstanton (as with Snettisham) was only a possible

target for travelling entertainers if they were heading somewhere else along this road, which is more likely for performers who knew the area well.

Tilney All Saints, whose churchwardens' accounts were studied in Chapter Six, is also in a disadvantageous geographical position for attracting many visiting players. With the nearby fens discouraging all travellers except for those whose intended destination was the area itself, and the larger and more profitable nearby towns of King's Lynn and Wisbech, it is surprising that any players stopped in Tilney All Saints at all. Four 'luditorib*us*' were rewarded in the Christmas season of 1487/8. As was argued, given the numerous payments 'p*ro* lud*endo* ad organ*a*' in surrounding accounts, it is a distinct possibility that these are musical, rather than dramatic, entertainers. Once this record for performance in a Christmas season was studied it became apparent that the majority of records for players throughout the years appear in the Christmas season. Given the small amount paid to these players, it is less likely that these were visiting entertainers than that they were local performers engaged in a Christmas play or some sort of paradramatic liturgical re-enactment of religious episodes. It has also been argued that they might not have been actors in any sense, but organ players.

The players in Chapter Seven studied in the comparative analysis of three Lincolnshire towns bear the most resemblance to those found in the King's Lynn records. These Lincolnshire towns studied and King's Lynn are the only places in this study in which a significant number of players visiting from other locations were discovered. In the study of Lincolnshire, Long Sutton's documents contain the most surviving records of travelling entertainers, whereas the Leverton churchwardens' accounts only contains one.

The single instance from 1525/6 of visiting entertainers in Leverton, records the churchwardens paying three shillings and four pence to a "Maister holand of Swynsed" who was accompanying "ye plaers of the same town / whan thei rood & cryed thare bayne att lev*er*ton".[5] Although it is a shame that no more records of travelling entertainers survive in Leverton documents, this one does provide a significant amount of information about the way in which audiences were informed of upcoming productions. Not only does is explicitly connect the crying of banns and players, but also implies that the bann was so interesting as to be worth at least three shillings and

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[5] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 22.

four pence. Whether this was in reward for the mini-performance that crying of the banns might involve, to encourage the players to visit Leverton with their performance, or as a charitable donation of some sort, is unknown. All of these, and more, aspects of the crying of banns in Lincolnshire were explored in Chapter Seven. They are best compared with the records for the crying of banns in Snettisham in Chapter Four, which while not explicitly called such are similar in the advertising of May festivals and games taking place in nearby towns. Topographically Leverton is very similar to Snettisham, in that it is on the other side of Boston — so less likely to be visited by travelling performers — in the same way that Snettisham is out of the way for entertainers heading towards King's Lynn.

Records relating to the gathering of money for plays and the crying of banns in Lincolnshire were studied in order to discover more about the financial nature of such dramatic undertakings. This led naturally to a survey of the records for these players themselves. In particular, whether there was any specific time within the date range of records studied, or time within the individual year itself, that players were more likely to visit. Although there were only a small sample of the extracts for which calendrical dates of any sort were able to be determined, Christmas time brought slightly more entertainers to Long Sutton. Yet, given the small percentage of extracts from Lincolnshire with recorded dates available, this is an unreliable conclusion. What is safe to conclude is that the bulk of the visiting players were recorded from the middle of the sixteenth century and steadily increase in number towards the end of that century. While this thesis' temporal limits were supposed to have an end date of circa 1550, the records for visiting players after this date were transcribed because of their demonstration that these players from the mid-sixteenth century were not an aberration, but part of a new and growing tradition.

The places the players played in these three Lincolnshire towns has also been studied, not only noting where the players were said to be from, but also examining the very few suggestions as to where they might have performed. There are only two surviving records from the Lincolnshire towns that conclusively demonstrate where the players were performing. Both of these records, one from 1547/8 and one much later from 1572/3, claim that the players played in the church. This is similar to the 'players' thought to be organ players from the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts. If the players were putting on dramatic productions then use of the local

church as a performance space is significant. The use of churches and churchyards as a generalised meeting place was fairly common. This utilisation of the church building was investigated and it should be noted that the use of the church as a centralised location for a great variety of events was more likely to be exacerbated because of the dispersed nature of these fenland parishes. A detailed examination of where the players were said to be from showed that the majority of them originated from nearby Lincolnshire towns. Those towns from which players were said to originate were also found to be the medium to larger towns in the area. It seems as though a town was only likely to have produced entertainment to be taken to other villages in the Lincolnshire Wash if it had a base population of a certain size from which performers could have been drawn.

Many of the records for visiting players in Lincolnshire were for entertainers with named patrons, and with much larger collections of extracts of dramatic activity such as those gathered by the REED project and the Malone Society, it is possible to make connections between records for various locations. Attempts to discover the routes which particular groups of performers took through linking records concerning them has yielded much interesting new research in the field of early English drama.[6] The REED project especially has both enabled and encouraged this type of investigation with its patrons and travelling companies lists.[7] This is an extremely interesting area of records research, partly from the deep sense of satisfaction that researchers feel in discovering a set of records concerning the same individuals from different locations within a close enough time period to suggest a possible route or circuit. It is not very applicable to the records discovered in this thesis though, since no such routes may be traced within the confines of the area studied. It must be again stressed that the increase in numbers of visiting players is most substantial in the second half of the sixteenth century. While the records from Long Sutton are transcribed past this date — partly in order to demonstrate this sudden increase in visiting dramatic activity — they are intended as a comparative example to show the striking absence of such numbers of entertainers before this date.

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[6] See, for example, Sally-Beth MacLean, 'Tour Routes: "Provincial Wanderings" Or Traditional Circuits?', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 6:1 (1993), 1-14 as well as her and Scott McMillin, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[7] Under the auspices of the REED project Sally-Beth MacLean and Alan Somerset have released a portion of a database of this material online at the REED website as a demonstration of the manner in which such technology could be used.

Little can be said about the nature of the drama performed or indeed whether the 'players' recorded were participating in strictly mimetic activity. That the players could equally be musicians is unlikely in situations where there are references to banns, as this is inconsistent with what we know of performing minstrels. Those payments to unspecified types of players on a feast day, such as the payment "to the players upon saynt mathewe day"[8] could reasonably be understood as musicians or organ players. Yet, that they are noted in the plural as 'players' as opposed to an individual player make it more probable that they are actors or a group of musicians rather than a single organ player and their assistant.

Minstrels & Music

How one should understand these numerous ambiguous payments to 'players' throughout all the accounts is problematic. As the Malone Society was so eager to find records of dramatic activity, they preferred to hope that these were indeed actors as opposed to musicians. The term 'players' has been preferred in this thesis precisely because it perpetuates the ambiguity that is inherent in the records themselves and is hence somewhat less assumptive (as was discussed in detail in Chapter Two with reference to the King's Lynn records). As 'ludi' are just as likely to be games as plays, players are just as likely to be musicians or sportsmen as actors. Indeed, as mentioned above, until the middle of the sixteenth century it is more likely that these are not actors.

Unsurprisingly, the chapters with the most references to music and minstrelsy of some sort are those concerning the records of King's Lynn, for which a great deal more records are examined. In addition, it was the largest port in the area around The Wash, and as such attracted significantly more economic activity — and as a result more entertainment — than the other locations studied.

The survey of the records concerning music and minstrelsy in Chapter Two, begins by considering the highly ambiguous nature of the terminology. It is not only confusing that 'players' may refer to those playing a music instrument, but that (in Latin and English) the terms for a minstrel are not necessarily straightforward. What one person refers to as 'Ministralli', another may call 'histriones'; whereas the latter may also be used for actors. Even when the English 'minstrel' is (albeit rarely) used,

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[8] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 64v.

the nature of the profession and the performance is always questionable. Is the minstrel a musician who plays an instrument only? In the case of a trumpeter this is likely, but in the case of a harper it is equally feasible that they provide vocal accompaniment. The Latin 'ministrallus -i' can also refer to non-performative servants (especially civil servants), craftsmen and workmen and this increases inherent ambiguity of each record.

This thesis' analysis of the records for King's Lynn, nevertheless, has turned up musicians about whom there is no dispute: bagpipers, fiddlers, harpers, luters, pipers, trumpeters and many more. What can probably never be ascertained, using the accounting records from which we know of these performers' very existence, is the nature of the performance, if any, undertaken. Not only is there no guarantee that a fifteenth century payment to a trumpeter means that this trumpeter was actually paid or existed (since fraudulent accounting is nothing new), but even if we make the assumption that the account is not falsified in any way, the details of performance are rarely recorded. Was the trumpeter paid this money because they did some other non-performative service? If they were paid for performing, how long, where, when, or how many times did the trumpeter perform? This and numerous other questions are and always will be unable to be answered from a single record merely recording that three shillings and four pence were spent on a trumpeter. It is from comparative analysis of all the available records for an area, as undertaken in this thesis, and as the comparison between records from different times and locations which helps to build up a picture of the fragmented nature of early entertainment and the ambiguous nature of minstrelsy especially.

In the survey of the records for King's Lynn an artificial division was drawn between the travelling minstrels and those who may have been local minstrels. In considering the nature of travelling minstrels — and this very terminology was debated since 'travelling' is simply an indication that they originated outside of King's Lynn, not the common assumption that they were undertaking some 'circuit' 'itinerary' or predetermined 'route' — the financial aspects of performance were also examined. The effect that the number of minstrels had on the amount received was investigated. This led into a discussion of the financial and other benefits of the patronage system. The arrangement for minstrels in the service of a particular noble had benefits for both the noble and the minstrels.

One of the more interesting discoveries of this thesis was a copy of a letter of recommendation, dating from the early fifteenth century, from Thomas Beaufort (the Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine) for his piper. Letters of recommendation, like much of the patron/performer relationship, are often assumed to have existed and to have been in quite frequent use, yet very few of them actually survive. As such, it is an important discovery (not transcribed by the Malone Society) that is indicative of the type of letter which many of the performers probably had from their patrons. Instead of being a general letter reuseable in many instances, it is of particular note that this letter is directed specifically to "les mair & / bons gentz de la ville de lenne".[9] Nevertheless, Admiral Beaufort appears occasionally in the records and his wife in relation to 'ludi' discussed in Chapter Two and so this noble family may have had many interactions with the elite of King's Lynn.

A discussion of the local minstrels of King's Lynn introduces an extremely detailed and argumentative investigation. By studying the early civic waits of King's Lynn, not only was the date for the first mention of waits in the town extended by nearly a century earlier, but the most reputable definition of a 'wait' as published in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* is challenged.[10] This section began by introducing the nature and terminology of waits and why some previous Malone Society volumes did not include them. Records for waits in the town were examined and the date of the first recorded wait was pushed back from the Malone Society's date of 1432/3 to 1362/3. The history of the early waits was then surveyed until the 1390s when one particular wait, William Wylde, was used to challenge the accepted definition of civic wait as watchman as unrelated to later civic waits as musicians. The definition written by Richard Rastall goes as far to claim that they "were not watchmen, and had no direct connection with [them]".[11] Rastall's definition (which is generally a good one) was written with the intention of clarifying some earlier, rather ambiguous scholarly misunderstandings of their nature. After a very close examination of all the records concerning him, William Wylde is shown to be an entertainer, a minstrel, a 'vigilator' and a civic wait all at the same time. Although this does contradict his definition, Rastall accepts and encourages the findings of this

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[9] KL/C/10/2 fol. 26v.
[10] G. Richard Rastall, 'Wait' in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Muscians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, Vol. 20 (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 154-5.
[11] G. Richard Rastall, 'Wait', p. 155.

thesis, but believes that the situation at the turn of the fifteenth century in King's Lynn was 'a maverick' or aberration and not the normal way in which waits functioned. While this may be the case, this thesis argued that Wylde may also have been indicative of the developing nature of civic waits, and the missing link in a rapidly changing and evolving profession. Further research into this area may help to explain the early history of civic waits to a greater extent. Following the arguments of the nature of Wylde's position, the remaining history of the King's Lynn waits was briefly surveyed, concentrating on those records which brought new insight into their duties.

In Chapter Three, in the study of the Corpus Christi procession of King's Lynn, the minstrels recorded as participating in the procession or the guild's feast were examined. Although it is usually impossible to tell whether the minstrels and musicians were being paid for their participation in the procession or for performing at the guild's feast on the octave, on a number of occasions it has been argued that the feast was the most probable performance location. The civic office of bellman was also examined in Chapter Three, and will be discussed in more depth below.

In studying the churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham in Chapter Four, no direct records of music or minstrelsy were discovered. A significant number of records concerning dances were found, and it would not be stretching the bounds of possibilty very far to assume that some, possibly amateur and informal, music was involved in these dances. That the records of these dances were receipts, not payments, highlights that they were fundraising activities, and it follows that music may have been a constituent part of these celebrations. Yet, as no payments to musicians were made in the churchwardens' accounts, it is impossible to know more about music in this small rural town.

In Chapter Five, the study of the accounts of the Lestrange Household of Hunstanton yielded a number of records of musicians. In the reverse of the usual situation of minstrels visiting a noble household, Thomas Lestrange rewards a minstrel in Newmarket whilst he is travelling to London in 1520. Possibly this same minstrel (or at least another from Newmarket) by the name of 'Warner' is recorded as visiting the house on a number of occasions. The level of minstrel rewarded varies from those unspecified minstrels to "the ffrenche quenes mynstrell*es*".[12] That Sir Thomas had many important political guests is recorded in the accounts, and a number brought

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[12] NRO: Lestrange. P/4. p. 337

performers with them. Nevertheless, most minstrels arrived without their patrons and these included such luminaries as: Sir John Audeley, Lord Morley, Lord Surrey, Henry VIII, Lord of Sussex, Lord Privy Seal, Lord of Rutland and the Duke of Suffolk. Given Sir Thomas' notable political influence, especially in late medieval East Anglia, the possibility that these minstrels may have been fulfilling other functions — serving as messengers in addition to being musicians — is a distinct possibility.[13] Otherwise, minstrels came from East Anglian towns such as Dereham, King's Lynn, Newmarket, and Wymondham. Among the named types of musician, the most common was the trumpeter. Why these might have been preferred to other types of musicians is unknown, but their frequency is offset by the greater number of unspecified 'minstrels'. Although many of the later Lestranges were avid musicians themselves, only one payment for musical instruments (a supply of lute strings), was found prior to 1550. A payment to "the syngyng chyldern of Boston"[14] was also found; but these children did not travel all the way to Hunstanton, Sir Thomas was in Boston on business.

In Chapter Six the records for the parish of Tilney All Saints were examined, and as already been mentioned, many payments to players thought to be organ players were found. These records increase in frequency throughout the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, and a similar increase in repairs to the organ were undertaken during this time. A variety of people (but one 'William Cay' in particular) are paid a number of times for 'blowyng of ye organs'. Three shillings and four pence is the usual amount paid to the organ player for an entire year's service, although there are occasional payments for some of the major feasts. That this is performance is unquestionable, but that it is secular is unlikely. Nevertheless there are payments for "cuidam pu*er*o joc*ulatoris* ad orgon"[15] which suggest that there may have been some entertainment involved. Other payments (one following directly upon a record for 'luditoribus') are for singers, and if the players were musicians, then it is possible that they were accompanying these singers.

The seventh chapter studied the records for three parishes in fenland Lincolnshire, but found few references to minstrels. Similar to the singing children of

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13 See Cord Oestmann, *Lordship and Community: The Lestrange Family and the Village of Hunstanton, Norfolk, in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994).
14 NRO: Lestrange P/3, p. 259, see also Appendix Three and Chapter Five.
15 WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 22v.

Boston that Sir Thomas Lestrange was recorded as rewarding, discussed in Chapter Five, there are a number of payments for singing children travelling to Long Sutton. Although recorded from the 1560s and 1570s, and thus outside the temporal scope of this thesis (and so only dealt with very briefly in the chapter), these singing children might be carrying on a continuous musical tradition from the 1534 payment that Sir Thomas is recorded as making. That children — possibly as part of an education at church — travelled to other towns to sing and were financially rewarded for doing so, is important to our understanding of rural performance, education and social history. There are a number of records for dancing, and (as argued above with the records for Snettisham) it is unlikely that there was dancing without some form of musical accompaniment. The only exception to this might be the records for morris dancing where if bells were worn the percussive nature of the dance would provide its own music.

Bells

Bells, and records for the maintenance, ringing, and employment of bellmen were quite regularly found in the documents studied. These were transcribed because bellringing in itself is a form of performance. Although there is little information concerning the nature of the actual event in these records, these sorts of contextual records are just as valid indicators of performative activity as payments to unspecified players. The ringing of bells, whether the sacring bell in mass, bells in procession, or church bells to summon parishioners to worship, is in the same category of paradramatic activity as much that is 'spectacle'. This term is a misnomer in the case of a performance whose audience is usually unable to see the performers or the instruments, and only experiences the sound of the music itself.

In King's Lynn, which had a number of reputable bell manufacturers, it was recorded that bells were rung for the Corpus Christi procession. The sacrist was also paid for ringing the bell, probably in the guild's mass on the feast and the octave. A number or reasons why the sacrist might also have been ringing a bell during the procession itself were discussed. By far the most thorough discussion relating to bells is the investigation of the multifarious nature of the civic office of bellman. This office was demonstrated to change over time from a bedesman, to a bellman, to a 'remeannus' and 'proclamator'. What begins almost certainly as a mostly religious

function, gradually becomes secularised and takes on an unusual variety of duties including keeping of drains, swine and cattle. At each stage of development of the office great care has been taken to show that the office, and officer, remain the same even though the duties have evolved.

In the churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham, there are only a very few entries concerning bells and they are primarily for the repairs to the bells when the church itself is undergoing substantial maintenance and renovation. These include the 'shotyng' of the bell, which, while it at first sounds like some sort of sport, was in reality the mending of a split in the bells.[16] Other expenses include the carriage of two bells to and from Walsingham for their repair, and the expenses involved in these repairs. There was only one record for a bellman discovered in the Lestrange household accounts in Hunstanton. In this record from 1534 a combined payment to the church light and the bellman was an expenditure of four pence.[17]

In Chapter Six, the study of the churchwardens' accounts for Tilney All Saints, there were a number of payments relating to the bells and the bellman. The bellman was usually paid twelve pence every Good Friday. While not a very substantial amount, it is assumed that the duties were not skilled or undertaken out of religious devotion. And yet this bellman, much like the one in King's Lynn, was also employed for a strange variety of odd jobs including being responsible for regular maintenance of the copes and vestments, cleaning the steeple, scoring the candlesticks, and "fowyng of ye Gutt*ers*".[18] Throughout the churchwardens' accounts there are various payments for the upkeep of the bells themselves, trussing of bawdricks for their support, and new ropes. One of the more unusual receipts indicated early ecclesiastical tourism in the form of a "gyft of a man for seyng / the stepyl & ye belles".[19]

In the comparative study of the churchwardens' accounts for the three fenland Lincolnshire towns, a number of expenses relating to bells were discovered. The similarity with the bellman of King's Lynn and Tilney All Saints can be seen in that the bellman also undertook a variety of jobs. In Sutterton he also collected the revenue from obits and in Long Sutton he was employed for watching the sepulchre light amongst other duties. While records for these duties were repeated a number of times

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[16] cf. *OED*, 'shutting'.
[17] NRO: Lestrange P/2, p. 244.
[18] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 110v.
[19] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 108.

throughout the accounts, they do not provide much more information towards understanding the nature of the sometimes performative duties of a bellman.

As with the majority of records concerning more traditional dramatic productions, there is little which these records tell us about the actual act of ringing bells, the degree of musicality of these performances, or how they were viewed by society. The records relate, inevitably, to performance, and thus should at least be considered on that basis alone. That bellmen were routinely paid very small amounts for their labours, and often took on a variety of other jobs, indicates either that the rewards were mainly spiritual, or that the duties were considered fairly unskilled. Nevertheless, these payments do indicate a rich culture of bellmen whose existence continued even when moves were made to outlaw the ringing of bells in a religious context.[20]

Processions

Since the ringing of bells should be considered as a musical performative act, the ringing of bells in an organised procession creates an instance of musical spectacle. There is little indication that bells were rung in the processions studied in this thesis, with the possible exception of the King's Lynn Corpus Christi procession. Even if bells were not rung in or from a church to announce a procession, it was still an inherent form of spectacle. A divide is created between those who are part of the procession and those who are watching it, in some cases other constituent parts of the procession are also spectators to another more central part. Even, as in the case of some Rogation processions, when the audience might have only be implied, the sense of coherence and functioning as a group that the undertaking of the event entailed provided not only the desired externalised self-validation, but also an act of spectacle. In Rogation processions in particular, if one adds to this the food and drink for which there are many references, the atmosphere may have even led to other sorts of convivial entertainment.

The most detailed study of a procession in this thesis was that of the King's Lynn Corpus Christi procession. Such an intricate study is only possible because of the very fortunate survival of a great number of account rolls from the Guild of Corpus

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[20] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 - c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale Univerity Press, 1992), pp. 451-2.

Christi. Not only was the nature of processions as spectacle in general considered, but the nature of Corpus Christi Processions in relation to guilds' dramatic activity was explored. A detailed investigation of the nature of the accounts available led on to the discussion of the various types of expenses that the guild activities incurred. Many of these were thoroughly investigated, including the payments to the sacrist for bellringing, the maintenance and decoration of apparatus such as the tabernacle, the canopy, and the hearse, all of which were carried in the procession. The use of candles to light the sacrament and torches in procession were also studied. The 'Gesyne' carried in the procession and the various theories that have been put forth as to its nature were investigated. In examining the procession itself and its possible route, new information was brought to light reflecting the possible routes. The funding of the procession, the minstrels, and the nature and content of expenses towards the guild's feast were also studied.

While no reliable trace of mimetic drama was discovered in the research on the King's Lynn Corpus Christi procession, it was discovered to be a paradramatic spectacle of ritual, bright colour and sound. The carrying of various equipment, such as a canopy on staves, the lavishly decorated tabernacle, the hearse, and a painting or sculpture of the birth of Christ, created an impressive display with not only religious but social and political messages. At the end of Chapter Three, the records for the 'dragon' referred to in two King's Lynn civic accounts were considered in relationship to the tradition of processional dragons in Norwich and other locations. Whether this dragon was also used in the Corpus Christi procession along with other pieces of the town's regalia is unknown.

Rogation processions are the most common type of procession recorded in the documents studied for this thesis. Although there may be numerically more records relating to the King's Lynn Corpus Christi procession because of the survival of this Guild's accounts, there are more separate instances of rogation processions in the other towns studied. These processions were an inherent part of English parochial life, especially in rural parishes where they often were used to mark the boundaries of the parish. Processions such as these were officially abolished within the period covered by this thesis.

> Some of the Injunctions of 1547 had no precedent in those of 1538 or in the acts of Henry's reign. One of the most dramatic changes ordered was the abolition of all processions, in particular the parish procession with which the main Mass of each Sunday and major feast began.[21]

That processions were seen to distract from the edifying nature of religious rituals and had caused strife and discord in some places were two of the reasons put forth for such a decision. It is more reasonable to assume that these attacks on traditional ceremony were driven by the viewpoint that such activities were not in keeping with a well-ordered new understanding of religion. Those aspects of religious worship which attempted to remove or displace the burden of sin, charm or frighten away demons, or in any way subvert the ceremonies of the church, were a target for reforming zeal. It was exactly such traditions as Rogation processions which were threatened.

> By outlawing the Sunday processions, this injunction struck at the heart of one of the principal expressions of medieval communal religion and one of the most distinctive features of English parochial worship. It is not clear whether it was also intended to abolish Rogationtide processions, during which traditionally the litany of the saints was sung to the clamour of handbells used to banish demons, but in the light of another of these new Injuctions it seems likely that it was.[22]

In Snettisham there were a number of processions recorded in the churchwardens' accounts. In Chapter Four it was seen that the most common record of paradramatic activity fitting the principles of selection employed by this thesis was that of processions. The most common Rogation procession recorded did not even originate from Snettisham. This procession is the Ingoldisthorpe procession which is thought to have come up to the Snettisham/Ingoldisthorpe parish border.[23] Other records bear out that this procession took place 'in Cros weke' or Rogationtide. There are numerous records for the bearing of shafts in Rogationtide and it is indeed possible that Snettisham had its own Rogation procession which met up with the Ingoldisthorpe procession at some point. The more common form of Rogation procession is the beating of the parish boundaries. Given that there are expenses for the men of the Ingoldisthorpe procession, paid for by the Snettisham churchwardens, it is possible that this procession stopped at the parish border for other events, whether preaching, sports, games, or refreshments is unknown. Every record relating to this procession has been

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[21] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 451.
[22] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 452.
[23] Ingoldisthorpe is barely a half-mile south of Snettisham.

transcribed and examined for further information relating to the nature of the activities. Snettisham also had a St Edmund's procession, which is discussed separately below.

Although no records of Rogation processions were discovered in the accounts of the Lestrange Household from Hunstanton in Chapter Five, numerous references were found in the churchwardens' accounts for Tilney All Saints, rediscovered and studied in Chapter Six. There were numerous records for the repair and use of a tabernacle, which suggested the possibility of a Corpus Christi procession. While such a procession may have existed, no records were found for this procession itself. Two other processions did take place on a regular basis, a Rogation procession and a St Lawrence procession. There was a chapel in nearby Tilney St Lawrence, and it is very likely that this was the destination of the latter procession. There are many records for bearing banners for both the St Lawrence and the Rogation processions. In one such instance not only banners but also "le Shafte prykett"[24] was carried to St Lawrence's chapel. It is St Lawrence the martyr (whose feast is 10 August) rather than St Lawrence the archbishop (whose feast is 3 February), who was thought to have been honoured with this procession.

The most common records for processions in Tilney All Saints are for the Rogation procession. These include references to banners, canopies, crosses and feretories being carried, as well as bread and barrels of drink being supplied. What some of these records indicate is that the procession, or at least the carrying of the cross, lasted multiple days. The remuneration was often only a few pence. This suggests that, as with the bearing of the canopy in the King's Lynn's Corpus Christi procession, the proximity to the sacrament, or to the most important elements in any religious procession, was viewed as a duty that was of spiritual benefit to the person undertaking it rather than mundane financial reward. That the records for this Rogation procession show that it took place relatively consistently for well over a century indicates its place as a central and defining spectacle within the parish of Tilney All Saints.

In Chapter Seven, only Long Sutton had records for a Rogation procession. This procession was similar to that from Tilney All Saints, in that banners and crosses are all recorded as being carried during Rogationtide. As with some of the records from Tilney all Saints, the names of those who carried the banners and crosses are

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[24] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 23v.

recorded in reference to their payment. Unlike Tilney All Saints, there was not a tradition of the same person carrying the cross or banner in successive years. One intriguing record paid "to Thomas Stock*es* for the crosse foole"[25] may refer to some sort of jester's performance, but may also refer to an ornament for the cross. This expense (for six shillings and eight pence) indicates that it was something substantial, whether a performance or an ornament, in comparison to the bearing of the cross which was rewarded with only six pence.

Unlike Tilney All Saints, where only brief mentions of the expenses for bread and barrels of drink were recorded, in Long Sutton the records for the purchase of food and drink are much more detailed. The beer was sometimes purchased from nearby Wisbech, but most frequently it was purchased along with bread from members of the parish. Similarly to the carrying of implements in the procession, the wives of the parish from which the beer and bread was purchased often appeared throughout the accounts providing food and drink not only at Rogationtide but at other events as well. In addition to beer and bread, other foodstuffs were occasionally purchased. In the mid-sixteenth century, it is spice and bread that was bought, along with a large amount of cheese. Other baked goods such as cake were also purchased. The lavishness of the celebration appears to increase over time, with at times two stones worth of cheese being purchased along with ten dozen loaves of bread. As these types of expenses are recorded consistently almost every year, the consumption of food appears to have been a central aspect of the Rogation procession. Indeed, if the procession was beating the boundaries of the parish — which in the larger fenland parishes might take some time — then refreshments of food and drink would certainly have been necessary.

Whatever the nature of the Rogation processions around The Wash in the late Middle Ages, it is certain that the bearing of a variety of implements and the consumption of a large amount of foodstuffs, especially bread and beer, played an essential part in this parish ritual. That all of these processions continued after they were outlawed by the injunction of 1547, suggests that they were viewed as an inherent part of the religious and paradramatic life of the parish. It also indicates that in the more remote areas around The Wash some aspects of national religious reform took longer than others to be adopted by recalcitrant parishes.

The St Edmund's procession of Snettisham is discussed here separately from

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[25] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 69.

the Rogation processions above, because it probably took place outside of Cross Week. While the feast of St Edmund's translation is on the 29 April, his feast proper is on the 20 November; either of these dates could be candidates for a procession. In investigating this procession through re-examining the original churchwardens' accounts, the Malone Society's editorial decision not to edit many of the records for bearing of shafts, and especially to ignore the repetitive records for the purchase of a lamb for the procession, has been challenged. The Malone Society felt that they shed no light on the procession itself and so did not transcribe them. Yet, the most interesting discovery about this procession, that it did not limit itself to the parish of Snettisham but went all the way to St. Edmund's chapel near Hunstanton, is a result of these omitted records. Although the document refers to the procession going to "Capella*m* S*a*nc*t*i Ed*mundi*"[26] it does not state the location of this chapel. It is only through the payments for a lamb sardonically dismissed in the Malone Society's introduction that the true location has been discovered.[27] Although the Malone Society did not know what the lamb might have been used for, a record uncovered by this thesis shows that it was "f*or* a lamb offeryng at sent Edm*u*nd*es*".[28] This not only shows the purpose of the lamb, but also links it with the St Edmund's procession. Another record points out that the lamb was purchased from "ye vykyr of honstant*u*n".[29] The reason the parishioners from Snettisham were processing to St Edmund's chapel near Hunstanton is that it was thought to be the remains of Edmund's royal residence, built on the site of his landing in England.[30] That the extant chapel to which the parishioners were consistently processing almost every year for nearly a century in reality dates from the thirteenth century does not matter. That their belief was made manifest through such an annual procession is a testament to their cultural endeavour. It may have been similar to the St Lawrence procession in Tilney All Saints, processing to nearby Tilney St Lawrence. In this case the communal spectacle of the Snettisham St Edmund's procession to the cliffs of Hunstanton and the ruins believed to have been related to this saint as a destination, giving them a very real and

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[26] NRO: PD 24/1, 1514/5, fol. 86.
[27] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.
[28] NRO: PD 24/1, 1514/5, fol. 79.
[29] NRO: PD 24/1, 1514/5, fol. 75.
[30] Bryan Houghton, *Saint Edmund — King and Martyr*, (Lavenham, Suffolk: Terrence Dalton Ltd., 1970), pp. 16-20.

physical link through which to express their devotion to this East Anglian saint.[31]

Mays & Games

Another of the themes seen in the documents studied in this thesis was the participation in various May festivals, Games, and Dances. In the chapters investigating the records of King's Lynn, very few instances of this type of activity were found in this significantly urban setting. A number of games are recorded and have already been mentioned above in the section on plays. These are recorded in the accounts as 'ludi' and could refer to either plays or games. Even if the assumption is made that these are indeed games, the nature of the game is also unable to be determined. Such games could range from small informal activities to larger sports events depending on their context. A number of the records referring to 'ludi' in the King's Lynn accounts mention that they were taking place in the Tuesday Marketplace. Such a location could be used for dramatic productions (and indeed is occasionally used to this day for outdoor dramatic events), but equally it could be that 'ludi' refers to a festival of some sort, or other types of games. That such activities are often assumed to have been mimetic in nature is a detriment to our study of them as entertainment.

Snettisham, whose churchwardens' accounts are studied in Chapter Four, yields significantly more records for Mays, and games. It might be the case that these games took place as part of May festivals, and with the numerous Mays that the population of Snettisham contributed to, this is certainly a possibility. The intercommunal interaction which Snettisham exhibits is striking in comparison to the other rural parishes studied in Chapters Six and Seven. The churchwardens of Snettisham regularly gave towards the costs of the May festivals of the surrounding towns. Some of the records stipulated that these expenses were for bread and ale for the other town's May, which is strikingly similar to the expenses for the refreshments for Rogation processions for Tilney All Saints and Long Sutton. The other towns' May festivals that are donated to most frequently are within a fairly close proximity to Snettisham, leading to the distinct possibility that the villagers attended these other Mays, and the likelihood that these were expenses for the consumption of bread and ale by the

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[31] See also, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 166. Duffy sees this as relating to the character of Anglo-Saxon Christianity and the early use of royal cults in the area.

churchwardens themselves or the villagers as a whole.

In addition to the discussion of the extremely interesting intercommunal relationships of Snettisham's donations to surrounding Mays, their own May was also examined. Expenses for this May included the production of ale and the location and fashioning of a May rod. The difference between Snettisham's own May and the involvement with other town's May festivals is that its own was a significant source of revenue for the parish coffers. While the churchwardens expended from two to fifteen pence on any other town's individual May, their own May often raised between fifteen and thirty five shillings. It was assumed that this was primarily through the sale of the ale produced. In this manner the May festivals might have been similar to the church ales held elsewhere. In one instance an unusual expense for the may is "payd ffor mendyng of sadyll hurt i*n* ye maye".[32] As was discussed in the body of this thesis this suggests that some of the activities at the May must have involved saddles, and the natural assumption is then that they involved horses. What might have been done with these, whether racing or some other sport or entertainment is uncertain.

Similar to its contributions to nearby towns' May festivals, the Snettisham churchwardens' accounts record at least seven instances in which they donated money towards the costs of a nearby town's 'game'. Most contain little information outside of this, stating only that a certain amount is "payd for the cost*es* of Brycham game" (or whatever town's game is being supplemented).[33] In only one instance, in a record concerning Heacham, was any detail concerning what these games might have involved shown. For this game, the expenditure is said to be "for ye ballys"[34] suggesting that this was some sort of ball game. As such, it is likely that the other expenses for games involved something of a similarly athletic nature.

In Chapter Five, studying the household accounts of the Lestrange family of Hunstanton, only one payment for game players was noted. This is, of course, not including the numerous references to the playing of cards, dicing, shooting and other such games that are discussed below. The reference to game players, who were probably jugglers or entertainers of some sort, records three shillings and four pence being given "the same day to the King*es* / Game pleyars".[35] What sort of 'game' these

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[32] NRO: PD 24/1, 1486/7, fol.72.
[33] NRO: PD 24/1, 1468/9, fol. 60v.
[34] NRO: PD 24/1, 1485/6, fol. 71.
[35] NRO: Lestrange, p/4, p. 52.

'pleyars' were playing is unknown. They could well have been sportsmen, acrobats or tumblers of some variety, but given their royal patronage it is more tempting to assume something involving a higher degree of performance.

While studying the churchwardens' accounts for Tilney All Saints, in Chapter Six, it became apparent that Snettisham was not the only rural town to have a prosperous May festival. There are regular records in these accounts almost every year for nearly a century in which 'Maysilver' was collected. In a similar range to that gathered from the Snettisham May, the May festival of Tilney All Saints usually garnered from five to thirty seven shillings. Expenses recorded include the topping of torches, a tree, and two dozen bells (with another dozen being purchased the following year). While there are other expenses recorded in the churchwardens' accounts, they are not specifically connected with the May festival. That this May festival's purpose is solely that of fundraising, as was suggested in reference to the Snettisham May, was challenged through the spending of more on topping three torches for the May in one year than was collected in proceeds from it. The use and possible significance of these torches has also been discussed.

In the three Lincolnshire towns studied there were very few references to May festivals at all. This indicates either that these Mays were not common, or that the churchwardens' accounts in these three fenland towns simply did not record the festivities. There are numerous mentions of rents being collected on May Day in Long Sutton, but the likelihood is that these were simply proper rents for agricultural land. There are also many records for gathering for a May light in Sutterton, which had two distinct collection areas, centred on the two hamlets at either end of the Sutterton parish, namely Dowdykend and Fishmerend. The latter of these two areas routinely produced a higher rate of collection. While this draws into question whether the other records for May money might have been collections for a May light, it is only in Lincolnshire that such a light has been recorded in the documents studied for this thesis. The use and financing of such lights is discussed separately below.

Throughout the body of this thesis, records for the production and collection of revenue from May festivals and similar games have been uncovered and discussed. While they have often incurred different recorded expenses, they appear in the accounts generally as fundraising activities. Although they are not mimetic drama, the entertainment provided by these activities (even those which result in the damaging of

a saddle in the Snettisham May) are a form of spectacle, and most probably intercommunal spectacle.

Fundraising Events

In whatever activities constituted the May festivals, their fundraising nature is important. A significant proportion of the paradramatic activities which form the entertainment discussed in this thesis result in profits being collected for the organising body, usually the parish church. While it would be fruitless to pretend that fundraising was the only motive in the production of these forms of communal entertainment, it would be equally naïve to assume that gathering money for the church was not a significant motivating factor in their production.

The one common element between all the types of entertainment, whether dramatic or paradramatic, is that the records we have of them are almost entirely financial in nature. It is the receipts or expenses that an event creates, or which by some whim of fortune or tradition a scribe happens to describe in more detail, which have enabled these studies at all. The financial context of those records is paramount to their comprehension and for our own use of them in attempting to understand more concerning the events themselves.

The use of events, and especially paradramatic events, as fundraising activities was certainly nothing new. The economic differences between the locations studied were found to be reflected in the different types of gathering event which they undertook. In Chapters Two and Three, studying the records of late medieval King's Lynn, very few such fundraising events were apparent from the surviving documents. The place of King's Lynn as the leading economic port on The Wash was partly responsible for this; the citizens of King's Lynn were taxed more heavily and in more ways than rural communities. In addition, the numerous religious guilds of King's Lynn were required to donate to a variety of civic undertakings.[36] Similarly, the guilds' contribution towards the Corpus Christi process was codified in a number of guild and craft ordinances.[37]

In the records of Snettisham, a small rural agrarian market town, there were

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[36] For example, the best list of the late fourteenth century guilds comes from the chamberlains' accounts for 1371/2 in which the guilds contributed to the cleaning of the town's dykes, KL/C/39/31. See also, Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, no. 389.

[37] KL/C/7/3, fol. 283v. See also, Dorothy M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, no. 323.

significantly more events whose basis was fundraising. Similar to Snettisham's own May festival, which garnered significant revenue, is Snettisham's use of dances as income-generating events. In one year alone (1474/5) there are receipts from dances held in the marketplace (four shillings), Sutton Hill (six shillings and eight pence) and Norton Hill (twenty six shillings and four pence).[38] It was not possible to determine in what way the churchwardens were raising this money, whether through simple donations, an entrance fee, or the sale of alcohol, but the latter of these is most probable. Dances, it is assumed, must have had some form of music, but no expenses for paying musicians — nor expenses for similar sets of people in nearby expenses in successive years that might suggest people being paid for working at these dances — were found. There were a number of payments involving the making and firing of a 'swerdawnce lygth', which suggests not only a type of dance, but that a light was needed for it. In successive years the location of the dances producing most significant income are those to the north and to the south of the town (Norton and Sutton Hill). This suggests that the dances may have attracted participation, and hence revenue, from other nearby towns.

The churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham also demonstrate a number of records for 'drinkings' or church ales. In 1476/7, for example, several drinkings are recorded, raising a total of forty three shillings and ten pence.[39] The churchwardens' success at such an activity suggests that the primary income-generating activity of their May festivals, dances and games was that of the sale of alcohol. Investigations were also made into the unspecified gatherings which took place, as well as the three surviving records indicating the existence of Christmas Lords as a fundraising endeavour.

While no ales are specifically recorded in Tilney All Saints, Leverton in Lincolnshire was found to have had at least one. It was also found to have been a significant fundraiser and so it is strange that it did not become a more regular tradition. Garnering over three pounds and six shillings, it is explicitly mentioned in a number of records for that year that it was a drinking for the church. Bread and cakes were also purchased for the drinking itself. It must have been a substantial event to have made so much money in comparison to the annual income of the parish of

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[38] NRO: PD 24/1, 1474/5, fols. 26 and 27.
[39] NRO: PD/24/1, 1476/7, fol. 28.

Leverton, and other payments are located temporally through reference to it. For example, an amount was paid to one individual "whan ȝe mayd / yowr drynckyng for the churche".[40] That one could have been indulging in such enjoyable entertainment while simultaneously being of financial benefit to the parish church must have been a satisfying activity for those participants. Others did not agree, and attempts were made to suppress the church ales, along with many other traditional fundraising events.

Rockfeste

The most intriguing fundraising activity undertaken by the parishioners of Snettisham was the 'Rockfeste'.[41] The Malone Society was confused by what might have taken place in this festival, claiming that it had music and dancing.[42] This thesis has shown that they were overly optimistic in linking the records for dances to those for the Rockfeste, and that there are actually no surviving references to the production of music in the accounts. In investigating the Rockfeste it was discovered that it took place in the same locations as the dances, primarily the open areas north and south of the town. While this made it tempting to link the two, as the Malone Society had done, it was noticed that other events also took place in these areas. In terms of its fundraising potential, the Rockfeste regularly provided from two to twenty shillings.

An investigation into who was responsible for the collection of the Rockfeste money determined that it was not that year's churchwardens, but other named individuals. Notably in one case a Joanne Redhedd was responsible for half the Rockfeste's proceeds for that year, and a Mary Awdeleye is mentioned in reference to money from the Rockfeste at a later date. None of the records in themselves help to determine what the Rockfeste might have constituted. R.F. Hill, an editor of an earlier Malone Society collection, had suggested that the 'rock' of Rockfeste was related to the word 'rook' meaning fool, and hence that it was a feast of fools. This explanation was called into question, and the use of 'Rock Day' and 'Rock Monday' was etymologically explored. Although Hill's etymology might have been faulty, the placing of the Rockfeste as part of the Christmas celebrations was coincidentally correct as Rock Monday is the Monday following 'Twelfth Day'. This is also known

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[40] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fol. 32v.

[41] 'Rockfeste' is used for consistency in spelling. The records also give 'Rokfest', 'Rocfest' and 'Rockefest'.

[42] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.

elsewhere as St Distaff's day, since it is the day in which people (including women spinning on distaffs) return to work, or sometimes a half day's work, after the Christmas festivities. A 'rock' is another term for a distaff used for spinning, and was seen as the stereotypical vocation for women — so much so that to refer to the 'distaff' side of a family still means the female line. Other antiquarian reports on the traditions of St Distaff's day and Rock (sometimes Plough) Monday have also been explored in this thesis to suggest the type of activity that may have taken place in this festival. While not necessarily containing the music and dancing, and certainly not being "the world's first 'rock festival'" that the Malone Society light-heartedly claimed, they were undoubtedly correct in stating that it "was a source of considerable income to the church".[43]

This Rockfeste, given its relationship to what in some places was referred to as Plough Monday, may also explain the plough gathering that took place in Snettisham. Generally, it is thought to have been a time in which a plough was taken through the streets and money for the church extorted from householders with the threat of ploughing up the area in front of their house. Whether this type of procession and fundraising took place in Snettisham is unknown. Nevertheless, there are regular receipts 'of ye plow' which raised from five to twenty six shillings. It may be that the plough was simply suspended in the church where donations were accepted, or that there was no physical plough involved and the money was received for the 'plowlyght'. Whatever happened, the plough was a significant source of fundraising for the parish of Snettisham, on a par with the Rockfeste, May festival, dances and ales that it held. That such a rich and varied tradition of income-generating entertainment took place in a single small rural town is evidence of their own creativity.

The Plough Monday procession with a physical plough and extortion of money almost certainly did take place in Tilney All Saints, in which annual collections with the plough continued on for over a century. Its relation to the Rockfeste was explored briefly in this thesis. As with the processions, lights, and other activities associated with paganic ritualistic traditions, an attempt was made to abolish the Plough Monday celebrations through the injunctions of 1547. As with all these other paradramatic activities the Plough Monday celebrations in Snettisham and Tilney All Saints continued long after these intended suppressions. Unlike the records for Snettisham,

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[43] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 85.

those for Tilney All Saints are useful in specifying that the plough was actually taken around the village to collect the money. While not as successful in fundraising, garnering only four to thirteen shillings, the plough gathering in Tilney All Saints is more clearly documented and took place much more regularly than in Snettisham.

The records for Tilney All Saints are also beneficial to our understanding of the paradramatic use of the plough as an object of veneration. Not only are there records indicating that the plough was suspended in the church, but there are also numerous mentions of, and collections for, the town's plough light.

Gambling and Charity

Both gambling and charitable donations given to non-performers are usually outside the selection criteria of those studying early entertainment. Both of these were suggested as topics worthy of some scrutiny in Chapter Five, studying the records of the Lestrange family of Hunstanton. Generally, most forms of gambling are normally not studied because, although they were entertainment, they have little to do with the mimetic drama which is the inspiration for the majority of studies into late medieval entertainment. In the investigation into the entertainment of the Lestrange household the sheer amount of gambling made it a disservice to any such study not to consider it equally with other aspects. There were so many records for amounts of money lost on dicing, card playing, board games and shooting, that it demonstrated the household's significant involvement in these forms of entertainment. It has been suggested in the body of this thesis that this involvement was to such a degree that it might have affected the participation of the household in other forms of more traditional entertainment. It was discovered not only to be Sir Thomas Lestrange, but also his wife, children, friends and other relations who played cards. Sir Thomas would also gamble when away from the house on business. Although his family may have enjoyed the games, the number of recorded expenses for gambling activities does decrease sharply after Sir Thomas' death. The individual household members' success or failure in gambling is impossible to calculate. As these are financial accounts of household expenditures it was when money is needed to be spent in gambling which appears in the records. The money that individuals may have gained from other household members or strangers in the house was unfortunately not recorded.

The preoccupation of some household members for gambling did not detract

from their charitable donations. Charity to non-performers is, understandably, also not included in most studies of early entertainment. If these donations are to non-performers, then why would those interested in performance see them as significant? It is in cases like this that studies of the local context are important. As was argued in the introduction to this thesis, if the donations to performers are looked at in absence of comparative evidence for the money given to non-performers, no sense of scale is gained and the amounts become meaningless. If a performer is paid three shillings and four pence, it is good to know that this was a good craftsman's wage. But if the same person donates only one pence to "iij pore men at powlis"[44] as Sir Thomas Lestrange did, it puts the performer's wage in a greater context. One of the many things this context helps us to establish is the greater likelihood that the performer is being paid for doing something significant, (the assumption being, performing). Greg Walker worried about a similar absence of context from REED records in which "individuals and crowds flocking to dances and interludes rather than attending divine services" were calendared by many records, but what a contextual study might uncover is whether "the same townsfolk also flock to hear the preaching of a visiting friar, or post-Reformation sermoniser rather than attend regular services".[45] Without similar comparative evidence, our understanding of the donations to performers is hampered.

The Lestrange household was found, generally, to be generous in their donations to non-performers, and in their charitable interaction with the surrounding community. Their most notable form of charity was the keeping of a fool (and perhaps another fool for a limited period of time). That the records for the Lestrange's 'Foole of the Kechyn' are transcribed and studied does not imply that he was used as an object of spectacle or ridicule. No records have been found to suggest this, and although this was a possibility, he has been studied in the body of this thesis in the same way that REED's volume for Newcastle Upon Tyne studied the routine payments for clothing given to innocent fools. Although the fool was certainly part of the household, his assumed mental deficiencies or simply the terminology of 'fool' that was always applied to him simultaneously highlighted him as a liminal character from the other 'normal' members of the local society. Whatever our own dislike of the use of innocents as objects of spectacle, it is important that they be studied honestly rather

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[44] NRO: Lestrange, P/1, p. 87.
[45] Walker, Greg, 'A Broken REED?: Early Drama Records, Politics, and the Old Historicism', *METh*, 17 (1995), 42-51, pp. 45-6.

than further marginalised in a mistaken attempt to avoid facing our own discomfort at their mistreatment. Fortunately the study of the Lestrange's fool indicated that he was well provided for, often being given new clothes with the Lestrange's own children. While it is certainly possible that he was viewed as a source of amusement, it is unlikely given the kind treatment the records reflect.

The Lestrange family are not the only ones who were found to have been kind to innocents. A number of records from Tilney All Saints, discussed in Chapter Six, find the parish providing for a 'poor child'. This child is never termed a 'fool' and there is no reason to suppose he is one, or was ever considered a source of derision or amusement. The records in this case were transcribed because of their relation to those in Hunstanton and, as will be shown, in Lincolnshire. This poor child for which no background information was given, is suddenly being given nourishment on a weekly basis, shirts and other clothing, and is eventually kept for a year (and there are two records for half-yearly intervals) by William Suger. In each one of these instances, the person providing the child with food, lodging or garments is recompensed by the churchwardens of Tilney All Saints. One of the many reasons this is important is that it shows the type of charity for which the paradramatic fundraising studied throughout the thesis was needed. A record six years later mentioned "Ric*hard* Clenche for kepyng the poor chylde / of John Rayners"[46] implying that something had happened to John Rayners and the child had no one to care for him. It is unlikely that this is the same poor child, but instead indicates the kind of situation which may have led to the previous child being 'poor'. Likewise, in the accounts of Long Sutton, studied in Chapter Seven, there is a discovery of an abandoned 'pore chylde' whose care and board were paid for by the parish in 1549/50.[47]

Lights

The study of 'lights' in this thesis has been undertaken on the basis that these lights have been found often to be intertwined with the context of the paradramatic entertainment studied. Lights were placed before altars and images, and donations towards the upkeep of these lights "became the single most popular expression of piety in the wills of the late medieval laity".[48] That they have been found in every

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[46] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 168.
[47] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 38v.
[48] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 134.

community studied in this thesis is an indication of their popularity.

> Every parish church in England had many lights — they burnt before the great Rood, before the Sacrament, before each of the images in the church. In addition, extra lights were lit during the canon of the Mass, and annually dozens of lights were set round the Easter sepulchre in which the Sacrament was reserved from Good Friday till Easter Day.[49]

In studying the paradramatic activity of King's Lynn, it was discovered that the entire reason for the foundation of the Guild of Corpus Christi was the distress of people at seeing only a single small candle being used to light the way of the sacrament being carried to the sick and dying. The Guild not only changed that but yearly provided that two lights should be burning by the hearse, which was also used in the Corpus Christi procession. By the mid-fifteenth century it was decided to pay a local wax chandler to supply the wax and set up and take down the hearse. This thesis rediscovered and transcribed the indenture for this agreement.[50] That candles were not only kept before the altar, but also carried in the Corpus Christi procession helps to validate their study as part of the context for the procession itself.

In Snettisham, whose churchwardens' accounts were studied in Chapter Four, there were a number of payments for lights. There were payments for the making and firing of the 'swerdawnce lygth' which were more likely related to the dances rather than the lights in the church. The other lights include both a 'plowlyght' and 'Halowmes lyght' at which money was donated. This highlights an investigation of Hutton's misuse of the single plough light reference edited by the Malone Society as only "a single possible reference in Norfolk".[51] This was hotly debated, and disproved not only through multiple references to plough lights being found in the Snettisham Churchwardens' accounts, some unedited by the Malone Society, but also through the discovery of plough lights in other Norfolk villages such as Tilney All Saints. Hutton's mistaken reliance upon the Malone Society's extracts as somehow complete when such lights were not usually within its selection criteria is used to demonstrate one of the fundamental problems in the production of edited extracts. Later users of these extracts will assume, for purposes of ease of use, that they are not only complete,

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[49] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 146-7.
[50] KL/GD/33A.
[51] Ronald Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England: the ritual year 1400 - 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.16, repeated in an expanded form in, *Stations of the Sun* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 124-33. See also Ronald Hutton, *Merry England*, p. 297, note 30.

but that if one type of record is edited then all examples of that type of record must also have been included. While this is primarily a common misuse of the editions (by some users), it cannot be avoided except through close scrutiny of the inconsistencies of those same editions or a recontextualisation of the records after rereading the primary documents. This would defeat the purpose of the production of such editions for the majority of their users. The idea that these editions are 'used' rather than 'read' is reflected in the utilitarian nature of its editorial policies.

Other lights in Snettisham include a 'co*m*mon lygth' and a light on 'ye dedycatyon daye' of the church. A Norwich consistory court deposition was also found in which it is mentioned that there was a "purchase of 5 lbs. of wax for burning before the crucifix called 'the rode lofte'".[52] The disagreement was over whether the wax was 'falslye used' by the defendant, highlighting the importance of wax and the lights made from it in Snettisham's society.

In the Household accounts of the Lestrange family, there were numerous expenses for the purchase of wax for household use, but only one payment towards a light in a church was discovered. On the 6 April 1534 (such is the accuracy of the Lestrange accounts), an unremarkable four pence was spent towards "the Chirche lyght & / to the bellman".[53]

The records from Tilney All Saints, investigated in Chapter Six, also made mention of a plough light. The more frequent collections were for lights in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary collected on the dedication day, All Saints Day. The money was collected "p*ro* lum*ine* Be*a*te Marie cir*cume*undo ecc*lesia*m".[54] A detailed study of all of the records for lights to Mary was made and the references for paschal candles which are eventually simply referred to as 'Ca*n*delsylvyr' were also commented upon.

In Chapter Seven, studying three towns from the Lincolnshire fenland, lights were found in all three of the towns. In Long Sutton, although a few references were found in the churchwardens' accounts to votive or sepulchre lights, there are several wills in which testators from Long Sutton donate money towards the lights. Those mentioned include the Rood light, 'plugh' (probably plough) light, the yeoman's light, maiden's light, light of the St Anne's guild, the light of the St James' guild, the St

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[52] *Norwich Consistory Court Depositions, 1499-1512 and 1518-1530*, ed. by B. Cozens-Hardy, *NRS*: X (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1938), no. 358.
[53] NRO: Lestrange P/2, p. 244.
[54] As in WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 14v.

Catherine light, the St Christopher light, the Holy Ghost light, and the Blessed Virgin Mary light. This particularly striking range of lights is noticed by both Dorothy M. Owen[55] and Eamon Duffy.

> Yet at Long Sutton, and in many other communities, many of these lights were apparently linked to and maintained by groups or minor gilds — "the plough light, the yeomen's light, the maydens light".[56]

The churchwardens' accounts of Leverton also evinced strong local support for a plough light with an extremely generous forty shillings being raised in 1498/9, with another set of large donations made towards the plough light in 1525/6.[57]

Yet, compared to both of these places Sutterton has a wealth of records concerning its lights. Almost every year there are numerous mentions of the revenue created (or in some cases still owed from collection) of a large number of lights. Those lights most commonly collected for include an All Soul's light, Hoggner's light, May light, Plough light and Sepulchre light. As mentioned earlier, the May light, and sometimes a variety of the other lights, had distinct collection areas based on the two hamlets at the extremes of the parish, Dowdykend and Fishmerend. Officers were assigned to collect for particular lights, for example 'Maygraves' were appointed to collect the money for the May light from these areas. The Hoggner's light is thought to have been a light purchased with the proceeds of 'Hoggling' or collecting door to door, sometimes with entertainment, for a particular pious use. A variety of other lights produced revenue over the range of the accounts, including a Hogmanay light, Town or Common lights, lights to the Blessed Virgin Mary. A light that was of direct interest to this thesis was the play light or players' candles for which there are several records. And while it has been tempting to assume that these lights were for the illumination of actors, in reference to the 'players' discussed in Tilney All Saints it is more logical to suggest that they were for illuminating an organ player. Nevertheless, there is no proof in these records to confirm or deny the existence of a light intended for or in support of actors.

The churchwardens' accounts of Long Sutton reveal that not only was there a sepulchre light, but that the bellman, on at least two occasions was paid "for watchynge of the sepulture lyght".[58] This was presumably to make sure that the lights

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[55] Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, p. 119.
[56] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 147, quoting *LRS* volume 10, p. 115.
[57] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fols. 4v and 21v.
[58] Lincs. Archive: Leverton 7/1, fols. 4v and 20.

did not go out from the time in which the sacramental sepulchre was closed to Easter morning when it was reopened, partly in honour of the sacrament as Christ's body, and partly in remembrance of the soldiers who guarded his tomb.[59]

A final light from the Sutterton churchwardens' accounts which raises more questions than answers was the record for the "fudball lyght".[60] No other references for 'fudball' were discovered and it is unsure whether this was in fact a reference to a game of any sort.

One of the cultural contexts of these various mentions of lights was the injunction passed to suppress the burning of votive lights in church. Not only did this strike at the heart of popular religion, but at one of the parish church's most reliable source of income. In 1538, the outlawing of candles before images and guild candles was an attempt to suppress idolatry and the worship of the saints.

> In one fell swoop, these Injunctions outlawed not merely pilgrimage, but virtually the entire manifestation of the cult of the saints, and also what was in many regions the single most common feature of mortuary piety, by forbidding the burning of candles before any image and commanding the quenching of the lights which, financed by the piety of gilds and the individual bequests of almost every adult with property to dispose of, burned in their dozens during divine service in every church and chapel in the land.[61]

These injunctions were certainly disobeyed in Snettisham and Long Sutton, both of which have records for the use of votive lights after their abolishment. In general these injunctions were followed only half-heartedly in many rural parishes.[62] In 1547 there were even stronger injunctions forbidding the burning of any lights except for two candles on the altar itself. Not only did this reinforce the earlier injunction, but also outlawed rood lights which some churches had used as replacements for the lights they were unable to have before images or in memory of saints.

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[59] See also Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 190-1.
[60] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 121.
[61] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 407.
[62] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 418.

> The same Injunction now forbade the burning of lights anywhere except two candles on the altar before the Sacrament, thereby outlawing the Rood lights and, as it turned out, the sepulchre lights, both of which had been specifically permitted in 1538. This sounds a minor change, but was in fact of considerable importance, and would certainly have dramatically changed the appearance of many churches. Many of those maintaining lights before images of the saints, forbidden in 1538, had not in fact extinguished them, but had circumvented the Injunctions by moving the light onto the Rood-loft.[63]

Unfortunately the chamberlains' accounts for Sutterton, where the majority of the record for lights studied in Chapter Seven were found, end in 1535, so there is no way to know how the injunctions to stop the use of such lights affected this small village that was so pious in its votive lights. In Tilney All Saints, they did not sell the candle-pricket, where devotional lights were burnt before an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, until 1544, six years after the practice was made illegal. Like many rural parishes, Tilney All Saints eventually complied with the injunctions, but did so slowly over time or when changes were forced upon them.[64]

Methodological Concerns

This section raises some of the problems associated with the production and publication of edited extracts concerning dramatic activity which have reappeared constantly throughout the thesis. Through the recontextualisation, reselection and reinterpretation which the introduction to this thesis explained, a continual re-examination of the Malone Society's editing practices has also, inevitably, taken place. Although this thesis was not intended as a correction of the edited records being studied, simply the act of recontextualising them means that some errors have necessarily been discovered. In addition, great care has been taken not to fault the individual editors too much for their own occasional bouts of humanity in the face of an extremely daunting task. One of the (tacitly accepted) criticisms of research developed from this thesis, by a prominent new historicist known for her theoretical objections to the REED project, was that I choose not to fault individual editors in the production errors for its volumes.[65]

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[63] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 451.
[64] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 483.
[65] As a respondent to a paper of mine entitled "Contexts, Questions and Confusions: Dramatic Activity in Norfolk" given at the Thirty-Second International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 8-11 May, 1997, Theresa Coletti's only major criticism of my work was my use of 'the Malone Society' instead of specifying (in that case) John Wasson personally.

Nevertheless, these errors have been discovered and commented on briefly throughout the body of the thesis. What can be understood from such errata are the numerous problems not only in the physical production of such momentous volumes, but also the theoretical issues which these errors raise about the inherent decontextualisation of records and the resulting fragmentary understanding that results. The kinds of errors and omissions made by the Malone Society's editors can be exemplified through the selection of some of those which were found to be significant to our understanding of the picture of late medieval entertainment which the volumes portrayed.

While records concerning William Wylde were edited by the Malone Society from the accounts of the Guild of St Giles and Julian in King's Lynn, these were only when he was mentioned as a minstrel. Although the civic waits were of interest to the Malone Society, it ignored this and other earlier waits possibly because of the difficulty in showing that they were musicians. That the Malone Society was certainly conscious of the omission itself was seen in the study of the Guild of Corpus Christi accounts in which payments directly before and after those to Wylde are edited on a number of occasions. Wylde in these contexts was referred to as a 'vigilator' (watchman) and so was not within the purview of the Malone Society's editorial criteria. What this demonstrates is not only that it also missed other records which refer to him as a being wait and expenses for a musical instrument for him, but also more importantly it highlights a problem with necessary modes of working that many archival historians must employ. If one is searching the contents of an archive for mentions of particular activities and people associated with such activities, as the Malone Society and REED project do, it is easy enough not to record payments to individuals for which there are no known associations to these activities. Later, when it has been discovered that a particular individual was associated with the activity that is under scrutiny, earlier records to this individual will not have been recorded. The only way to avoid this is for researchers to read the entire contents of the archive multiple times, which is unfeasible, or to transcribe and publish the entire contents of all documents, which is impossible. One of the few other ways for such connections between individuals to be noticed is for other researchers to undertake this rereading of the archive through recontextualising the extracts — in a similar way to the undertaking of this thesis. Numerous new records for William Wylde, which raised

even more questions, were found and indicated that he was not only a civic wait and 'vigilator', but a minstrel and all-round entertainer.

Another type of error from the Malone Society's investigation of the King's Lynn archive, is based on its editorial note that one Radulph de Bedyngham was a minstrel. Discussed in the introduction as an example of the problems of editorial assumptions, this mistake shows the type of error possible when editorial decisions concerning the meaning of single phrases are based on decontextualised records. The phrase which the Malone Society assumed indicated that Radulph de Bedyngham was a minstrel was shown in reality to be an extremely common phrase[66] which always refers back to either one of the two treasurers for the guild. The Malone Society could not have made a mistake such as this with the manuscript in front of them, since there would be so very many obvious examples disproving its assumption. One of the problems that this indicates in the publication of extracted records, aside from the necessary evils caused by decontextualisation, is that the final editorial remarks might be made years later or by a completely different editor based only on the extracts and not with a knowledge of their documentary context.

In Chapter Four, investigating the churchwardens' accounts of Snettisham, the editorial decision not to edit the records for shafts in the procession because of their repetitive nature eliminated significant information from our understanding of the various processions in Snettisham. More important was its failure to edit all of the expenses for lambs purchased, which fall near to records for the St Edmund's procession. It is this which led to its confusion about what the lamb might have been used for and it was the subsequent recontextualisation and re-editing of those records the Malone Society overlooked which led to the most important discoveries concerning the nature and especially destination of the St Edmund's procession. Again, the only reliable way to avoid the omission of such records, which while they appear at the time of editing to be unimportant become crucial at a later date, is to edit the documents in their entirety, which remains unfeasible except for very few individual documents.

While there were differences between this thesis' selection criteria and those used by the Malone Society in extracting records from the Lestrange household accounts, and indeed a number of interesting records which it entirely missed, it is the

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66 The phrase in question 'ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Rad*ulph*i de Bedyngh*a*m' is used at least twenty times in that year's account roll, and a similar number of times in most of the other surviving accounts for this guild, indicating one of the two treasurers in each case.

editorial ambiguity that caused the most frustration. In its introduction to its editing of these documents from Hunstanton, the Malone Society claims that it has "omitted numerous payments for household musical instruments, violin strings and the like".[67] It is not the omission of these records which was frustrating, since it is understood that the Malone Society's guidelines held that records concerning musical instruments do not actually indicate performance, but the lack of detail concerning the omitted records themselves. The volumes used by this thesis were scoured rigorously for records concerning musical instruments and only a single record was found. The 'numerous records' to which the Malone Society refers are found in the later volumes of the Lestrange accounts as they approach the Malone Society's cut-off date of 1642, rather than this thesis' limit of the mid-sixteenth century. In truth, the Malone Society should not be faulted too much for this, it had a very limited amount of space for the introduction to each location. The Malone Society's inclusion of a pointer to this omitted information — one of the few instances in which it does this — should be applauded. Nevertheless, it highlights the editorial problem of not knowing what use is going to be made of such an edition in the future.

In Chapter Six, studying the churchwardens' accounts of Tilney All Saints, the Malone Society was unable to find the actual manuscript. Instead it relied on highly flawed antiquarian extracts, seemingly unaware of a different, and very complete, antiquarian transcription of the whole document. In the research for this thesis the manuscript was rediscovered in its new location in the archives of the Wisbech and Fenland Museum and an entirely new set of extracts of those records fitting the reselection criteria for this thesis were made. The Malone Society had regretted not being able to find this manuscript, and this highlights another type of error made in the production of such volumes. It is not only the reliance upon highly flawed antiquarian extracts that should be questioned, but also the failure to properly search for both the manuscript and any other transcriptions of it. While such bibliographic searching is now, in comparison, very easy with the use of online catalogues of major repositories, the complete transcription's availability in a number of the major research libraries in England, make its lack of discovery extremely regrettable.

What an error of this type also emphasises is the lamentable truth that the majority of editors for projects such as the REED project are from North America —

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[67] Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 19.

where the project itself is also located. This is an historical development resulting from wide-ranging aspects of population, educational financing and research trends. In some ways my own cultural background, as a Canadian settled in England, also perpetuates this foreign perspective on the study of early English drama. The real reason that this is lamentable is not some peculiar strain of xenophobia, but that researchers who are permanently within relatively easy striking distance of the archives and research institutions necessarily have more opportunity (whether exploited or not) for revisiting the archive as well as discovering and utilising secondary resources, such as the Tilney All Saint's transcription, that may be unavailable or remain unnoticed by scholars on a primarily archival research trip.

In Chapter Seven the study of three small Lincolnshire towns noticed even more records that the Malone Society (and in this case a different editor and volume) had missed. The Malone Society's Lincolnshire volume also varied in its principles of selection from this thesis and to some degree from the later Norfolk/Suffolk volume. There were a number of records concerning plays and players which it certainly would have transcribed had they been noticed. In the records of Long Sutton especially, a number of records for players, and "ye playars of ye hye countrey" are omitted.[68] The Malone Society decided not to edit two records for 'mawrice Danncers' on the next folio as they are in close proximity to one that it does edit. While there are other omissions of activities that have been included in different Malone Society volumes, this may be a result of an editorial decision to omit them intentionally from this volume.

The types of errors encountered in every location in which the Malone Society's extracts were recontextualised, reselected and reinterpreted can be categorised into some basic types. The first, and most unavoidable, is 'human error', those omissions, oversights and misjudgements which are a result of hundreds of distracting influences and above all our mortal and fallible human state. These are the most common mistakes in any archival work.

Another form of error is one of initial selection. This was normally only noticeable in the differences in the types of activities or records deemed suitable for editing in different locations or from different documents. It was also noticeable when there is a sudden commencement in the editing of a type record which hitherto had

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[68] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 82.

been ignored in the same accounts. An example of this is the Malone Society's decision to suddenly begin editing the records from the King's Lynn Guild of Corpus Christi accounts for the carrying of the canopy in KL/GD/19, when records for that form of activity start in the very first roll (KL/GD/1).

In addition, the language in which the records are written and the culture which produced them are both very distant from our own and the problems with terminology were seen continually throughout the body of this thesis. For example, the Malone Society's misunderstanding of the 'gesyne' carried in the Corpus Christi procession, the lack of a proper etymological investigation of the Snettisham 'Rockfeste', and the continual ambiguity over what 'ludi' and 'players' might refer to in the context of the documents from which they were extracted.

Many of the sources themselves presented other problems. The churchwardens' accounts for Snettisham, studied in Chapter Four, were highly misfoliated in a later binding often lacking any chronology between the individual folios. The very manuscript of the churchwardens' accounts for Tilney All Saints, as mentioned above, was unable to be found by the Malone Society. Added to these problems come the publication guidelines, pressures, and sometimes insurmountable obstacles which those projects publishing such editions of edited records face. In some cases the conflict between the editor's desire to provide as full a volume as possible and the project's administrative need to keep a tight financial limit to the number of pages published is also a problem.[69]

Even with all of these problems and the dissatisfying decontextualisation that such volumes produce, they are a helpful resource, and a necessary evil for the benefit of a greater and easier degree of access to the partial content of these manuscripts. Although there will always be problems with the extraction of any records, the only real way to solve this is to provide exact facsimiles with complete and accurate transcriptions of every single extant document in every single archive. This is, of course, entirely unfeasible in the foreseeable future. However, the benefits these documents provide should not overshadow their distorting influence and their creation

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[69] John Wasson, the Malone Society editor primarily responsible for the Norfolk records used in this thesis, in commenting on research based on his volume recalled the editorial battles which were fought to get many of the important but less mimetic records included in the edition. This was in response to questions during a session organised (by myself) at the International Medieval Congress, 1998, entitled *Finding Entertainment in The Wash Basin* at which Peter Meredith, Anne L. Brannen, John Marshall and myself gave papers on the nature of entertainment in this area.

of an inevitably skewed perspective of the past. Volumes of edited dramatic records are useful tools, but as this thesis has certainly shown, in the attempt to understand the nature of the extracts, they are not a replacement for seeing the original documentary context itself. Although I have concentrated here on the errors made by the Malone Society, since those are the ones that were uncovered in the course of this thesis, it is undeniable that as a result of human nature and similar pressures as the Malone Society editors, that I will have made the same type or more errors myself.

Social Context

The social context of the documents, and the communities discussed in this thesis are many and various. Seven very different communities were studied over more than two centuries of developments, wars, political changes of state, reforming of religious practices, and evolving of new types of entertainment. It is not possible, nor desirable, to write (or rewrite) the history of England, or even just this part of England, as part of this thesis. What is important is to understand the material that this thesis has studied in relation to the social changes that these communities underwent. Indeed, many of these changes were reflected in the entertainment studied and have been commented on throughout the body of this thesis. The cultural milieu in which the documents studied were produced influences not only their method of production and manner in which their content was expressed, but also our own interpretation of this content.

Those aspects which are most influential upon the documents themselves were the changing natures of the social context of the communities; their political context, the religious aspects of the society; the economic situation not only of the community but the area and nation as a whole; the geographical context in which the communities were situated and with which they interact; and finally the very different documentary contexts from which these documents originated.

The social contexts seen in this thesis vary from the structured and populous variety of organisations and interactions which formed late medieval King's Lynn, to the isolated rural parishes of Tilney All Saints and Leverton. King's Lynn was a very busy social and political community, although again this way of referring to it should be explicitly noted as a modern convenience since it was for the majority of this thesis known as Bishop's Lynn because of its forced allegiance to the Bishop of Norwich. Disputes between the city and the Bishop were long running, wide-ranging and

certainly affected not only the documents themselves but also certain forms of entertainment itself. This was illustrated by the argument between the Bishop and the city over what position in the procession the Bishop (or more usually his representative) should take in relation to the carrying of the city's sword and other regalia. The social context of King's Lynn that is available to us from the surviving documents was one of guilds and other organisations as controlling bodies against a multifarious backdrop of economic and informal social interactions. By the end of the period studied this had begun to change with the dissolution of the religious guilds in King's Lynn, which initiated a drastic and irreversible transformation of the city's social context.

In contrast to the busy and complicated social interactions of King's Lynn was the small rural village of Snettisham with a highly agrarian culture and much smaller population and number of social organisations. There were a smaller number of guilds and a less active civic government and organised social activities were arranged primarily through interaction with the parish church. While this was the case, the number of events which Snettisham is recorded as organising is considerable, these include May festivals, dances, drinkings, games, processions as well as various other fundraising activities such as the Rockfeste. Moreover, Snettisham's social interaction with nearby towns was found to be significant.

In a different social context once more, the Lestrange household illustrated the entertainment that took place within a large late medieval noble household. While the records for entertainment almost always involve, and were sometimes written by, the members of the nuclear family, there is a dichotomy constructed in their interaction with employees such as the 'Foole of the Kechyn'. Similarly, the records from the household steward's accounts often specify that some money was advanced or an expense paid 'at my master's commandment' which, although a formulaic usage, evinces a disparity in the family/employee relationship. In addition, there is a degree of interaction between the household and the nearby town of (now Old) Hunstanton. This social context also changed over time, most notably with the death of Sir Thomas Lestrange and the succession of his son Nicholas, who gambled less but entertained more, as head of the household.

Tilney All Saints, Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton, are all small fenland villages with a similar social environment. As with Snettisham they have a number of

small guilds and at least some of the social events that we know of are organised with some involvement from their parish churches. That said, the social milieu of these four fenland communities appears to have been less reliant on the church for secular social events, but more so for socially defining paradramatic activities. Moreover, most of these paradramatic events were internal with little interaction with other communities, whereas the very foundations of many of Snettisham's events were outward looking. An arguable exception to this might be the numerous visiting entertainers which are recorded in Long Sutton's churchwardens accounts, but this, as was discussed in Chapter Seven, was related to its geographic location.

The political contexts of these communities are also very individual. As English towns they were affected by the political machinations of the state, the conflicts and resolutions, rebellions, and especially change of monarch. There were eleven different monarchs (from Edward III to Edward VI) on the throne during the specified temporal limits of this thesis. Both national policy and the political system as a whole underwent numerous changes during this period, and it would be impossible to rehearse them all here. Each of the locations studied, as a community in Norfolk or Lincolnshire, was also subject to the political motives of those nobles with substantial influence in their activities. As individual political bodies in themselves, they had some opportunity for self-definition but this was severely limited by their inherent inferiority to other members in the political hierarchy. A greater degree of information concerning the political contexts of these communities is available in relation to those who were more active as a political body. King's Lynn, as quite an important port, had a great deal of political interactions on a local, regional and national level. Not only did the city government and elite of King's Lynn interact closely with the nearby influential families of the Lord Bardolf and Lord Scales, but also others who were passing through, such as Lord Beaufort amongst many others. Politics was central to much of the turbulent history of King's Lynn, especially in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. At this time violence and strife arose over many issues, and several forced reforms of the city's electoral process were made. In more than one instance a mayor was forcibly deposed and a new one installed in his place.

Eventually it took letters patent from the King to restore an uneasy peace.[70]

Snettisham too had an interesting political context, as several prominent noble families owned significant amounts of land within the parish. These included not only the manors of Down, Hacon, and Verli, but also the Lestranges, the city of King's Lynn, Wymondham Priory and the Earl Warren.[71] These names appear frequently in relation to one matter or another throughout the churchwardens' accounts, but very few of them appear to have been directly involved with the entertainment studied.

Understanding the political context of most of the transcriptions from the Lestrange household accounts of Hunstanton primarily involves understanding the political agenda of Sir Thomas Lestrange. Oestmann has made a detailed economic study of the Lestrange accounts in the early sixteenth century and uncovered a significant amount of information concerning the political movements and interactions of Sir Thomas.[72] While there were certainly interactions between the Lestrange family and national politics, the majority of this admirable politician's recorded visits to other noble families were in the East Anglian area, and this reflects his strong regional political influence. Through the accounts this is reflected in the names of strangers visiting the household in any particular week, showing numerous East Anglian noble families, and also such people as Lady Anne Boleyn and others whose importance was (or would be) not so regional.

There is very little to be gleaned about the political context of Tilney All Saints from its churchwardens' accounts. While a number of nobles are mentioned in the accounts, they do not have much to do with the entertainment under consideration. The lack of information in the accounts does suggest that few nobles were active in parish affairs. And yet, as with all the other churchwardens' accounts studied in this thesis, this can also be explained by the very nature of churchwardens' accounts. There is much evidence in the accounts of interaction with nearby King's Lynn and Wisbech, and it is very likely that the politics of Tilney All Saints were strongly influenced by these two larger communities, especially King's Lynn. The three

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[70] See Michael D. Myers, *Well-Nigh ruined?: Violence in King's Lynn 1380-1420* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1996). There are also eyewitness accounts of this turbulent period by William Asshebourne, the city's clerk and recorder at the time. See Dorothy M. Owen's calendar of his book, 'William Asshebourne's Book', *NRS*: XLVIII (1981), 55-103 or the manuscript itself KL/C/10/2. Asshebourne also details many of the disagreements between the city and the Bishop of Norwich.

[71] See Blomefield, *Norfolk*, pp. 1309-1318.

[72] Cord Oestmann, *Lordship and Community*, pp. 29-151.

fenland towns from Lincolnshire whose churchwardens' accounts are also studied depict a similar absence of information about the secular political arena. Only when the decisions of secular politics influenced the running of the church and the activities undertaken were the effects seen in the churchwardens' accounts. Although there is a 'Sir John' mentioned very regularly in the churchwardens' accounts of Sutterton, this is John Wright, the 'Churchmaster'. The political context of the three parishes was certainly influenced by nearby Boston, the major Lincolnshire port on The Wash, much in the same way that King's Lynn (to which Boston was the nearest rival) heavily influenced Tilney All Saints.

The religious context of these documents is one of the most important aspects in understanding them. Towards the end of the period covered by this thesis the Henrician reforms to religious practice in England had changed forever the nature of religious ritual, and (especially of interest to this thesis) the church's involvement with paradramatic activity.[73] It is of significant interest that although many of the religious reforms attempted to abolish the use of devotional lights, processions, veneration of images and the participation of the church in funding purely secular activities, in Snettisham and the fenland parishes these reforms took place slowly and unwillingly.

> Less colourfully, at Tilney in 1544 the parishioners sold off the candle-pricket on which votive lights had once burned before the images of the Virgin, since such lights had been illegal since 1538. It is not without interest that they waited six years before doing so.[74]

While at Tilney All Saints they may have been waiting to see if the volatile religious situation reverted (as it did temporarily), in King's Lynn the implication of the reforming policies had effects on a much larger scale. The numerous religious guilds of King's Lynn were eventually dissolved and a significant amount of the largest guilds' assets went to the corporation itself to increase its estate.[75] These guilds, especially the Holy Trinity Guild, which was the single most powerful economic force in the city, were seen to be central to most of the entertainment and spectacle in King's Lynn. While these same reforms would affect all of the towns studied, the sheer scale

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[73] See especially Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire: V (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1971 (repr. 1981, 1990)), for a history of the church in medieval Lincolnshire, and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, in general, for the events leading up to the Reformation and its effects on the parish church.

[74] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 483.

[75] Dorothy M. Owen, ed., *The Making of King's Lynn: A Documentary Survey* (London: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 1984), p. 60.

of the destruction of social, financial and religious organisations in King's Lynn is the largest of the seven communities studied. King's Lynn followed the reforms and injunctions fairly quickly in comparison to the more rural parishes, and yet, this was not only a religious but also a political and economic necessity given its importance as a port. While little religious context is evident in the secular accounts of the Lestrange family of Hunstanton, their religious practice is evident in their regular attendance and patronage of the parish church.

The economic contexts of the extracts studied, and the communities they originate from also have, fairly obvious, significant differences. King's Lynn, in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was the fourth most important port in England, falling just after Southampton. Not only was it a major trade port, the Great Ouse river being significantly navigable inland, but it was also one of the supply ports to the English fleet. The Corpus Christi procession in King's Lynn was seen to be a lavish and highly subsidised paradramatic spectacle in comparison to the modest expenses that similar processions in nearby Snettisham and Tilney All Saints incurred. Snettisham, on the other hand, was a small rural market town, and while its market did occasionally supply those in Hunstanton and King's Lynn, its entire economic context was on a completely different scale to the large urban port that was King's Lynn. As such, a significant number of its entertainments were seen to be fundraising events designed to fill the parish church's dwindling coffers.

One of the more interesting economic contexts of extracts studied in this thesis is the Lestrange household of Hunstanton. Owing to the extreme detail of these household accounts, the entire range of expenses and income of the household are clearly delineated. While, in this case, they impact little on the entertainment studied, except perhaps the records for gambling, they do provide an extremely rich basis for an economic picture of a late medieval household.[76]

In Tilney All Saints, like Snettisham, the extracts come from the churchwardens' accounts of a small rural parish. Unlike Snettisham it was not as much of an agriculturally prosperous area and its market was not as economically significant. And yet, as was found in the Snettisham accounts, Tilney All Saints was very active in fundraising activities, especially gathering by taking the plough around the town. In many of these rural parishes, and especially the Lincolnshire ones studied,

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[76] Cord Oestmann, *Lordship and Community*, pp. 29-151.

just as the church itself was often used in secular ways for the community, the churchwardens themselves often functioned as chamberlains for the town and any guilds as well.

> In the smaller parishes where the gild property and that belonging to endowments of lights or altars were equally small and often difficult to distinguish, it seems certain that the churchwardens must have acted for the gild. Certainly at Leverton the churchwarden was lending out the funds of the plough light, and the Kirton Lindsey gild accounts are included in those of the churchwardens.[77]

Both Sutterton and Leverton have fairly meagre incomes recorded in their churchwardens accounts. Long Sutton was the most prosperous of all the fenland towns studied, but it was also correspondingly slightly larger. That all of the accounts studied are just that, financial accounts, makes the economic contexts of the communities studied that more important. In King's Lynn, with numerous guilds and a large and prosperous city government, the entertainments that the city invested more capital in were those which helped to promote or fashion its own identity. The smaller rural parishes needed to engage in numerous fundraising activities, and the Lestrange household needed to document almost every penny spent.

It is not only the economic contexts of these documents, but the geographical context of the communities that was found to be important. King's Lynn, as has already been mentioned, was a prosperous port at the mouth of an important water route inland. Snettisham and Hunstanton had significantly fewer visiting entertainers because of their isolated geographical location. Conversely, the churchwardens' accounts of Long Sutton, directly on the major land route in between King's Lynn and Boston, had many more. Those towns that were fairly close to a larger centre, such as Tilney All Saints, Sutterton and Leverton had very few visiting performers stopping there instead of travelling on to King's Lynn and Boston. Snettisham was seen to interact to a larger degree with the communities in its general vicinity, more so than the fenland parishes studied. In Hunstanton, many of the visiting entertainers came from the East Anglian region, originating from locations such as Dereham, King's Lynn, Newmarket and Wymondham, indicating that, as with the performers visiting nearby towns in Lincolnshire, there was a culture of local entertainment that could be taken to other nearby communities.

Finally, as has been stressed throughout the thesis, one of the most important

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[77] Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, p. 131.

contexts for the extracts studied is the documentary context from which they originate. This means not only the surrounding expenses from which the extracts have been taken, but also the nature of the document as a whole. In King's Lynn, the documents range widely from civic hall rolls and chamberlains' accounts to guild accounts and the town clerk's formulary book. These are mostly secular in nature, even in the cases of the religious guilds, and provide a good insight into the fabric of late medieval society in King's Lynn. In Snettisham, Tilney All Saints, Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton, a range of mostly rural churchwardens' accounts from (comparatively small towns) were studied. Unlike the documents of King's Lynn, in which all forms of secular financial activity were recorded, these documents only recorded information which affected or involved the church and the churchwardens. In this sense, they provide a fairly limited viewpoint on the social interactions of these towns as a whole, except where there was some religious involvement, or the churchwardens recorded secular activities. The Lestrange household accounts, as mentioned above, provide a unique eyewitness perspective of the workings of a late medieval noble household. These documents, even more so than some of those from King's Lynn, are secular and provide a captivating amount of detail concerning the private lives of the Lestrange family of Hunstanton.

Implications for Late Medieval Entertainment

In attempting to assess the potential implications of this thesis' material for the larger picture of late medieval entertainment, one is faced with both positive and negative results. The positive outcomes all relate to the discovery of new information and the reinterpretation of misleading or poorly understood extracts. The negative conclusions show that nothing more can be understood conclusively about some records or entertainment practices or merely confirm an absence of records for certain types of performance. Both of these are valuable to the field as a whole on many different levels. By stretching the boundaries of material included in the reselection of records, connections between these which would otherwise be overlooked or marginalised are shown to be important and many possible lines of interpretation have been indicated. The creation of such perspectives suggests possible considerations and comparisons for scholars in looking at their own material in other areas. In addition, through this reselection and the recontextualisation of extracted records the very methodological

assumptions inherent in the production of volumes of edited records are both exposed and commented upon.

Central to this thesis has been the recognition that it is not only purely dramatic activities, but also spectacle and paradramatic activities, which form the basis of medieval entertainment. The narrower and more rigidly defined focus that projects, such as the Malone Society, have the greater the amount of entertainment which had to be left out. Using a more lenient and flexible set of criteria for reselection of extracts has led to the discovery of many 'new' records of entertainment which were outside the Malone Society's scope. In addition, it has helped to confirm the absence of others. While it is unsurprising that no new medieval play texts have been found, given the thorough investigation by the Malone Society and others, the more people reading through archives the more certain this lack of new discoveries becomes. This is especially important with documents such as the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts which the Malone Society could not find, although churchwardens' accounts are unlikely to produce more than the types of expenses that this thesis has discovered.

There are a number of implications for our study of medieval entertainment based on the findings of this thesis. In King's Lynn, the re-evaluation of claims regarding travelling players performing Corpus Christi plays from a repertory of some sorts, was shown to be idle speculation and should help to reform our views about early travelling players. The accounts for the Christmas play of 1444/5 were redated as such, and explored within the context of the archive. This investigation discovered the extremely political nature of the production, and put forth a number of possibilities for its content including that it was not a straightforward traditional drama. These archives also provided many new records concerning the early civic waits of King's Lynn, and this thesis has helped to redefine the development of English civic waits as both musicians and watchmen. This important revelation also pushed the date back for the discovery of earliest the civic wait in King's Lynn by almost a century compared to the Malone Society's dating. A rare letter of recommendation for a minstrel from the early fifteenth century was also discovered. The examination of the Corpus Christi procession helped to identify more clearly the objects carried in it and its probable route, but also the importance it held in the religious and socio-political contexts of King's Lynn's entertainment.

In the study of the accounts from Snettisham, the nature of the Rockfeste was

re-evaluated in the light of new records found concerning it, and a more plausible explanation of its nature was developed. Through the transcription of records omitted by the Malone Society the true nature of the St Edmund's procession which puzzled them so much was discovered. Most importantly for this, St Edmund's chapel near Hunstanton was identified as the destination for this remarkable procession. This has important implications for our understanding of late medieval intercommunal processions. Moreover, the records for other forms of entertainment, especially games and May festivals, highlighted that these communities were not also acting as individual bodies, but that the degree of interaction between them and their closer neighbours in relation to entertainment was significantly more than previously thought.

In the Lestrange household accounts, owing to the broader principles of selection of this thesis, numerous records were discovered concerning gambling in this late medieval household from Hunstanton. The preference for these other forms of entertainment coupled with the geographical location was suggested as a reason for the paucity of more mainstream travelling performers. The records for the Lestrange's fool were also transcribed and give us a greater insight into the nature of medieval folly and the generosity of the Lestrange family.

In Tilney All Saints, the rediscovery of this manuscript which eluded the searches of the Malone Society yielded important examples for the preservation of abolished customs in rural parishes and the very detailed accounts for the Rogation and St Lawrence processions. The investigation of three Lincolnshire towns demonstrated that although they were similar in size, geographical location and wealth, that there were still extreme differences in the entertainment recorded in their churchwardens' accounts. In Long Sutton the numerous records (some new) for visiting performers evinced a significant amount of local entertainment which travelled within a small regional area and so has gone unnoticed except by researchers investigating this area.

The implications for our understanding of late medieval entertainment are numerous, and while some are more important than others, there have been a multitude of small corrections of transcription errors and other small mistakes. There were many discoveries of new records that, while not extremely significant in themselves, add to our greater knowledge of medieval entertainment even if only through providing more examples and a more complete collection and understanding of the records that do survive.

One type of record which has been found in all places, is one which had slightly puzzled Giles Dawson in his Malone Society volume for Kent. An interesting aspect of a number of payments is that they were said specifically to be more than what was collected by the performers. That is the town's officials or churchwardens would provide a certain amount of money over and above the amount collected by the performers, or on their behalf, from the audience.

> These entries appear to indicate ordinary public performance attended by the officials of the town, the players being given rewards by the town in addition to what they collected from the common spectators.[78]

This has implications for our understanding not only of the interaction between the performers and the audience, but also the financial expectations that players might have had of the officials in towns they visited. In King's Lynn, in 1528/9 the chamberlains' accounts record that the city gave five shillings and eight pence more than what was collected in donations: "Et sol*utis* in regard*o* [—d—] ludatorib*us* plusquam sint collecta in donis".[79] In Long Sutton in 1564/6 two payments, one to Lord Rich's players and another to players from Ipswich, record the churchwardens paying "ov*er* & besydes y*a*t was gathered".[80] Slightly later the vicar is repaid for contributing more than was able to be raised by Lord Robert Dudley's players:

> Item paid to M*aste*r Vicar for that that he laied out more then coulde / be gathered whan the lorde Rob*ertes* players did play here } — ij^{s} [81]

Yet, this does not state that it was the players doing the gathering, and this is brought into question by a similar record from Sutterton. In this case the town took up its own collection from those in the town to recoup money spent on a "play playd i*n* the day off the assu*m*pc*i*on off ow*r* ladey".[82] Moreover, lest a very skewed perspective of this be given, it should not be thought that it is only players whose money is 'topped up' by the churchwardens. In Long Sutton they reward someone from Crowland church because his own parish did not provide enough.

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[78] Giles E. Dawson, ed., *Collections VII: Records of Plays and Players in Kent: 1450-1642* (Oxford: For the Malone Society, Oxford University Press, 1965), p. xvii.
[79] KL/C/39/75, (verso).
[80] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 85 and 86.
[81] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 88v.
[82] Bodleian: MS Rawlinson D. 786, fol. 112.

> Item paid o*ver* gevene to the man that / gathered for Crowland church to make up / his monye that the P*ar*issh gave hym vj^{s} viij^{d} ; —xxj^{d} [83]

In Snettisham, the churchwardens paid over four shillings for the costs of the St Edmunds procession in 1503/4, but this is in addition to the amount gathered from the town: "In Costis of the p*ro*cession to Sent Edm*un*d*es* / besyd the gaderyng of the town".[84] In Tilney All Saints the churchwardens added twelve pence to the amount that was gathered for their drinking on Hallowmas.

> Item payd foerth for drynk of hallomes nyght / more then was gatheryd — xij^{d} [85]

While none of these records help to clarify in detail the different methods that officials had in rewarding performers, they are important to our understanding of the way in which money was both gathered and distributed.

Overall, this thesis has found the area around The Wash to be very rich in both dramatic and paradramatic entertainment. Moreover, this geographical area has been found to have similarly structured events across the communities studied but each resulting in highly individual formulations of this same entertainment. Although many of the clarifications, corrections, reinterpretations and discoveries of this thesis are limited in nature, many of these add to the larger picture of late medieval entertainment.

Contributions to the Wider Field of Scholarship

Although the role of this thesis is not to benefit or produce source material for other disciplines, it has implications for studies other than that of late medieval English entertainment (in its many and varied forms). A number of other fields of study may benefit not only from the thesis itself, but the transcriptions provided in the appendices. A number of historical disciplines profit from the research undertaken in this thesis. Those researchers studying the archives and surviving documents for these communities are given an indication of some of their contents. Scholars investigating the nature of late medieval archival material in general are provided with a base of accessible transcriptions. Those interested in the nature of the records themselves, for example in the investigation of document production and economic or linguistic

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[83] Lincs. Archive: (Long) Sutton St Mary, Par 7, MF 1/68, fol. 98v.
[84] NRO: PD 24/1, 1514/5, fol. 83.
[85] WFM: M/R 99/M, fol. 148v.

history will also find this thesis useful.[86]

Scholars interested in late medieval politics may be interested by the political contexts of the records of King's Lynn and Hunstanton. The study of late medieval religious ritual or Reformation practices in both urban and rural contexts are given a partial analysis of the surviving records of these locations. Those interested in the nature of East Anglian piety have a number of intriguing examples. Those interested in contextual studies of late medieval society have examples of a number of different forms of recontextualised analysis, as do other types of investigations of a similarly geographically defined area. As well, those pursuing local historical studies of these communities or the region as a whole have a wealth of information in the body of the thesis, in addition to its transcriptions and bibliography to draw upon. This thesis could also provide source material for those interested in the differences and interactions between urban and nearby rural settlements.

As with the study of late medieval entertainment, academic investigations of English calendrical customs and folklore studies are presented with a body of evidence to draw upon. Although it has not been central to this study's investigation, those interested in the place of women in late medieval society could benefit from a number of records involving women in the entertainment studied.[87] These are only some of the possible fields which might benefit from the contributions of this thesis, but it is gratifying that even before its completion it has been of use to a number of researchers — this is detailed below.

Opportunities for Further Research

There are numerous opportunities for further research raised by this thesis, partly because of the many questions it raises but does not have evidence or scope to answer fully. The possible lines of interpretation that could be deduced from this material are multiplied because the study has increased awareness of a number of extremely interesting collections. It has highlighted the richness of the King's Lynn archive, which deserves a great deal more attention from scholars in all fields if only because of the fortunate survival of such a great number of documents from a single location from

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[86] A number of lexicographical antedatings were noted and submitted to the *OED*, though others may also be present in the transcriptions.

[87] Of particular interest might be Margaret Frank in King's Lynn, Joanne Redhedd in Snettisham, Dame Anne Lestrange in Hunstanton and Katherine Segrave in Tilney All Saints.

the Middle Ages to the present. Similarly, the household accounts of the Lestrange family of Hunstanton, which continue for several volumes after the temporal limits of this study, have been highlighted as an important collection which deserves a detailed investigation of the whole of their contents. The rediscovery of the Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts, although limitedly available in an early twentieth century transcription, will be important to researchers interested in fenland churchwardens' accounts.

Many of the individual topics considered are worthy of greater study as the scope of this thesis meant that they are occasionally not given the degree of attention they deserve. In specific, the history and nature of the early civic waits of King's Lynn; the Snettisham Rockfeste, St Edmund's procession and intercommunal entertainments; the social interactions of the Lestrange family; the plough gathering and plough lights in this area of Norfolk; and the interaction of the late medieval fenland communities all need further research.

One of the benefits of working on a geographically defined thesis with a great deal of archival research has been the interaction with other scholars working on the same communities. A number of local historians have profited from the research of this thesis before its completion, especially those using the archives of King's Lynn. A recent AHRB funded research project 'Church Music in English Towns' is using late medieval King's Lynn as one of its case studies and has been given advance copies of the chapters and appendices concerning King's Lynn. In addition, Christopher Gutteridge has used material from this thesis in researching the waits of King's Lynn. This has led to the re-establishment of the King's Lynn waits, under his leadership, and the creation of a website devoted to the history (both medieval and modern) of the King's Lynn waits. This raises public awareness not only of the rich cultural history and heritage of King's Lynn but also of early music in general.

Although primarily for archival reasons, a number of individuals and organisations have expressed interest in receiving copies of this thesis for their collections. This includes a number of local historians from the area studied, the King's Lynn Borough Archive, the King's Lynn Library's local history special collection, the Norfolk Record Office, the Wisbech and Fenland Museum, and the

Lincolnshire Archives amongst others.[88]

One development from the theoretical scrutiny throughout this thesis of the merits and drawbacks of publishing editions of dramatic extracts, such as the Malone Society and REED project, is a consideration of the electronic publication of such information. This leads on to many issues such as the nature of textual encoding of such material, and the way in which certain problems (for example, the selectivity of the records deemed worthy of transcription) are possibly exacerbated by their availability in electronic format. With the significant and increasing frequency of developing XML recommendations, amongst other encoding possibilities, the future of user-driven dynamically created electronic document instances will be impressive. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that while in a print-based media culture the extraction of records for publication that meet a particular criteria is a necessary evil, the real interdisciplinary benefit for future researchers will be gained from electronic publication of entire collections where if there is an extraction of records it is performed simultaneously to the dynamic creation of that particular document instance. As has been noted a number of times in this thesis, the facsimile reproduction and transcription of entire collections in this manner, while hopefully inevitable, is financially and practically unfeasible in the foreseeable future.[89] The first step towards this future will the transcription and electronic encoding of corpora of geographically, temporally or thematically limited material.[90] Although chamberlains' and churchwardens' accounts are probably the last type of late medieval document that will be transcribed, the electronic access to such manuscripts will not only change the nature of the research undertaken, but our understanding of the records of late medieval entertainment that they contain.

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[88] While working at the University of East Anglia during the completion of this thesis, representatives of the JISC funded 'Virtual Norfolk Project' have expressed interest in several of its findings.

[89] Although, it should be noted that there has been an increase in projects such as the 'Virtual Norfolk Project' which provides transcriptions and interpretation of a number of key documents relating to a constrained historical and geographic period. In addition, their intention is to provide user definable pathways through these documents which goes some way towards the dynamic creation of user-driven document instances, even if only on a limited (and topic based) scale.

[90] For example, the CURSUS project at the University of East Anglia (on which I am employed at the time of the submission of this thesis) is transcribing all pre-Reformation English Benedictine liturgical service books. It is through limiting it by geography (English), time (pre-Reformation) and theme (both Benedictine and liturgical service books), that such a corpus able to be defined in such as way as to be feasible.

Document List[1]

Appendix One — Extracts from King's Lynn Documents (King`s Lynn Borough Archive):

Appendix Two — Extracts from the Snettisham Churchwardens' Accounts (Norfolk Record Office):

Appendix Three — Extracts from the Lestrange Household Accounts (Norfolk Record Office):

Appendix Four — Extracts from the Tilney All Saints Churchwardens' Accounts

Appendix Five —Extracts from the Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton Churchwardens' Accounts

Editorial Symbols

<•••>	=	lost or illegible letters in the original.
[—Text—]	=	cancellation in the original, with any legible text.
^[text]	=	superlinear text where the caret exists in the original.
[^text]	=	superlinear text where no caret exists in the original.
[*Blank*]	=	an unexpected blank in the original.
...	=	ellipsis of original matter.
—	=	dash of varying length in the original.
/	=	line break in original.
}	=	a bracket surrounding one or more lines in the original.
&	=	ampersand or other 'et' character in the original.
[text]	=	editorial introduction or denotation.
t*ext*	=	expansions are italicised.

[1] For a more detailed list of the individual manuscripts from which transcriptions are taken. see the Bibliography of Works Cited.

Appendix One: Extracts from King's Lynn Documents

KL/C/6 Civic Hall Rolls
KL/C/6/2 (1399/1400-1403/4)[2]

...

[29 September 1399] (1399/1400)[3]

Congreg*atio* maioris & co*mmunitatis* fes*t*o die s*ancti* Mich*ael*is arch*angel*i anno regni Reg*is* henr*ici* quarti p*ri*mos ...[4] Qui elegerunt in Maiorem / Edm*undi* Belleyet*ere* In cam*erar*i*os* Will*elmu*m Byfyng Rob*ertu*m Cokerell Jacob*u*m atte Brygge & Joh*ann*em Mafay In decan*i* Rog*eri*m Banlyn in s*er*vientem p*ro* clava Will*elmu*m Gurton in custod*ienti* portar*um* / oriental*es* Will*elmu*m Gurton portar*um* austral*es* Nich*olau*m Tallio*ur* portar*um* S*an*c*t*e Augustes Rob*ertu*m Pyrt / port*arum* de dushill Joh*ann*em lessir in Wayte Will*elmu*m Wylde & bedeman Joh*anne*m mylys

...

[29 September 1400]

...Qui elegerunt ... In Wayte Will*elmu*m Wylde & Bedeman Joh*ann*em Mylys & jur*ati*.

...

[29 September 1401]

...Qui elegerunt ... In Wayte Will*elmu*m / Wylde & Bedeman Joh*ann*em Mylys & jur*ati*.

...

[29 September 1402][5]

...Qui elegerunt ... In Wayte Will*elmu*m Wilde In Belleman Joh*ann*em Myles & jur*ati*.

...

KL/C/7/ Corporation Hall Books
KL/C/7/2 (1422/3-1430/1)[6]

...

[p. 50: (29 August) 1423/4][7]

...

As Bellman — John Morden.

...

[p. 86: (29 September) 1424]

...

John Mordon Bellman.

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[2] This entry is transcribed in detail as an example of the elections contained in the hall rolls.

[3] The regnal year the manuscript runs from the thirtieth of September, but Edmund Belleytere was mayor in 1399, not 1400.

[4] The list of names of those elected as jurats is omitted.

[5] The position of 'Wayte' disappears in KL/C/6/3, the bedeman/bellman position still continues but is not edited.

[6] The entries from this document are from a transcription by Holcombe Ingleby owing to the original being on display. Ingleby attempted to preserve the manuscript layout. Although he does preserve the pagination (almost) correctly, his page numbers are given as proper references.

[7] There is a very regular pattern through all the corporation hall books of having the elections on the feast of the 'decollatio' of St. John the Baptist, (29 August) and then the start of the new corporation year on the Feast of St. Michael, (29 September).

...
[p. 101: (29 September) 1425]
...
The Bellman — John Mordon
...
[p. 137: (29 September) 1426]
...
And John Mordon Bellman
...
[p. 150: (29 September) 1427]
...
As the Bellman / John Mordon
...
[p. 211: (29 August) 1428]
...
As the Bellman / John Mordon
...
[p. 220: (29 September) 1428]
...
Thomas Bayly the bellman / John Mordon sworn.[8]
...
[p. 275: (29 September) 1429]
...
The Bellman, John Mordon
...
[p. 330: (29 September) 1430]
...
As the bellman William Kelour[9]
...

KL/C/7/3 (1431/2-1450/1)

...
[fol. 15: (29 September) 1431]
...
Belman — Joh*an*nes Mordon
...
[fol. 16.][10]
...
[fol. 27: (29 August) 1432]
...
In le Belman — Joh*an*ni Mordon
...
[fol. 29: (29 August) 1433]
...
le Belman — Joh*an*nes Mordon
...

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[8] This is a mistranscription by Ingelby, Mordon is the Bellman, Bayly is a gate guard.
[9] Although Ingelby transcribes Kelour, this is probably a mistake for 'Kelom' who was bellman at this time.
[10] See Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 46 for a petition by the civic waits.

[fol. 40: (29 September) 1434]

...

le Belman — Joh*an*nes Mordon Jur*at*

...

[fol. 55: (29 August) 1435]

...

In le Belman — Joh*ann*em Mordon

...

[fol. 67v: (29 September) 1435]

...

In le Belman — Joh*ann*em Mordon Jur*at*

...

[fol. 82v: (29 August) 1436]

...

In le Belman — Joh*annem* Belman

...

[fol. 84: (29 September) 1437]

...

le Belman John Mordon

...

[fol. 94v: (29 August) 1438]

...

In le Belman — Joh*ann*em Bullok

...

[fol. 97v: (29 September) 1438]

...

le Belman — Joh*annem* Bullok

...

[fol. 108v: (29 August) 1439]

...

In le Beleman — Joh*ann*em Blythe

...

[fol. 111v: (29 September) 1439]

...

Le Belman Joh*annes* Blythe — Jur*at*

...

[fol. 128: (29 August) 1440]

...

In [—custod*iens* —] le Belman — Joh*annem* Blythe

...

[fol. 131v: (29 September) 1440]

...

Joh*annes* Blythe le Bellman — Jur*at*

...

[fol. 143v: (29 August) 1441]

...

In Offic*io* de le Belman — Joh*annem* Blythe

...

[fol. 146: (29 September) 1441]

...

Joh*annes* Blythe le Belman

...

[fol. 157v: (29 August) 1442]

...

In le Belman & custod*ient*em de dowshill3ates — Joh*ann*em Blithe

...

[fol. 159: (29 September) 1442]

...

Cust*odiente* de doucehill 3ates & le Belman John Blythe — [11]

...

[fol. 177v: (29 August) 1443]

...

In le Belman — Henr*icum* Lombe

...

[fol. 180: (29 September) 1443]

...

le Belman — Henr*icum* lombe — Jur*at*

...

[fol. 190v: (29 August) 1444]

...

In le Belman — Rob*er*tum Tav*er*ner

...

[fol. 193v: (29 September) 1444]

...

Rob*ertus* Tav*er*ner le belman —

...

[fol. 205v: (29 August) 1445]

...

In le belman — Rob*er*tus Tav*ern*as

...

[fol. 209: (29 September) 1445]

...

Rob*er*tus Tav*er*ner Belman

...

[fol. 219v: (29 August) 1446]

...

In le Belman — Will*elmum* Kelam

...

[fol. 222v: (29 September) 1446]

...

Will*elmus* Kelom Belman

...

[fol. 237v: (25 August) 1447]

...

In le Belman — Will*elmum* Kelom

...

[fol. 240v: (29 September) 1447]

---

[11] Although a similar dash exists after every other civic officer, they are all noted as jurats. Blythe is not recognised as such this year even though he was in 1440.

...
Will*elmu*s Kelom — Remeanis
...
[fol. 250v: (29 August) 1448]
...
In le Belman — Will*elmus* Kelom
...
[fol. 253v: (29 September) 1448]
...
Will*elmu*s Kelom le belman
...
[fol. 264: (29 August) 1449]
...
In le Belman Will*elmum* Belman
...
[fol. 266v: (29 September) 1449]
...
Will*elmu*s Kelom belman
...
[fol. 283v: 1449/50]
...
...and / ev*ery* persone so newe come and amitted and Wilbe no burgeys for his newe settyng uppe shal paye to / the meyre xl^{d} to the comons ^[of lenn] xl^{d} and to the seid hedesmen xl^{d} which xl^{d} shal go to the / sustentacion of the p*ro*cession upon Corpus *Christi* day. And yf he wil be burgeys than he to pay but / xl^{d} for his newe settyng uppe to the seid hedesmen which shal goto the seid p*ro*cession...[12]

...
[fol. 287v: (29 August) 1450]
...
In le belman Will*elmum* Belman
...
[fol. 292v: (29 September) 1451]
...
Will*elmu*s Kelom[13]
...

KL/C/7/4 (1453/4-1497/8) [14]

...
[p. 19: 1452/3]
...
In le belman — Alan Portour
...
[p. 42: 1453/4]
...

---

[12] cf. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 267.
[13] For this year the names are inscribed in the correct locations, but the offices are not. John Marytn (son of Martyn Wright) is just above Kelom, and is known to have been a gate guard in this year.
[14] It is more reliable to use pagination as opposed to foliation for this document because the foliation predates Harrod's pagination which is more accurate. In addition, Harrod's index uses his own page numbers instead of the folio numbers.

In le belman — Alan Palmer

...

[p. 59: 1454/5]

...

In le belman — Alan Cooke

...

[p. 64: 1455/6]

...

Alan Portou*r* le Belman

...

[p. 78: 1455/6]

...

In le Belleman — Alan Portour

...

[p. 92: 1456/7]

...

In le Belman — Alan Coke

...

[p. 112: 1457/8]

...

In le Belman Alann Portour

...

[p. 125: 1458/9]

...

In le Belman Ham*u*ndum Hunt —Taillour

...

[p. 137: 1459/60]

...

In Remeann*o* Hamond Hunt

...

[p. 162: 1461/2]

...

In Le belman — Ham*u*ndum Hunt

...

[p. 178: 1462/3]

...

In le Belman Hamund Hunt

...

[p. 198: 1463/4]

...

In Remeann*o* Ville v*idelicet* Belleman — Ham*u*ndum Hunt

...

[p. 212: 1464/5]

...

In Remeann*o* Ham*u*ndum Hunt

...

[p. 223: 1465/6]

...

In Remeann*o* Ham*u*ndum Hunt

...

[p. 232: 1466/7]

...

In le Belman — Rob*er*tum Avise

...

[p. 243: 1467/8]

...

In Remeano Ville — Robertum Avise

...

[p. 255: 1468/9]

...

In Remeanno Hui*us* Ville — Hamndum Hunt

...

[p. 266: 1469/70]

...

In le Belman — Hamondum Hunt

...

[p. 280: 1470/1]

...

In Remeanno Ville — Ham*u*ndu*m* Hunt

...

[p. 292: 1471/2]

...

In Remeanno hui*us* Ville — Rob*er*tum Tornour

...

[p. 303: 1472/3]

...

In Remeanno hui*us* Ville — Joh*ann*em Buteman

...

[p. 310: 1473/4]

...

In le Belman — Andrenni Buteman

...

[p. 324: 1474/5]

...

In le Belman — Andrenni Buteman

...

[p. 343: 1475/6]

...

In Remeanni — Joh*ann*em Litster

...

[p. 358: 1476/7]

...

In Remeanno hui*us* Ville — Johem Litster

...

[p. 376: 1477/8]

...

In Remeanno Ville — Johannem Litster

...

[p. 403: 1479/80]

...

In Remeanno Ville — Johannem / Lytster

...

[p. 419: 1480/1]

...

In Remeanno — Johannem Lyster

...

[p. 439: 1481/2]

...

In Remeanno Ville — Johannem Lyster

...

[p. 454: 1482/3]

...

In Remeanno Ville — Johannem Lyster

...

[p. 491: 1484/5]

...

Johannes Lytster belman

...

[p. 514: 1485/6]

...

In Remeano Ville — / Johannem litster

...

[p. 526: 1486/7]

...

Remeanno Johannes Litser

...

[p. 541: 1487/8]

...

In Remeanno Ville — Johannem Litster

...

[p. 553: 1488/9]

...

In Remeanno — Johannem Lyster

...

[p. 570: 1490/1]

...

In Remeanno — Johannem Lytster

...

[p. 577: 1491/2]

...

In Remeanno — Johannem Lytster

...

[p. 584: 1492/3]

...

In Remeanno — Johannem Lytster

...

[p. 586: 1493/4]

...

Johannes lister in Remeanno

...

[p. 596: 1494/5]

...

In Remeanno Ville Alanno Langrake

...

[p. 602: 1495/6]

...

In Remeanno Ville Alanno Langrake

...

[p. 613: 1496/7]

...

Remeanno Ville Alanno Langrake

...

[p. 625: 1497/8]

...

Remeanno Ville Alanno Langrake

...

KL/C/7/5: (1497/8-1544/5)[15]

...

[p. 15 - 16: 1498/9] [16]

...

Universis & singulis presentes littere ubilibet precepturis Nos maior & consilium Ville lenne Salutem / Quoddam statutum pro bono regimine artificij de Carpenters nos iam novitер ordinavimus & / pro perpetuo stabiliter fecimus videlicet quod de cetero quolibet anno infra duos menses proxime post festum sancti Michaelis / Archangeli sequens omnes commorantes artificii predicti ad assignacionem maioris lenne pro tempore — / existentis per communem servientem ad clavam erunt premuniti ad coomparendum coram prefato maiore / in Guihalda[17] ibidem qui quidem hominеs dicti Artificij infra dictam villam sic premuniti & coram dicto / maiore comparentes interse eligent & nominabunt duos burgenses de eodem Artificio magis — / idoneos & sufficientes in le hedismen Et dicti duo Burgenses sic electi & nominati quoddam /[18] sacrimentum prestabunt cuius verbo tenor sequitur & talis Sires ye shull dewly & trewly make serch of your / craft of all dwellers withinne the town at this tyme & fro this tyme forward no newe cum persones / set vp the seid Crafte but if he haue sufficient cunnyng Whos Abilitie & cunnyng shalbe determened / by the aduyce of the seid hedesmen or wardenes of the seid crafte And euery Englysshe / persone so newe come and admitted to set vp and wilbe no burgeys shall paye to the / mayr for his newe settyng vp iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the commons iij^{s} iiij^{d} and to the seid hedismen / iij^{s} iiij^{d} Which iij iiij shall goo to the sustentacion of the procession on corpus *Christi* / daye And yf he wilbe a burgeys than he to paye but iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the seid hedismen / which shall go to the seid processyon...[19]

...

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[15] Again, it is more reliable to use pagination as opposed to foliation for this document because the foliation predates Harrod's pagination which is more accurate.

[16] These are the regulations for the carpenters.

[17] Scribal error for 'Guild Aula'.

[18] At the beginning of this line the ink changes from black to a red/brown colour for the remainder of the transcription. The hand remains the same.

[19] Continues with ordinances for members of the craft, and their headsmen.

[p. 17: 1500/1]

...

Remeanni:[20]

...

[p. 41: 1501/2]

...

Remeanni:[21]

...

[p. 53: 1502/3]

...

Remeanni : Wille*lmu*m haukes

...

[p. 62: 1503/4]

...

In Remean*no* ville Ric*ardu*m fflowre sub *con*dici*one* q*uo*d conducet domu*m* de Co*mun*itate

...

[p. 75: 1504/5]

...

In Remeann*o* ville Joh*ann*em Nesse

...

[p. 80: 1506/7]

...

In Remean*o* ville Joh*ann*em Nesse sub condici*one*s q*uo*d / erit fidel*iter* tenens Co*mun*itat*is* & soluet ut soluit Annis p*reteriter* & q*uo*d custod*ientes* co*mmunitat*em rivolam melior q*ua*m Annis p*reteriter*

...

[p. 88: 1508/9]

...

In remean*no* Ville Joh*ann*em Nesse

...

[p. 94: 1509/10]

...

In remean*no* Ville Joh*ann*em Nesse

...

[p. 104: 1510/1]

...

In remean*no* Ville Joh*ann*em Nesse

...

[p. 112: 1511/2]

...

In remean*no* Ville Joh*ann*em Nesse

...

[p. 120: 1512/3]

...

In remean*no* Ville Joh*ann*em Nesse

...

---

[20] No name is provided.

[21] No name is provided.

[p. 131: 1513/4]

...

In remean*no* Joh*ann*em Palmer Wever Et condic*ione* q*uo*d solv*it* p*ro* iij[*ibus*] ten*ement*i*s* / in Baxterrowe nuper in tenura Joh*ann*is Nesse xxvj^{s} viij^{d} Annual*e* firme

...

[p. 143: 1514/5]

...

In p*ro*clamatore [—Rob*ertus* Antony—][22] Joh*ann*em Palmer

...

[p. 155: 1515/6]

...

In p*ro*clamatore — Joh*ann*em Palmer

...

[p. 174: 1516/7]

...

In remean*no* — Joh*ann*em palmer

...

[p. 182: 1517/8]

...

In le Belman — Joh*ann*em Palmer

...

[p. 190: 1518/9]

...

In le Belman — Joh*ann*em Palmer

...

[p. 205: 1519/20]

...

In le Belman — Joh*ann*em Palmer

...

[p. 221: 1520/1]

...

In le Belleman — Joh*ann*em Palmer

...

[p. 259: 1527/8]

...

Item eligerunt in bellman & janitores[23]

...

[p. 267: 1529/30]

...

— John palmer [^ to be] belman

...

[p. 279B: 1530/1]

...

— John Palmer to be belman

...

---

[22] This strikeout is because Robert Anthony was the Southern Gate Guard, both the position and his name are written on the line above.

[23] No names follow this phrase.

[p. 280Av: 1531/2][24]

...

...This daye also the mayer & Aldermen & comencounsell have aggreid that John Palmer Belman shal from hensforth / have a lyv*ery* to the value of xiij^{s} iiij^{d} so longe as the Court*es* shal remayn in the townz hand*es* & he to s*er*ve / same Court as kryer to it...

...

[p. 287: 1532/3]

...

In Remeano Joh*ann*em Palmer

...

[p. 292: 1533/4]

...

In belman Joh*ann*es Palmer

...

[p. 299: 1534/5]

...

In Belman John Palm*er*

...

[p. 301: 1535/6]

...

This day the mayer & aldermen have elect & chosen John Turnour in Belman & kep*er* of the drayn*es*[25] to Gaywod / & to se the swyn & catell so orderd thatt non [—of—] be sufferid to passe by the Stretes to the / noysanns of the Inh*ab*intannt*es* in as ample weyse as John Palm*er* late Belman hadde the samme office

...

[p. 304: 1536/7]

...

In Belman John Turnour

...

[p. 317: 1537/8]

...

In Belman John Turnour

...

[p. 323: 1538/9]

...

In Belman John Turnour

...

[p. 329: 1539/40]

...

In Belman John Turnour

...

[p. 333: 1540/1]

...

---

[24] This pagination was decided in consultation with the archivist to refer a part folio bound in at this point that is ignored in Harrod's pagination.

[25] The reading of the 'e' is uncertain, 'drayn*n*es' could also be intended, a small space with very faint ink mark exists at the position of the substituted letter.

In Belman Joh*ann*em [—Palm*er*—] Turnour

...

[p. 344: 1541/2]

...

In p*ro*clamtor*em* Joh*ann*em Turn*our*

...

KL/C/10/2 The Book of William Asshebourne (4 July 1412)[26]

[fol. 26v] (4 July 1412)

...

A noz treschers & bien amez les mair & / bons gentz de la ville de lenn*e* / Le count de Dorset admiralle / dengletere guiane & dirlande / [27]

Treschiers & b*ien*e amez Nous vous saluons tresjoiment Et en taunt q*ue* nostre b*ien* ame / servitour & menstralle Grene Piper presentour dicestes est desirons p*ur* feare service / a vous come gayte del vile de lenne en quele desire vous prions daver sa p*er*sone / especialment recomendez ensi quil poet sentier icestes noz l*ett*res & p*ri*ers celle p*ar*tie luy / estre vaillables & expedientz Et ce fesaunt nous ferriez especial plesier ceo sciet / dieu quil vous donne bone vie & longe Escrypt a leycestre le iiije jour de julet.

...

KL/C/38 Guild of Holy Trinity Accounts

KL/C/38/11 (1421/3)

Alloc*ationes* sup*er* compot*um*

...Et x Ministrall*is* int*er*essent*ibus* ibid*em* in festo xxx^{s}...

...

KL/C/38/12 (1422/3)

...

Alloc*ationes* sup*er* compot*um*

...Et x Ministrall*is* int*er*essent*ibus* ibid*em* in festo xx^{s}...

...

KL/C/39 Civic Chamberlains's Accounts

KL/C/39/3 (1331/2)

...

Exp*ens*e

...Ite*m* r*espondet* de xij^{d} dat*is* m*en*str*a*llis Regis...

...

KL/C/39/7 (1336/7)

...

...— Ite*m* r*espondet* de iiij^{s} / dat*is* Heraud & Trumpour d*omi*ni Reg*is* — Ite*m* r*espondet* de iiij^{s} dat*i* p*ro* Springgald — Ite*m* r*espondet* de ij^{s} dat*is* nunc*iis* Reg*is* / Ite*m* r*espondet* de xl^{s} x^{d} dat*is* pro exp*ens*is lete ...

...

KL/C/39/8 (1337/8)

...

---

[26] I am very grateful for the assistance of Alan E. Knight with transcription of this passage. No punctuation or accents appear in the original, and so have not been added here. William Asshebourne was the common clerk of King's Lynn. See Dorothy M. Owen, 'William Asshebourne's Book', *NRS*, XLVIII (1981), 55-103.

[27] Thomas Beaufort was Admiral of England, Ireland and Guyenne at this time.

Expensis

...— Item respondet de xiij^{s} iiij^{d} datis custodibus falkonum domini / Regis — Item respondet de iij^{s} datis servientibus domini Regis — Item respondet de iiij^{s} vj^{d} datis nunciis domini Regis — Item respondet de v^{s} ij^{d} datis / pro conducione cuiusdam Menestralli domini Willelmi de Monte acuto versus portis transmarinis ... — Item respondet de xvj^{d} datis pro expensis in aula Gilde...

...

KL/C/39/9 (1338/9)

...

Expensis

... / Item de ij^{s} datis duobus minestrallis domini Roberti de Morlee Item de xij^{d} datis Ricardo le Turnour pro vassello ab eo empto ad aulam Guilde / Item de ij^{s} datis Thome de Wallinge pro expensis suis...

...

KL/C/39/12 (1343/4)

...

Nunciis cum / Ministrallis

...Item de xij^{d} datis ministrallis Comitis Suffolcie / Item de xij^{d} datis menistrallis domini de Bardolf...

...

KL/C/39/13 (1346/7)

...

Nunciis cum / Ministrallis

...— Item respondet de xij^{d} datis Roberto de London nuncio Regis / — Item respondet de iiij^{s} iij^{d} datis nunciis & ministrallis Isabele Regine / ... — Item respondet de ij^{s} datis duobus clamatoribus de communitati banco...

...

KL/C/39/14 (1348/9)

...

Expensis Facte circa nuncios / domini Regis & ministrallos

...Item de — ij^{s} datis tubatoris domini Roberti de Morlee / Item de —xij^{d} datis nuncios domini Regis / Item de — x^{s} datis Thome de stenwerkes ministrallis domini Regis / Item de — xx^{d} datis famulo suo / Item de — ij^{s} datis diversus Menestrallis...

...

KL/C/39/17 (1353/4)

...

Expensis super Heraldos / nuncios cursores & me/nstrallos

Item Compotum de — xxxvj^{s} viij^{d} datis diversis Nunciis & cursoribus domini Regis & diversis haraldis & menastrallis Principis Ducis de Lancastrie & aliorum diversorum dominorum per tempora & vices diversas.

...

KL/C/39/18 (1354/5)

...

Expensis Super / Nuncios & Cursores

Item Compotum de xxvij^{s} solutis diversis Nunciis Cursoribus & Menestrallis per diversas vices.

...

KL/C/39/19 (1355/6)

...

Expens*is* circa / S*er*vient*es* d*omi*ni R*egis* / Ad arm*a* Nuncios / Curs*ores* & Menest*ral*/los

Item de — xliij^{s} vij^{d} dat*is* di*versis* ser*v*ientib*us* d*omi*ni Reg*is* ad arma Nunc*iis* Cursorib*us* & Menes*t*rallis ... Item de ij^{s} dat*is* p*ro* uno gladio empt*o* & dat*o* cuidam / Menestrallo eiusdem Regine videlic*et* cuidam Haraud...

...

KL/C/39/20 (1356/6)

...

Servient*ibus* Nunc*iis* & / Cursor*ibus* ac Menest*ral*l*is*

Item de xxviij^{s} x^{d} dat*is* di*versis* n*unc*i*is* d*omi*ni Reg*is* & Curs*oribus* ser*v*ient*ibus* ad arm*a* & menestrallis

...

KL/C/39/21 (1357/8)

...

Expens*is* circa / S*er*vient*ibus* d*omi*ni R*egis* / ad arm*a* n*unc*i*is* / curs*oribus* & menest*ral*l*is*

Item comp*otum* de — iij^{li} v^{d} dat di*versis* n*unc*i*is* d*omi*ni Reg*is* & Curs*oribus* ser*v*ient*ibus* ad arm*a* & menest*r*allis

...

KL/C/39/24 (1361/2)[28]

...

Nunc*iis* Herald*is* / & menestrall*is*

Item comp*otum* de xxiiij^{s} viij^{d} dat*is* di*versis* Nunc*iis* d*omi*ni *Regis* Cursorib*us* Harald*is* et Menestrall*is* a festo s*ancti* Mich*ael*is usq*ue* fest*um* / Pasch*ale* Item de xlij^{s} iiij^{d} dat*is* talib*us* a d*icto* festo Pasch*ali* usq*ue* festu*m* S*anct*i Mich*ael*is

S*um*ma iij^{li} vij^{s}

...

form*cece* expens*e*

...Item de xij^{d} solut*is* p*ro* pulsac*ion*e lib*er*tatis...[29]

...

KL/C/39/25 (1362/3)

...

ffeod*a* Solut*is*

...Item de — xxxvj^{s} viij^{d} solut*is* solut*is* [30] Joh*ann*em de Boys[31] Wayte p*ro* eodem

...

Nunc*iis* Curso/res & menest*ral*l*is*

Item comp*otum* de xlviij^{s} iiij^{d} dat*is* di*ver*sis Nunciis d*omi*ni Reg*is* & Cursorib*us* & Menest*r*allis d*omi*ni Reg*is* Principis & alior*um* / di*ver*sor*um* d*omi*nor*um*

S*um*ma pat*et*

...

KL/C/39/26a and KL/C/39/26b[32] **(1364/5)**

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[28] For KL/C/39/22 & KL/C/39/23 see Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, pp. 34-5. Its transcription has been checked and is accurate.

[29] This payment for 'pulsacione' is edited as an example, these occur almost every year.

[30] [*sic*], the solut*is* is repeated.

[31] Both the archivist and I read 'Boys' here, although in KL/C/39/26b it is most certainly 'Doys'. This might simply be scribal confusion or error.

...
A)
ffeod*a* Solut*is*
...Item de xlij^{s} Joh*ann*i Wayte & Will*el*mo Wayte p*ro* eodem...
...
B)
ffeod*a* Solut*is*
...Item de — xl^{s} [ij^{s}] solute Joh*ann*i de Doys Wayte & Will*el*mo le Wayte v*idelicet* dicto Joh*ann*i p*ro* tem*po*re / suo — x^{s} & dicto Will*el*mo p*ro* trib*us* q*uarter*iis anni xxx[ij^{s}][33]...
...
Dat*is* Nunc*iis* me/nestr*all*i*s* & curso/rib*us*
Item comp*otum* de iij^{li} ij^{s} v^{d} dat*is* div*er*sis nunciis & Cursorib*us* ac Menestrall*is* d*omi*ni Reg*is* & alior*um* div*er*sor*um* d*omi*nor*um*

Sum*m*a pat*et*

...

KL/C/39/27 (1365/6)

...
ffeod*a*
...—Item de / xl^{s} Joh*ann*em Wayte...
...
Nunc*iis* Curs*oribus* / & Menestr*all*i*s*
Item comp*otum* de xxxj^{s} vj^{d} dat*is* div*ersis* Nunc*iis* Curs*oribus* & Menestr*all*i*s*

Sum*m*a pat*et*

...

KL/C/39/28 (1366/7)

...
ffeoda solut*is*
...—Item de — xl^{s} Joh*ann*em le Wayte p*ro* eod*em* Item de — viijs Joh*an*ni Bel / leman Custod*ienti* Aule gild p*ro* eod*em* — Item de — xxx^{s} Custod*ienti* porcor*um* p*ro* eod*em*
...
Nunc*iis* Curs*oribus* / & Menestr*all*i*s*
Item comp*otum* de xlix^{s} viij^{d} dat*is* div*ersis* Nunc*iis* Curs*oribus* & Menestrall*is* d*omi*ni Reg*is* Regine Duc*is* / & alior*um* Magnat*orum* ut p*atet* p*er* bill*am* Maioris
...

KL/C/39/29 (1369/70)(?)[34]

...
Menestrall*is* / & Curs*oribus*[35]
iid*em* comp*otum* de x^{s} dat*is* iiij menestr*allis* d*omi*ni Regis Item de iij^{s} iiij^{d} dat*is* ij menestr*allis* co*mi*t*is* Hereford Item / de xij^{d} dat*is* menestr*allis* co*mi*t*is* de Warewyk Item de xx^{d} dat*is* Iugulatori d*omi*ni R*egis* Item de xx^{d} dat*is*

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[32] KL/C/39/26b was discovered rolled up with KL/C/39/26, and after examination the archivist agreed that it was a draft of the account and the numeration of KL/C/39/26a was given to the final copy and KL/C/39/26b to the draft.
[33] The extra 'ij^{s}' is added between the numeral thirty and the shillings mark.
[34] The first portion of this roll is missing. It is dated confidently from internal evidence to this date, but no list of civic officers survives for it as this would have been recorded near the start.
[35] The Malone Society suddenly decides to edit these payments as a list.

menestr*allis* d*omi*ni Spenc*er* Item de iij^{s} iiij^{d} dat*is* ij menestr*allis* Item de / xx^{d} dat*is* menestr*allis* R*egis* Scotie Item de vj^{s} viij^{d} dat*is* menestr*allis* Com*i*tis Suff*olcie* Item de iiij^{s} dat*is* / menestr*allis* d*omi*ni de Morlee p*er* div*ersas* vic*es* Item de iiij^{s} viij^{d} dat*is* Menestr*allis* Ducis Lanc*astrie* Item de xij^{d} / dat*is* Wafrer d*omi*ni Com*itis* Suff*olcie* Item de iij^{s} iiij^{d} dat*is* ij gyterners eiusd*em* Com*i*tis Item de xij^{d} datis / ij Waferers Item de xxvj^{s} viij^{d} dat*is* div*ersis* Menestrall*is* & Cursor*ibus* p*er* diversas vices

...

KL/C/39/30 (1370/1)

...

ffeod*a* Sol*utis*

...Item de xl^{s} sol*utis* Petro Wayte p*ro* eod*em* — Item de viij^{s} sol*utis* Joh*ann*i de Norwic*ensis* custod*ienti* Aule Gild / Item de xix^{s} ij^{d} sol*utis* Joh*ann*i Shayle custod*ienti* portor*um*...

...

Oblac*i*ones

...Item de vj^{s} viij^{d} dat*is* ^[p*re*dict*o*] Petro...

...

Menestrall*is* Cursor*ibus*

idem comp*otum* de ix^{s} x^{d} dat*is* sept*em* Waffreres septem vic*ibus*

Item de iij^{s} iiij^{d} dat*is* Blasham & soc*io* suo / Menestrall*is* d*omi*ni Com*itis* Suff*olcie* Item de ij^{s} dat*is* duob*us* Menestrall*is* d*omi*ni Rob*er*ti de Morle Item de ij^{s} dat*is* duob*us* / Menestrall*is* d*omi*ni Will*elm*i de Hoo Item de ij^{s} dat*is* duob*us* Menestrall*is* d*omi*ni Walteri Manne. Item de ij^{s} dat*is* / Menestrall*is* d*omi*ni Rob*er*ti Mortimer Item de ij^{s} viij^{d} dat*is* quatuor aliis menestrall*is* duab*us* vic*ibus* Item de xx^{d} / dat*is* Menestrall*is* & tripudiator*is* in ffesto Natal*i* d*omi*ni Item de ij^{s} dat*is* Menestrall*is* p*ri*mo die Maij Item de iij^{s} / iiij^{d} dat*is* Ludent*ibus* eod*em* die Item de iiij^{s} viij^{d} dat*is* trib*us* thitheratorib*us* trib*us* vic*ibus* Item de ij^{s} iiij^{d} dat*is* trib*us* menestrall*is* p*er* tres vices Item de ij^{s} dat*is* uni Giterner d*omi*ni Rob*er*ti de Morle Item de cij^{d} dat*is* cuid*am* menestrall*o* Item de xx^{d} dat*is* uni Nuncis d*omi*ni Regis Item de iij^{s} iiij^{d} dat*is* q*ui* tulit / vini l*itte*re d*omi*ni Regis de pace p*ro*clamad*i* int*er* nos fflandr*es* Item de iij^{s} iiij^{d} dat*is* uni cl*er*ico Cancerllar*i* qui tulit / l*itte*re ad arrestand ho*min*es de fflandr*es* Item de xx^{d} dat*is* uni Nu*n*cio qui tulit l*itte*ra ad duos terr*as* p*ro* p*ar*liamento / Item de v^{s} dat*is* v cursor*ibus* d*omi*ni Regis quinq*ue* vicib*us*

Su*m*ma Lv^{s} x^{d}

...

[Kl/C/39/31 (1371/2)][36]

...

KL/C/39/32 (1372/3)

...

ffeod*a* Solut*is*

...Item de xl^{s} / solut*is* Petro Wayte p*ro* eod*em* Item de xxx^{s} solut*is* Joh*ann*i Shayle custod*ienti* porcor*um* p*ro* eod*em* Item de viij^{s} solut*is* Joh*ann*i de Norwyc*ensis* custod*ienti* hostij[37] / Aule Gilde p*ro* eod*em*

...

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[36] This is transcribed by Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp. 324-30. The original was rechecked and contains no payments of a dramatic or paradramatic nature.

[37] This word is very faint and difficult to read.

Dona

...Et de xiij^{s} / iiij^{d} dat*is* di*versis* nu*nciis* do*mi*ni R*egis* ven*ientibus* cu*m* l*itte*ris l*itte*ris[38] hoc anno Item de xxxviij^{s} dat*is* di*versis* Menestrall*is* do*mi*ni R*egis* Princip*is* Com*itum* & alio*rum* / do*mi*no*rum* ven*ientibus* hoc a*n*no...

...

Exp*ense* ffo*rincece*

...Et de xij^{d} sol*utis* Sacriste eccl*es*ie S*anc*te Margar*ete* p*ro* pulsac*i*one lib*er*tat*is* Lenn*e*...

...

KL/C/39/33 (1373/4)

ffeoda Solut*is*

...Et de xl^{s} solute Petro Whaite p*ro* cons*uete* feod*o* suo Et de viij^{s} solut*is* / Joh*anni* Norwich*ensis* p*ro* cons*uete* feod*o* suo

...

Dona Nunc*iis* cursor*ibus* / et ministrall*is*

Et de xj^{s} iiij^{d} datis di*versis* nunc*iis* & curs*oribus* Regis ven*ientibus* & di*versis* l*itte*ra maior*is* apportant*is* p*er* vic*ibus* una cu*m* denar*i*o euisd*em* ... Dat*is* Henr*ico* Cutteor Nunc*ii* Ep*iscop*i Norwic*ensis* ut p*atet* p*er* p*ar*ticul*a* Et de xlj^{s} viij^{d} dat*is* di*versis* ministrall*is* Reg*is* Princip*is* Comit*is* / Cantebr*igii* & Suthf*olcie* Ep*iscop*i Norwic*i* & al*iorum* ut cons*uete* patet

S*um*ma liij^{s}

...

...Et de xij^{d} solute d*omi*no Rog*er*o Sexstayn p*ro* puls*acione* lib*er*tatis c*ir*ca f*estu*m s*ancte* marg*arete* virg*inu*m...

...

KL/C/39/34 (1374/5)

...

ffeod*a* Solut*is*

...Et xl^{s} cons*uete* sol*utis* Petro Whaite p*ro* cons*uete* feodo / suo ... Et de vij^{s} cons*uete* sol*utis* Thom*e* Bedemanne p*ro* feod*o* suo...

...

Dona Nunc*iis* Cursor*ibus* / Regis & Ministrall*is*

Et de vj^{s} viij^{d} cons*uete* solut*is* Dudree Tyndale s*er*vient*ibus* Regis ad arma ven*ientibus* p*ro* navib*us* arestand*i* p*ro* Duce Bretann*ice* Et de v^{s} cons*uete* solut*is* / div*ersis* cursorib*us* d*omi*ni Regis ven*ientibus* & apportant*ibus* maiori div*ersis* l*itte*ris Regis p*er* tempus hui*us* comp*oti* Et de lxj^{s} viij^{d} solut*is* & dat*o* div*ersis* ministrall*is* / tam d*icti* d*omi*ni Regis q*uam* P*r*incipis & al*iorum* d*omi*nor*um* venient*ibus* p*er* vic*es* hoc anno p*r*out pleni*us* patet p*er* p*ar*ticul*a* s*uper* istum compot*um* lib*er*tatis

S*um*ma Lxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

KL/C/39/35 (1375/6)

...

ffeod*a* Soluc*ione*

Iidem compot*um* de x^{li} solut*is* maiori p*ro* feod*o* suo Et xl^{s} cons*uete* solut*is* Thome Morton cl*er*ico p*ro* feod*o* suo Et de xl^{s} cons*uete* solut*is* Rog*er*o Cailly / Ballio Co*mun*itatis p*ro* feod*o* suo Et de xl^{s} cons*uete* solut*is* Petro Wayte

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[38] [*sic*], 'l*itte*ris' is repeated.

Vigil*atori* ville p*ro* feod*o* suo Et de xx^{s} cons*uete* solut*is* Ric*ard*o Swafham janit*ori* porte / oriental*es* p*ro* feod*o* suo Et de xiij^{s} iiij^{d} cons*uete* solut*is* Joh*ann*i Lister janit*ori* porte austral*es* p*ro* feod*o* suo Et de vj^{s} viij^{d} cons*uete* sol Joh*ann*i Dyote janit*ori* / porte Aquilon*es* p*ro* cons*uete* feod*o* suo Et de viij^{s} cons*uete* Thome Bedemann*o* p*ro* feod*o* suo Et de lx^{s} cons*uete* sol*utis* D*omi*no Will*elm*o Burstall subcancellar*io* Reg*is* / p*ro* feod*o* suo Et de xx^{s} cons*uete* solut*is* Joh*ann*i Stan*er*ton attornato co*mun*itatis in sc*acc*ar*i*o Reg*is* p*ro* feod*o* suo Et de xl^{s} cons*uete* sol*utis* Edm*und*o Garnay p*ro* cons*uete* feod*o* / suo Et de de[39] xl^{s} cons*uete* sol*utis* Ric*ard*o Waltone p*ro* feod*o* suo

S*um*ma xxvj^{li} viij^{s}

...

Dona Nunc*iis* & Cursor / as Ministrall*is* & c*etera*

Et de viij^{s} ij^{d} cons*uete* solut*is* div*ersis* nunc*iis* & Cursorib*us* d*omi*ni Regis venient*ibus* hoc ann*o* p*er* vic*es* & apportant*ibus* maiori l*itte*ra Regis Et de xlij^{s} viij^{d} / cons*uete* dat*is* div*ersis* ministrall*is* p*er* vic*es* tam domini Regis & Principis q*uam* alio*rum* d*omi*noro*rum* ven*ientibus* usq*ue* Lenn*e* p*rout* pleni*us* in p*ar*ticul*a* s*uper* hunc comp*otu*m / p*er* maiorem inde lib*er*tat*is*

S*um*ma Xliij^{s}

...

KL/C/39/36 (1376/7)

...

ffeod*a* Soluc*iones*

...Et de xl^{s} cons*uete* solut*is* Petro Wayte Vigilatore euisd*em* co*mun*itatis p*ro* consili*o* feodo suo ... Et de viij^{s} cons*uete* solut*is* Thom*e* Bedemann*e* p*ro* cons*ilio* feodo suo...

...

Dona Nunc*iis* Ministrall*is* / & Cursorib*us* Sc*acc*a*r*ii

Et de xix^{s} viij^{d} cons*uete* solut*is* tam div*ersis* Nunc*ius* & Cursor*ibus* d*omi*ni Regis q*uam* Ep*iscop*i Norwic*i* & al*iorum* d*omi*nor*um* p*er* temp*us* hui*us* comp*oti* Ut p*atet* in p*ar*t*icula* maiore sup*er* / Comp*otu*m lib*er*tatis Et de xiij^{s} iiij^{d} solut*is* div*ersis* Nunc*iis* p*er* p*re*ceptum maioris ut patet in p*ar*ticulis Cam*erar*i*is* Et de xxxj^{s} iiij^{d} cib*is* solut*is* div*ersis* ministrall*is* tam / d*omi*ni Regis Principis q*uam* alio*rum* d*omi*nor*um* p*er* tempus huius comp*oti* p*er* manus d*ic*t*i* maioris Ut p*atet* in p*ar*tic*u*lis sup*er* comp*otu*m lib*ertatem* Et de xviij^{d} cons*uete* solut*is* div*ersis* / Ministrall*is* p*er* manus Cam*erar*i*as* ex p*re*cepto maioris ut pat*et* in s*uor*um p*ar*tic*u*lis

S*um*ma Lxv^{s} x^{d}

...

KL/C/39/37 (1377/8)

...

ffeod*a* soluc*ion*e

...Et de xl^{s} cons*uete* sol*utis* Petro Whaite p*er*vigil*atori* ville p*ro* feodo suo ... Et de viij^{s} cons*uete* sol*utis* Thome Bedemann*o* co*mun*itatis p*ro* feodo suo...

...

Dona N*u*nciis C*ur*siribus / & Ministrall*is*

Et de xv^{s} vj^{d} tam nunc*iis* q*uam* cursorib*us* d*omi*ni Regis ven*ientibus* cu*m* div*er*sis l*itte*rib*us* d*ic*t*i* d*omi*ni Regis maiori & ball*io* ... p*er* temp*us* hui*us* comp*oti* ut p*atet* in p*ar*ticulis maioris s*uper* hunc comp*otum* lib*rum* Et de

---

[39] [*sic*], 'de' is repeated.

xxvij^{s} vj^{d} cons*uete* dat di*ver*sis ministrall*is* / tam d*omi*ni Regis comit*is* Cant*ebrigge* Suff*olcie* q*uam* alio*rum* d*omi*nor*um* ven*ientibus* usq*ue* Lenn p*er* Tempus hui*us* comp*oti* ut cons*uete* p*atet* p*er* particul*a* maioris s*uper* hunc / comp*otum* lib*rum*

...

KL/C/39/38 (1379/80) [40]

...

[*ffeoda*] Soluc*ione*

...Et de xl^{s} solut*is* Petro Whaite vigil*atori* ville p*ro* cons*uete* feod*o* suo ... Et de / viij^{s} cons*uete* sol*utis* Thome Bedeman p*ro* feod*o* suo...

...

[Do]na nunc*iis* cursorib*us* & / [m]inistrall*is*

Et de xij^{d} consuete solute cuidam cursori sc*acc*ar*i*j Regis de dono maioris Et de lj^{s} iiij^{d} si*mil*i*eter* solut*is* ministrall*is* tam Regis q*uam* alio*rum* d*omi*nor*um* ven*ientibus* / usque lenn*e* hoc anno ut p*atet* in p*ar*tic*u*lis p*er* maiorem sup*er* hunc comp*otum* lib*er*atis

...

...Et de ij^{d} sol*utis* Thome Bedeman p*ro* portag*io* uni*us* su*is* miss*is*[41] p*er* vices...

...

KL/C/39/39 (1381/2)

...

ffeodor*um* Soluc*ione*

...Et de xl^{s} solut*is* Petro Whaytte vigil*atori* ville p*ro* cons*ueto* feodo suo...

...

Dona N*u*nciis cursorib*us* / Regis & Ministrall*is*

...Et de xxxviij^{s} sol*utis* tam di*ver*sis / Ministrall*is* d*omi*ni Regis q*uam* alio*rum* Comit*um* Baron*um* & d*omi*nor*um* ac Ep*iscop*i Norwic*ensi* ven*ientibus* p*er* di*ver*sas vices hoc ann*o* de dono ut pat*et* in p*ar*tic*u*lis Joh*ann*i Staimforde recept*is* de maiore

...

KL/C/39/40 (1384/5)

...

ffeod*o* sol*utis*

Et de x^{li} sol*utis* maiori p*ro* feodo suo hoc anno. Et de xl^{s} sol*utis* Thome de Morton p*ro* consu*ete* feodo suo. Et de xl^{s} sol*utis* / Rog*er*o Sailly co*munitat*i s*er*vient*us* p*ro* clava p*ro* feodo suo. Et de xl^{s} sol*utis* Petro Wayte vigil*ator*i ville p*ro* cons*uete* feodo. Et de xx^{s} / sol*utis* Ric*ard*o de Swafham janitori porte orientale p*ro* feodo suo...

...

Don*a* N*u*nciis cursorib*us* / & ministrall*is*

...Et de iij^{s} iiij^{d} sol*utis* quibusd*a*m ludent*ibus* int*er*lud*ium* die Corp*or*is *Christi* de dono Et de iij^{s} iiij^{d} sol*utis* ludent*ibus* / int*er*lud*ium* S*anc*ti Thome Martiris de don*o* maioris Et de xxvij^{s} vj^{d} sol*utis* di*ver*sor*um* *d*omin*or*um Ministrall*is* p*er* tempus hui*us* / comp*oti* ut pat*et* in p*ar*tic*u*lis Joh*ann*is Waryn Maioris sup*er* h*u*nc comp*otum* lib*ert*atis...

...

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[40] The lefthand side of the roll appears to have been damaged by rats, and the beginning of many marginal comments are missing.

[41] The middle of this line is faded and the reading is unsure.

KL/C/39/41 (1388/9)

...

ffeod*a* & soluc*iones*

Et de x^{li} solut*is* Rog*er*o Paxman maiori p*ro* feodo suo Et de xl^{s} sol*utis* Thome Morton cl*er*ico co*mun*itatis p*ro* eod*e*m Et de xl^{s} / sol*utis* Thomas de Swanton *ser*viento co*mun*itatis p*ro* clava p*ro* feodo suo Et de xxij^{s} sol*utis* vigil*atori* ville usq*ue* *festu*m C*ir*cumsic*ion*is / p*ro* eod*e*m & recerserut[42] ab offic*io* suo Et de xx^{s} sol*utis* Ric*ard*o de Swafham Janit*ori* porte orientalis...

...

...Et de xxiij^{s} x^{d} sol*utis* Ministrall*is* div*ersis* Reg*is* Regine Ducu*m* Comit*um* Baron*um* & al*iorum* d*omi*nor*um* p*er* t*empus* hui*us* compoti ut pat*ibus* in p*ar*tic*u*lis maioris sup*er* huic comp*oti* libertat*is*...

...

KL/C/39/42 (1398/9)

...

...Et de xxiij^{s} iiij^{d} de Marg*ar*eta lok p*ro* ten*emento* vocat*ur* Sp*ar*wehalls situ dimiss*is* p*ro* anni...

...

Soluc*iones* & ffeoda

...Item solut*is* Will*elm*o Wylde vigilat*ori* ville p*ro* feodo suo / p*er* anni iiij^{li}...

...

Cust*us* Necessar*ius*

[j em*ptus* j tuba][43]

...In j Trumpet em*ptum* p*ro* Will*elm*o Wylde / xiij^{s} iiij^{d}...

...

[dorso][44]

...Item rem*itto* in man*u* Will*elm*i Wylde de p*rovid*e*ntia* co*mun*itat*is* j claryon p*retium* j m*ar*cz...

...

KL/C/39/43 (1401/2)

...

Solut*iones* ffeoda

...Et Joh*ann*u*s* Juell Cl*er*ico *maioris* / p*ro* feodo suo hoc a*nn*o xl^{s} Et Will*el*mo Wilde vigill*ator* p*ro* feodo suo p*er* a*nnu*m iiij^{li} Et Will*elm*o Burton / Janitori port*arum* orient*alium* p*ro* a*nnu*m xx^{s} Et Joh*anni* Bristowe Janitori port*arum* austr*alium* p*er* a*nnu*m xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et / Steph*an*o Janitori port*as* aquilon*ium* p*er* a*nnu*m vj^{s} viij^{d}...

...

Cust*os* c*ir*ca Iustit*iarios* d*omi*ni Reg*is*

...Et de xij^{d} dat*is* Ministrall*is* suis ib*ide*m p*er* p*receptu*m *Maior*is...

...

Dona di*vers*is & Ministrall*is*

...Et de xxxix^{s} x^{d} dat*is* div*ersis* Minist*r*all*is* hoc a*nn*o ut in p*ar*cell*a* Maioris p*ro* honore d*omi*nor*um* suor*um*...

...

...Et de xij^{d} dat*is* minist*r*all*is* suis ib*ide*m p*er* p*raeceptum* maior*um*...

---

[42] The reading of this word is unsure.

[43] Given as a marginal gloss by the same scribe.

[44] On verso of the roll near the very end.

...

KL/C/39/45 (1404/5)

...

ffeod*a*

...Item in feod*o* Will*elm*i Wilde vigilator*i* ville hoc a*nn*o — iiij^{li}...

...

...Item in dono div*ersis* ministrell*is* nunci*is* & heraud*is* p*ro* honore d*omi*nor*um* suor*um* iij^{li} xix^{s} xj^{d}...

...

KL/C/39/46 (1407/8)[45]

Inde Solut*is*

...Et comp*otum* solut*is* iiij^{li} Will*el*mo Wyld*e* vigilatori Burgi lenn in plena solucc*ion*em ffeod*o* su*o* hoc anno...

...

solut*ionem*

...Item i*bid*em Thom*as* Petit orbi alloc*atis* de don*a* Ministrall*is* & heroudar*um* p*ro* p*arte* honore ^[ville] at*que* hoc a*nn*o — xxxvij^{s}...

...

KL/C/39/47 (1410/11)

...

Solut*a* & / Liber*tates*

...Et xxiij^{s} iiij^{d} solut*is* Will*elm*i Asshe/bour*n*e de ffeod*o* suo hoc anno[46] Et xiij^{s} iiij^{d} solut Will*el*mo Wyld*e* vigilatori de lenne p*er* temp*orem* / comp*oti* Et xvij^{d} solut*is* p*ro* factur*a* shuse hoc anno ... Et solut*is* Thom*e* Belman / p*ro* stipend*i* suo hoc anno...

...

P*ar*celle Joh*ann*is / Brandon M*aioris*

Item id*em* Joh*ann*es Wesenham comp*oti* ut in p*ar*cell*a* de Joh*ann*is Brandon maioris xxiij^{s} iiij^{d} / solut Will*el*mo Asshebour*n*e Cl*er*ico de ffeodo suo p*resentatio*ne Natal*is* d*omi*ni hoc anno Et ij^{s} vj^{d} / solut*is* p*ro* p*resentatio*ne Rotulor*um*lete ex*se*quis & controll*talia* panend*i* p*er* temp*orem* comp*uti* & empt*i* Et iiij^{s} vj^{d}[47] solut*is* Minstrall*is* d*omi*ni Comitis de Westmorland p*ro* p*arte* honorem ville p*er* temp*ore* comp*oti*

...

...

Solut*a* & / exp*ense*

... Et x^{d} / solut p*ro* ffeno & luto empt*is* ad id*em* p*er* temp*orem* comp*oti* Et x^{s} solut*is* Will*el*mo Wyld*e* vigilatori Burgi / circa *festi*m Corp*oris Christi* de ffeod*o* suo hoc anno...

...

KL/C/39/48 (1411/12)

...

...Et lxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} solut*is* in div*ersis* / donis Ministrall*is* div*ersorum* d*omi*nor*um* p*ro* honore ville de Lenne p*er* p*receptum* Maioris hoc anno...

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[45] The initial dating clause is missing and so this is normally listed as 1407/8? but this is substantiated through a dating clause partway through the roll.

[46] William Asshebourne was the common clerk of King's Lynn. See Dorothy M. Owen, 'William Asshebourne's Book', *NRS*, XLVIII (1981), 55-103.

[47] The Malone Society reads this as 'iij^{d}'.

...

KL/C/39/53 (1437/8)

...

Soluciones et / Expens*es*

...Et p*ro* vestur*a* vigilat*ori* hui*us* ville xiiiij^{s} Et p*ro* factur*a* et inbroude rat*io* / tog*a* dict*i* vigil*atoris* vj^{s} Item pl*egiu*m eisdem eisdem[48] vigilat*ori* p*ro* suo feod*o* xxvj^{s} viij^{d}...

...

KL/C/39/55 (1444/5)[49]

...

...Et rec*eptum* de Ric*ardo* Comber p*ro* firma dom*o* aquatus & duas pastur*as* extr*a* port*as* orien*tales* p*er* a*n*ni — xxvj^{s} viij^{d} ...

...

...Et rec*eptum* de Petro Berebrewer ten*men*ent*um* Margarete ffrank p*ro* consil*ii* casu / — x^{s} Et rec*eptum* de Nich*ol*o Smythe in le Cheker p*ro* consil*ii* casu — xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et rec*eptum* de Joh*ann*e Talz<•>or ten*ement*um Joh*ann*is Colchestyr pro consil*ii* casu — x^{s} Et rec*eptum* de Joh*ann*e Sadiller ten*ement*um Martini Wryght p*ro* consil*ii* casu — ij^{s}...

...

Exp*ens*e forincec*e*

In primis sol*utis* p*er* d*omi*n*um* computan*t* p*rec*ep*to* maioris Thome Creme Secretar*ii* Ep*iscop*i Norwicens*is* p*ro* tall*agio* levate in / S*anc*tio Rege & littere patent*e* sup*er* assignat*ion*em — xx^{li} iiij^{s} p*er* maiorem & com*un*itatem Ville lenn d*omi*no Rego / prestu*m* & d*icti* — xxv^{s} viij^{d}. Item sol*utis* p*rec*ep*to* maioris p*ro* exp*ens*is Will*elm*i Hardy & Martin Wryght equitan*tibus* usque / Rough*am* Will*elm*o Yehl*ver*ton ad h*ab*end*um* consiliu*m* suu*m* p*ro* hom*i*no existent*i* infram eccl*es*iam S*anct*a Margarete lenn qui postea / regnu*m* abuiravit — ii^{s} Et sol*utis* p*rec*ep*to* maioris p*ro* uno exp*endit*o apud taberna*m* qu*ando* maior Thom*e* Burgh*ard* Henr*ico* / Thoresby Joh*ann*es Nich*ol*asson & alii de consilio hui*us* ville fuer*u*nt ib*id*em cu*m* consilio d*omi*ni de Scales p*ro* mat*er*ia tangen*ti* / molendinu*m* de Scales — xxxj^{d} et sol*utis* p*rec*ep*to* maioris p*ro* ij lagen*e* vini dulc*is* & ii lagen*e* vini rubii eod*em* temp*ore* quo / maior fecit p*ro*missionem suam apud Geywode — xlj^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* pane eod*em* temp*ore* — iij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*rec*ep*to* maioris / Remeano hui*us* ville p*ro* igne temp*ore* yemali p*er* maiorem & consiliu*m* huic ville exp*endit*i*s* — xi^{d} Et sol*utis* p*rec*ep*to* maioris / hostii aule gilde — iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*rec*ep*to* maioris p*ro* ij salmon recen*t*ia d*imitate* p*er* maiorem & co*n*silia hui*us* ville d*omi*no de / Bardolfe — iiij^{s} viij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*rec*ep*to* maioris Rob*er*to Walsingh*am* p*ro* iiij lagen vini rubii & vini dulce dat*o* & d*icti* / eod*em* d*omi*no de Bardolfi — iiii^{d} j^{d} Et sol*utis* p*rec*ep*to* maioris p*ro* exp*ens*is iantaculi apud Taberna Margarete ffrank p*rese*nte ib*id*em d*omi*no Thoma d*omi*no / de Scales maiore Thoma Burgh*ard* Henrico Thoresby & alii de consilio hui*us* ville in omnib*us* [*tunc*] computat*ibus* — xxiiij^{s} / xiij^{d} et sol*utis* p*rec*ep*to* maioris p*ro* exp*ens*is Nich*ol*i Warner equitant*i* versus Gilb*er*tus halltoste ad h*ab*end*um* colloquiu*m* soci*um* p*ro* / certis mat*er*iis tangent*ibus* hanc villam — xij^{d} Et sol*utis* in dono maioris p*rec*ep*to* cl*er*ico Gilb*er*to haltoste — xx^{d} Et sol*utis* / p*rec*ep*to* Maioris

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[48] [*sic*], 'eisdem' is repeated.

[49] This roll is misdated by the Malone Society as 1445/6. Sections from this roll are transcribed as examples.

p*ro* ii soes s*er*uicie expendit*is* apud aulam S*anc*ti Georgij & s*anc*te Trinitate in vigil*ia* E*pi*ph*an*ie d*omi*ni ad noctem & in die s*abati* ad noctem qu*ando* ludus ostendabatur ib*idem* &c — iij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*ro* pane eodem tempore — v^{d} Et p*ro* vij^{li} candelis eod*em* t*em*pore expendit*is* — ix^{d} Et sol*utis* p*recepto* maioris p*ro* bere expendit qu*ando* Maior & alii de consilio hui*us* ville circumver*unt* villa ad viden*dum* ten*ementum* p*er*tin*enciam* com*un*itat*em* — iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* incedietat*is* exp*ensis* cene ad Aulum s*anc*ti Ge/orgii qu*ando* d*omi*na de Bardolf dedit maiori & co*n*silio hui*us* ville una*m* fera*m* in Anglic*e* A bukke — vij^{s}

...

Exp*ense* for*incece*

In primis solut*is* p*recepto* maioris p*ro* mu*n*dat*ion*e sterquilonij Apud Pagestate ex co*n*venc*ion*e facta p*er* Ric*ardu*m Cosyne — ij^{s} iiij^{d} / Et sol*utis* p*recepto* maioris p*ro* mu*n*dat*ion*e sterquilonii p*er* co*n*venc*ion*e fact*a* p*ro* Johe*n*ni Nich*ol*asson ex p*ar*te Aquilon de comen/stathe — v^{s} Et sol*utis* p*ro* mu*n*dat*ion*e sterquilon*ii* apud bulle stake ex co*n*vent*ion*e facta p*er* Thomam Burgh*ard* — v^{s} / Et sol*utis* p*recepto* maioris p*ro* mu*n*dac*ion*e sterquilonii de [*blank*] ex co*n*venc*ion*e fact*a* p*er* Wille*l*um Hardy — v^{s} Et / sol*utis* p*ro* mu*n*dat*ion*e sterquilonii de Baxterbrygge ex co*n*venc*ion*e fact*a* in grosso — ij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*recepto* maioris p*ro* mu*n*dat*ion*e / sterquilonii voc*atur* lecchour stathe xij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* mu*n*dat*ion*e Apud Purflete brygge — ij^{s} Et sol*utis* / p*ro* mundat*ion*e Sterquilonii ex p*ar*te austr*ali* de comen stathe — x^{s} viij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* m*undatione* sterquilonii in segge / ford lane — xvj^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* mu*n*dat*ion*e st*er*quilonii le comen Wille*l*mo gate subt*er* ten*enmentum* joh*ann*is curson ex con*v*enc*ion*e facta / p*er* joh*an*ni caarle — ij^{s} vj^{d} Et sol*utis* Joh*anni* Kyrton cartar*ius* p*ro* cariag*io* firma p*er* div*er*sa tempora —iij^{li} [50] j^{d} / Et sol*utis* p*recepto* maioris p*ro* fracc*ion*e pavimen*t*i erga ten*enementum* nup*er* Wille*l*mi Tapecer in Gresmarket p*ro* p*ar*te pipae aque / recent*ia* — vij^{d} Et sol*utis* Wille*l*mo Skarlet p*ro* cariage firima p*er* div*er*sa tempora — x^{s} Et sol*utis* p*recepto* maioris / p*ro* Wille*l*mo Gigell p*ro* mu*n*dat*ion*e p*ar*celle co*mmun*is felete erg*a* ten*enementum* nup*er* Wille*l*mi Wat*er*den — xx^{d} Et sol*utis* p*recepto* Maior*is* histrio*n*ibus Comitis Arundell — ij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*recepto* Maior*is* p*ro* exp*ensis* cene Henr*ici* Thoresby joh*ann*is Saliiz Joh*ann*is / Nich*ol*asson et al*ii* co*nsili*am ev*it*an*eus* apud molend*inum* d*omi*ni de Scales ad sup*er* viden*dem* ib*idem* c*etera* de*monstratione* & lez clousez in omnib*us* comput*antibus* / — iij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*recepto* Maioris Joh*anni* hornset pictori p*ro* pincc*ion*e diu*er*sor*um* vestimen*t*or*um* & ornamen*t*or*um* p*ro* ludo / temp*or*e Natal*i* d*omi*ni p*er* Maiore*m* & consiliu*m* hui*us* ville ostend*erat* &c — xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*recepto* maioris p*ro* p*ar*cella / cene apud Aulam S*anc*ti Georgii qu*ando* d*omi*na de Bardolf dedit maiori & consiolio hui*us* ville una ceram / in Anglic*e* a buk — vij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*ro* vino exp*endito* circa luseres apud Taberna*m* Margarete ffrank in die lune — xiiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* vino exp*endito* eod*em* temp*or*e quo Maior & Alii de consilio circumerit / villa*m* ad viden*dum* ten*ementum* p*er*tin*enciam* co*mun*itat*em* — xx^{d} Et sol*utis* p*recepto* Maioris loh*ann*i Newhame & [*blank*] Passhelew / & Stephano Peynt*our* pictorib*us* p*ro* pictac*ion*e diu*er*sor*um* ornamentor*um* & vestimentor*um* p*ro* ludo cora*m* d*omi*no de / Scales tempore Nat*a*lis d*omi*ni — v^{s} v^{d} ob Et sol*utis* p*recepto*

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[50] The abbreviation has been double checked and is for pounds, but given the final sum for this section it must be an error for shillings.

maioris Martino Skynner pro expensis suis eodem tempore — xviij^{d} Et solutis precepto Maioris Iohanni Clerk at Seint Nicholas & [*blank*] Gilbert informatoribus / le Mary & Gabriel cantare in dicto ludo — xx^{d} Et solutis Willielmo Barbour in Gresmarket & Ricardo Comber / ludentibus coram dicto domino in eodem ludo — xx^{d} Et solutis pro expensis Edwardo skarlet eodem tempore — ij^{s} Et solutis / precepto Maioris Iohanni Martyn filio Martini [Wright] Skynner eodem tempore — ij^{s} Et solutis pro dimidio quartera & vii / uylne de rubio velwet pro gladio maioris — iiij^{s} viij^{d} Et solutis pro factione vagine dicti gladio maioris — xiij^{d} Et solutis Petro / Goldsmyth pro factura vagine — xiij^{d} Et solutis Thomas abbot pro aldermanne pro le ˄[clousez apud] Scales in ville — xl^{d}

...

Solu*ciones*

...Et solutis Johanni Martyn Custodienti portas orientales pro feodo suo hoc anno — xl^{s}...

...

Expense fforincece

In primis solutis per donum computatem Willelmo Warcles pro x deles circa faciendem le clousez pro moldendinum domini de Scales / precium cuiuslibet pecie — xx^{d} Summa — xvj^{s} viij^{d} Et solutis pro vin pecia meremij ad faciendem ij Sweyrdes / molendine huius ville — xx^{d} Et solutis pro viij carpentario & servienti suo ibidem operantibus per j diem — xiij^{d} Et solutis / pro ij grete pynnes pro le dicto suerdis pondentis — vj libra precium libra — ij^{d} Summa — xij^{d} Et solutis viij hominibus laborantibus / ad iacendem j beme cum nona obstructa — xvj^{d} Et solutis pro le sharpyng le dicto beme — vj^{d} Et solutis pro j limbo / ad eos adiuvandem — iiij^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris Thome Creme Ballio libertate ville Lenn pro ˄[una] secta faciendi nomine / maioris Et comunitatis semel in Anno Apud le Monday halle pro tenenemento pertinencia dictis maiori & comunitati — xviij^{d} Et solutis / precepto maioris capitulis plegium secundum antiquam consuetudinem huius ville — xvii^{s} Et solutis pro pane & servicia [—qu—] expenditis / quando capitalis plegium circumerit villam pro tempore — xv^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris Afferator lete huius ville secundum / Antiquam consuetudinem — x^{s} Et solutis pro expensis[51] servicie eo tempore quo egomet & communis serviens ad clavam tuam sevamus / Ad pistores praemuniendem ut inulturavent[52] pro tuallia — vj^{d} Et solutis precepto Maioris Martino Wryght Skynner pro empcione diversorum ornamentorum pro ludo coram domino de Scales — xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris pro iii lagen vini rubii dato per / maiorem & consilum huius ville ffriari domini de le 3ouche — iij^{s} Et dato precepto Maioris Histrionibus Comitis Warrwicie / — iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et solutis pro precepto maioris pro oblacionibus dicti maioris & alii de consilio huius ville de missas pro animabus / Johannis Burghard & ab celebratione in festo Assumpcionis beatae Marie una cum tentione le torchez — iiij^{s} vj^{d} Et solutis / Almerico Trewe pro vasto de vj torchez eodem tempore — ij^{s} Et solutis Remeano huius ville circumeunti hanc villam / pro animabus praedictis — xij^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris sacriste sancte *Margarete pro* pulsacione pro animabus praedictis una cum pulsacione ad festum sancta Margarete virginis in

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[51] Partially obscured by one of Harrod's stamps.

[52] Partially obscured by one of Harrod's stamps.

libertatem huius ville — ij^{s} viij^{d} Et solutis Nichalo Smyth pro emendacione de le / spyndill molendino aquatico & de novo facto le rynge pro ponderatio in toto [*blank*] precepto libertate [*blank*] Summa — viij^{s} v^{d} / Et solutis Simoni pygot uni scabinorum gilde Sancte Trinitate lenn pro uno molario Sacerdottes ad dicti molendinum /de xv manu praedicit — xl^{s} Et solutis precepto Maioris Thome Geyan pro cranagio dicto molario una cum conducta limbi & lez portacionis — xiij^{d}

...

...Et Solutis pro iij virgae & dimidio pro / vestura Johannis Martyn de eodem panno — x^{s} vj^{d}...

...

Expense reparacionis cum alia forincece expense

In primis solutis precepto maioris per dictem computantem pro iij sparrys ad faciendem benches sperez & shelvez in j de iiij / [parvis] Rentuers in Stonegate — xviij^{d} Et solutis pro borde et clavis dictem domum — xxij^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris / carpentari ibidem operanti per iiij dies — ij^{s} Et solutis pro xij tegulis vocatis rooftylez dicti domus — xij^{d} Et solutis pro / sonde morter & tyle dicti domus — xij^{d} Et solutis pro Iron / cum clavis & iiij hokys dicti domus in stonegate [vij^{d}] Et solutis Ricardo frank[53] pro meremio ab eo emptione pro le clousez iuxta mo/lendinum domini de Scales — iiij^{s} Et solutis precepto maioris pro expensis Thome Burghard Henrici Thoresby equitancibus / usque apud Nowiciensis pro certis materis tangetibus hanc villam cum conductione equoris in omnibus computat — xxiiij^{s} / Et dato precepto maioris die lete Ricardo Baret ad habendum eius amacitia — xl^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris pro expensi unius Militis / in Anglice a frenssh Knyght existens ad hospicium apud le Belle — xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et solutis precepto Maioris Martino Wryght Skynner pro pennulacione diuersorum ornamentorum & vestimentorum pro ludo coram domino de Scales tempore Na/tali domini per Maiorem & consilium huius ville ostenso — xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et solutis precepto Maioris pro expense equorum de carectorum / cum expense de prandio de Carteris apud Mydelton tempore ludi coram domino de scales ibidem — vj^{s} iiij^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris Henrico Carter carantem fimam pro diversa tempore — lxiij^{s} iiiij^{d} Et datis precepto maioris hominibus & operantibus apud Midelton cum domini de Scales uno tempore — iij^{s} viij^{d} Et solutis pro con/ductione equorum Thome Burghard & Johannis Nicholasson equitancibus usque domino de[54] portavit ad illum / j lagenam vini &c — xx^{d} Et dato precepto Maioris histrionibus comitis Suffolcie — xl^{d} / Et solutis pro expensis mei dicti computanti una cum conductione [—equorum—] unius equi equitant usque Ryngstede ad Ricardum Baret / veniendem usque villam loquendo ibidem cum consilio domini de scales pro molendino — viij^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris pro / vino expendis tunc temporis ibidem — vj^{s} iij^{d} Et dato precepto maioris Ricardo Baret pro labori suo — vj^{s} viij^{d} Et / servienti suo — viij^{d} Et pro praebendis equorum suorum — viij^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris Thome Creme ballio libertati / ville lenn pro amerciamento diversorum honorabilium in leta hoc Anno amerciator & non possunt cenari nequam distringeri — / viij^{s} iiij^{d} Et solutis precepto maioris Johanni Geduey uni Scabinorum Gilde Sancte Trinitate lenn pro aisiamento / habito in Aula

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[53] Partially obscured by one of Harrod's stamps.

[54] No name is provided and no blank left, 'domini de Scales' is assumed.

cuisd*am* Gilde p*er* maiore*m* & co*nsili*am hui*us* ville p*er* tempus hui*us* compo*rti* videli*cet* p*er* una anno / — vj^{s} viij^{d} Et solu*is* *prec*epto maioris Will*elm*o Marche Wexcham deler p*ro* ff*ac*tura de v ho*min*ibus in nav*e* p*resentati* / d*omi*no de Scales — xxij^{d} Et solut*is* Joh*anni* Tabe p*ro* div*er*sis speciebus pisabus [^ali*is* rebus in nave] d*omi*no de Scales presentat*i* / — viij^{s} v^{d} ^{ob} Et solut*is* p*ro* vino expendit apud tabernam Rob*er*to Walsyngh*am* p*resentati* ib*ide*m maiore & al*ii* una cu*m* consilio hui*us* ville — xvj^{d}

...

...Et rec*eptum* de Johe West & Will*elm*o Disse collect*io* monete firmo in const*ablia* Martini Wryght — vj^{s}...

...

KL/C/39/56 (1447/8)

...

...Et sol*utis* Joh*anni* Martyn Custod*enti* port*as* orien*tales* p*ro* feodo suo in p*ar*te solut*is* anno / — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}...

...

...Et sol*utis* Joh*anni* Martyn port*anti* / glad*ium* maioris p*ro* feodo suo — xx^{s}...

...

In primo id*em* Thomas computans on*er*at de rec*eptum* de Martino Wright p*ro* uno ten*enemento* in Gresse / Market ad feod*um* fir*mam* sibi dimiss*is* p*ro* a*nni* — xlii^{s}...

...

KL/C/39/91 (1414/15 onwards)[55]

...

[fol. 1v.]

...Petr*o* Wayte in p*arte* Feod*is* sui*s* p*er* t*empor*is hui*us* compo*ti* — x^{s}...

...

[fol. 6.]

...Et Petr*o* Whaite in p*ar*tem feod*is* sui*s* de A*nn*o pas*so*...

...

...Et in denar*iis* cons*uete* dat*is* ij ministrall*is* d*omi*ni Princip*is* p*er* p*receptum* maioris — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}...

...

[fol. 11v.]

...Et Petro Whaite in p*ar*tem feod*is* sui*s* ad id*em* f*estum* [^Nat*ali* d*omi*ni] — x^{s}...

...

...Et Thom*e* Bedeman in p*ar*tem feod*is* sui*s* i*sto* ann*o* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}...

...

[fol. 12.]

...Et cuidam vigil*atorem* p*ro* div*er*sis p*er* noctem custod*entem* p*er* vices — viij^{d}...

...

[fol. 12v.]

...Et Petro Wayte in p*ar*tem feod*is* sui*s* die s*anct*i mich*ael*is — x^{s}...

...

[fol. 15] (1399/1400)

...Item Bedemanno p*ro* p*ro*nunciac*ione* dic*tor*um[56] Anniv*er*sar*um* — viij^{d}...

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[55] This is from an extremely illegible paper draft, only entries omitted by or incorrectly transcribed by the Malone Society are transcribed here.

...
[fol. 15v.]
...Item solutis Johanni milys Bedeman pro toto Anno pro feodo suo — viij^{s}...
...
[fol. 17v.]
...Item in feodo Willelmi Wylde Wayte per Anni — iiij^{li}...
...
...Item solutis maior ad diversas vices pro ministrallis dominorum rewardandi — cxvj^{s}...
...

KL/GD/1-33 Treasurers' Account Rolls for the Guild of Corpus Christi.[57]

KL/GD/1 (1388/9)[58]

...
Expensa solempna
In primis computant dicti thesaurarii de iiij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} solutis domino Nicholao capellano celebranti pro dicta societate per totum annum supradictum / Item solutis eidem Nicholao pro lotura vestimentorum — xvj^{d} Item pro portagio torchiorum ad exequias & missam pro anima Mathei de Tilneye[59] — / xiiij^{d} Item sacriste ecclesie sancte Margarate lenne pro campanarum pulsacione pro anima eiusdem Mathei — xij^{d} Item solutis bedemanno lenne / oranti per totam villam lenne pro anima Hugonis de Elingham — ij^{d} Item ffratribus Minoribus Lenne — xiij^{s} iiij^{d} pro ij trigintaliorum / celebranti pro animabus Hugonis de Elingham & Mathei de Tilneye — Item in papiro empto — j^{d}

Summa — Cx^{s} iiij^{d}

Expensa / facte in aula / circa opere / festi
In primis solutis Clementi pro labore suo in ecclesia circa pannos pendendo & alia opera facta — vj^{s} viij^{d} Item cuidam / Laurencio sibi famulanti — xij^{d} Item in pakthred empto — j^{d} Item pro corde empto — ij$^{d\ ob}$ Item pro Wyr — j^{d} / Item pro clavis ferri — j$^{d\ ob}$ Item in expensis dicti Clementis et famuli sui in ecclesia — iij^{d} — Item datis bedemanno / eunti per villam & oranti pro animabus sociorum mortuorum — iiij^{d} — Item solutis sacriste ecclesie pro pulsacione campanarum pro animabus antedictis — xij^{d} Item datis clericis portantibus tabernaculum & torchas in ecclesiam & abinde in aulam — xij^{d} Item datis cantori / dicto ecclesie — iij^{s} Item Ade clerico pro feodo suo — vj^{s} viij^{d} Item eidem Ade pro certificato facto in cancellariam / domini Regis — iij^{s} iiij^{d} Item datis menestrallis universis existentibus tempore festi — xvj^{s} iij^{d} summa xxxix^{s} x^{d}[60] / Item in expensis in aula factis tempore festi — In primis in ciphis emptis v^{d} Item in mundacione aule j^{d} Item in cirpis emptis ad aulam — iiij^{d} — Item in vino videlicet / viij lagenis iiij^{s} j^{d} — Item pro caseo empto

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[56] Roger Paxman.
[57] Large portions of these accounts are transcribed to give the contextual information necessary for a variety of readings of the changes and developments of the feast and procession over the next century. Normally the accounts were rendered on the Feast of Corpus Christi, prepared from rough drafts of each of the treasurer's accounts. These are the first extant accounts of the Guild of Corpus Christi which was founded in 1349, the accounts start in 1388/9.
[58] A fresh transcription of these parts of this document is edited here and contains minor differences to the one prepared by Owen, pp. 317-9.
[59] Probably Tilney All Saints, just outside of Lynn.
[60] This is the *summa* for the above provided within the text of the paragraph.

— iiij$^{d\ ob}$ — Item in den*ariis* dat*is* d*omi*no Joh*anni* de Barsham — xij^{d} / Item in feod*o* Joh*anni*s Maynard Chaundeller p*ro* errecc*ione* hercie & tab*er*nac*u*li & custu l*umin*is p*er* a*nnu*m — L^{s}

Su*mm*a — iv^{li} xviiij^{s} x$^{d\ ob}$

...

KL/GD/2 (1392/3)

...

Custus ec*cles*ia altar*i* / & tab*er*nac*u*la soc*ietatis*

Et de xij^{s} ij^{d} sol*utis* Barsham st*e*ynou*r*[61] & fam*u*lis suis tam p*ro* fac*t*ura q*ua* p*re*parac*ione* cuiusdam altar*e* in eccl*es*ia / s*anc*te Marg*arete* ad sup*ratac*tus d*ic*te societ*atis* ordinat*is* Et de vj^{s} viij^{d} sol*utis* Joh*anni* Jornemuth p*ro* panag*ia* c*ir*ca d*ictum* / altar*e* Et de xviij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* j lig*atur*ie ad d*ictum* altar*e* emp*to* Et de xij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* gymes ad d*ictum* altar*e* / Et de viij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* j cerure[62] cu*m* ij clavib*us* ad altar*e* p*redictum* Et de iiij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* anul*o* & platas ad id*em* Et / de viij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* cerure & platis ad armariol*am* d*ic*ti altar*is* Et de v^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* stoklok ib*idem* ut p*atet* in p*ar*ticul*a* / Joh*ann*is Prentys p*redic*ti s*upe*r compo*ti* lib*ro* Et de ix^{s} sol*utis* Joh*anni* de Brunham p*ro* v iij q*uarter* vij l*ibris* feri ab eod*em* emp*to* p*ro* / liolt*er*[63] & al*iis* vitariis ad id*em* tab*er*nac*ulum* fac*t*is ut p*atet* in p*ar*ticul*a* Thome de Sontechal*e* s*upe*r hac compo*ti* lib*rum* Et de / iiij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* j polan*o* ad id*em* ut p*atet* in p*ar*ticul*a* eiusd*em* Et de vj^{s} j^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* x Rigold tam p*ro* selur*a* d*ic*ti / tab*er*nac*u*li q*ua* al*iis* inde fact*is* ad id*em* q*ua* al*iis* ut p*atet* in p*ar*ticul*a* Joh*ann*is de Laginghicth s*upe*ro hunc compo*ti* lib*ro* Et de xvj^{d} / sol*utis* p*ro* poleyn*o* ad id*em* ut in p*ar*ticul*a* eiusd*em* Et de vj$^{d\ ob}$ sol*utis* p*ro* sarrac*ione* tabul*arum* p*redic*ar*um* ut p*atet* in p*ar*ticul*a* / eiusd*em* Et de xxij$^{d\ ob}$ sol*utis* p*ro* ix Waynescotes ad id*em* Et de xvj^{s} sol*utis* cuidam fabric*atione* tam p*ro* / op*e*re ferr*o* p*redic*ti q*ua* al*ia* ad d*ictum* tab*er*nac*ulum* p*ro* / compo*to* secu*tione* fac*itur*em ut p*atet* in p*ar*ticul*a* eiusd*em* Joh*ann*is Et de viij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* / iiij^{or} lanceis ad Celur*am* desup*er* corpus *Christ*i deferendo in f*est*o p*redic*to Et de iij^{s} iiij^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* say[64] ad celur*am* p*redic*tam / Et de v^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* clav*is* ad id*em* tab*er*nac*ulum* Et de xxx^{s} vj^{d} sol*utis* Garsham<•••••>t[65] op*e*rantib*us* s*upe*r tab*er*nac*ulum* ut / pat*et* in ij p*ar*ticul*a* p*redic*ti Joh*ann*is Laginghith s*upe*ro compo*ti* lib*rum* ...[66] Et de xv^{d} sol*utis* p*ro* clav*is* pakthred & ali*is* ad id*em* ut p*atet* in ij p*ar*ticul*a* eiusd*em* Joh*ann*is Et de iiij^{d} / sol*utis* Joh*anni* filo Will*elm*i Steynour p*ro* suo labore d*ic*ta celur*am* & tab*er*nac*ulum* ut sic*ut* p*atet* in eiusd*em* p*ar*ticul*a* Et de j^{d} / sol*utis* p*ro* portag*io* p*er* t*em*p*orem* p*redictum* ut sic*ut* pat*et*

Su*mm*a — D vij^{s} x^{d}

...

Dona Ministrall*is*

Et de vj^{s} viij^{d} sol*utis* ij Ministrall*is* d*omi*ni de Morle.ex convenc*ione* consueta causa d*ic*ti f*est*i Et de xvj^{d} sol*utis* exp*e*nsis / suor*um* p*er* id*em* t*em*p*orem* Et de viij^{d} sol*utis* cuidam harpo*ur* [sic*ut* ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Joh*ann*is Pr*e*ntys s*upe*ro

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[61] There is some difficulty in reading this word.

[62] From '*sera*', lock.

[63] There is some difficulty in reading this and the preceding line.

[64] From '*sagum*', 'say', woollen material.

[65] Unreadable, but ends with a 't'.

[66] Two lines are not edited here because of illegibility — a large waterspot obscures the text, but it contains payments to carpenters, for cord, etc.

compoti librum][67] Et de x^{s} solutis / ij Ministrallis comitis Warwichie sicut Et de vj^{s} viiij^{d} solutis cuidam Stowe & socio suo Ministrallis Et de ij^{s} / solutis Ministrallis societatis Lenne de consueta dona causa eiusdem festum[68] [ut patet in particula Johannis de Laginghith <••••>/ liberatis][69]

Summa xxvij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

KL/GD/3 (1400/1)

...

Dati Ministrallis

Et solutis diversis ministrallis ministrationem facientibus in dicto festo & in octabo ut in particula dicti Thome Ploket xj^{s} Et sicut solutis eisdem ut in / particula Thome Trussebut civij vj^{s} viij^{d} [solut s[70] Willelmo Wilde vigilatori ville pro labore suo xviij^{s} iiij^{d}][71]

Summa — xxix^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Custus Necessariorum

Et solutis Henrico Martyne clerico dicte societatis per annum x^{s} Et in ij vermylione emptis iij^{s} Et in ij duodenum goldefoile emptis / ij^{s} Et in j duodenum sylverfoile emptis viij^{d} Et in oleo & coperese emptis x^{d} Et in portagio torcharum usque ecclesiam iiij^{d} Et in parvum / clavis & pacthred emptis iiij^{d} ut in particula predicti Thome Ploket Et Clementi decano dicte societatis per annum x^{s} Et sacriste / ecclesie sancte Margarete pro pulsacione in dicto festo & Octabo eiusdem xij^{d} Et bedemanno ville pro labore suo tam pro anno precedente quam / pro Anno instante xvj^{d} Et clericis ecclesis sancte Maragarete cantanto in dicto festo pro labore suo iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et Johanni Steynour pro labore suo circa tabernaculum iij^{s} iiij^{d} — ut in particula predicti Thome Trussbut

Summa — xxxvj^{s} ij^{d}

...

KL/GD/4 (1401/2)

...

Dati Ministrallis

Et solutis iij Ministrallis facientibus ministrationem in dicto festo & in Octabo eiusdem ut in particula Radulphi de Bedyngham vij^{s} Et Roberto / Trumper & sociis suis iij^{s} Et cuidam ffydeler sicut pro labore suo ut in particula Ade Waryne supra dicti xij^{d}

...

Custus Necessariorum

Et Henrico martyne pro factura compoti cum ceteris laboribus hoc anno x^{s} Et Clementi Decanus dicte societatis pro anno x^{s} Et Johanni Steynour / pro labore suo circa tabernaculum iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et Sacriste ecclesie sancte Margarete pro pulsacione in dicto festo & in octabo eiusdem xij^{d} Et / Bedemanno ville pro labore suo hoc anno viij^{d} Et ffratribus Minoribus lenne pro celebranti unius trigentalli pro anima Johannis de Hardyngham / unius consorcione vj^{s} ut in particula Radulphi de Bedyngham supra dicti Et pro vestimentorum

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[67] The Malone Society does not edit this.

[68] Malone Society somehow notes '*festuij' for 'festu˜ here expanded as 'festum'.

[69] The Malone Society does not edit this.

[70] There is no *Et* to introduce this payment.

[71] The Malone Society does not edit this.

locione ij^{s} vj^{d} Et pro clavis et pacthred v^{d} Et pro / emendacione de le canape xij^{d} Item pro cirpis & cervisia xiiij^{d} ut in particula Ade Waryne supradicti

Summa — xxxiiij^{s} ix^{d}

...

KL/GD/5 (1402/3)

...

Dati Ministrallis

Et solutis diversis Ministrallis opus suum in dicto festo ibidem facientibus x^{s} [ut in particula Ade Waryne supra dicti Et Willelmo Wylde vigilatori / ville pro labore suo tam in dicto festo quam in Octabo eiusdem pro ij Anno vj^{s} viij^{d}][72] ut in particula Radulphi supradicti Et aliis diversis ministrallis / ibidem interessentibus vj^{s} viij^{d} ut in particula eiusdem Radulphi

Summa xxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Custus Necessariorum

Et Henrico Martyne pro factura huius compoti ac ceteris laboribus suis hoc anno diversis temporibus x^{s} Et Clementi Decano dicte Societatis per annum / x^{s} Et in pulsacione ac tenura torcharum ad anniversariam Johannis hardynghām capellanni xiiij^{d} Et in uno tropario empto iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et sacriste / ecclesie sancte margarete pro pulsacione in dicto festo & Octabo eiusdem xij^{d} Et Bedemanno ville pro pronunciacione sua circa villam viij^{d} Et Johanni / Steynour pro emendacione tabernaculi iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et in ij petra de lichinis emptis iij^{s} vj^{d} ut in particula Radulphi supradicti Et in vermylione empto / iij^{s} Et in oleo empto iiij^{d} Et in bernys & coperose emptis iiij^{d} Et Johanni Burden pro emendacione tabernaculi xiij^{d} Et in focali empto vij^{d} / Et in Goldefoile empto x^{d} Et in portagio tabernaculi & torcharum x^{d} Et in cirpis & pacthred emptis [—vij^{d}—] ix^{d} Et in mundacione caij j^{d} / Et Willelmo Coupere pro traccacione j pipe vini vj^{d} ut in particula Ade supradicti Et in vini pro celebranti missarum & aliis expensis per capellam ibidem iij^{s} / ut in particula eiusdem Ade

Summa — xlv^{s} iiij^{d}

...

KL/GD/6 (1403/4)

...

Dati Ministrallis

Et solutis diversis Ministrallis opus suum in dicto festo ibidem facientibus viij^{s} viij^{d} [Et Willelmo Wylde vigilatori ville pro labore suo Anno / preterito iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et eidem Willelmo pro labore suo anno presenti vj^{s} viij^{d} ut in particulis Willelmi Hunderpond sicut apperet][73]

Summa xviij^{s} viij^{d}

...

Necessariorum Custus

Et solutis henrico martyne pro factura huius compoti ac ceteris laboribus suis hoc Anno xiij^{s} viij^{d} Et Clementi Decano dicte societatis / per annum x^{s} Et in ij plankes emptis ad emendacionem ciste[74] x^{s} Et in clavis & pacthred emptis

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[72] The Malone Society does not edit this.

[73] The Malone Society does not edit this.

[74] Whether these *ciste* are simply chests, or coffins is unknown. If the latter there might be some relation to the *tabernaculum*.

cu*m* vad*io* uni*us* op*erat*o*ris* ib*ide*m viij^{d} Et in cirp*is* / empt*is* iij^{d} Et in ceco p*ro* labore suo in coquina v^{s} Et in p*or*tag*io* sillur[75] ult*r*a tab*er*nac*u*l*u*m viij^{d} Et bedemanno ville p*ro* labore suo / circa villa viij^{d} Et sacriste eccl*es*ie s*anc*te Margarete p*ro* pulsac*ion*e in d*ic*to f*est*o & in Octab*o* eiusd*e*m xij^{d} Et Cl*er*icis eiusd*e*m / eccl*es*ie p*ro* labore suo iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et Joh*ann*i Steyno*ur* labore suo circa tab*er*nac*u*l*u*m iij^{s} viij^{d} ut in compo*te* Will*el*mi Lok patet

S*um*m*a* xxxix^{s} v^{d}

...

KL/GD/7 (1404/5)

...

Custus necessariorum[76]

Et solut*is* he*nrico* martyne p*ro* factur*a* & feodo suo xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et Clementi Decano d*ic*te societatis hoc Anno x^{s} Et / Bedemanno ville p*ro* labore suo viij^{d} Et sac*ri*ste eccl*es*ie s*anc*te Margarete p*ro* pulsac*ion*e in d*ic*to f*est*o & in octab*o* xij^{d} Et Joh*ann*i / Steyno*ur* p*ro* labore suo xx^{d} Et cl*er*icis eccl*es*ie s*anc*te Margarete simi*liter*iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et in suscitac*ion*e hercie iij^{d} Et in p*or*tag*io* / panno deauro ult*r*a eand*em* viij^{d} Et in pakthred emp*to* j^{d} Et in tax*a* d*omi*ni Regis ij^{s} vj^{d} [Et Will*el*mo Wylde ministr*allo* hoc anno / p*ro* labore suo vj^{s} viij^{d}][77] Et cuidam citharizanti ib*ide*m iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et in repe*r*ac*ion*e dom*us* ubi Sissor maner*io* in fronte caij ij^{s} / vj^{d} Et in emendac*ion*e hostij & fenestre in celar*io* & solar*ia* in Joh*ann*is Hame ib*ide*m xiiij^{d}

S*um*ma xlvij^{s} ij^{d}

...

KL/GD/8 (1405/6)

...

Resolut*us* redd*it*us

Et d*omi*no Ep*isicop*o Norwicenc*is* p*ro* ten*enti* corp*or*is *Christi* cu*m* caio iacent*ibus* in vico vocat*ur* le Cheker p*er* annu*m* iij^{s} x^{d}

...

Cust*us* necessariorum

Et in clij lbs cere empt*is* p*ro* torch*is* inde faciend*o* ad usu*m* societat*is* Lxxiiij^{s} viij^{d} Et in clav*is* & ij clav*is* / empt*is* x^{d} ob Et in tax*a* d*omi*ni Regis xij^{d} Et Clementi decano iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et in mundac*ion*e caij ix^{d} ut / in p*ar*ticul*a* Thom*e* Ploket Et in tax*a* d*omi*ni R*egis* xij^{d} Et henr*ico* Martyne xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et clementi vj^{s} viij^{d} / Et in camic*a* empt*is* ad Altare viij^{d} Et in Pacthred j^{d} Et in loc*ion*e sup*er*pell*em* u*num* vij^{d} Et in j clave p*ro* p*re*sbite*r*o ij^{d} / Et in p*or*tag*io* panni ult*r*a herc*ie* viij^{d} Et div*er*sis Ministr*allis* in f*est*o & octab*o* xj^{s} viij^{d} [Et Will*el*mo Wylde / vj^{s} viij^{d}][78] Et sac*ri*ste s*anc*te margar*ete* p*ro* pulsac*ion*e xij^{d} Et Bedemanno ville viij^{d} Et in croco vj^{d} Et in / oleo vermylon*e* & foile ij^{s} ij^{d} Et Steph*an*o Steyno*ur* vj^{d} Et Joh*ann*i Steyno*ur* p*ro* anno ultim*o* xx^{d} — ut in p*ar*ticul*a* / Joh*ann*is lakynghithe Et in una petra lichin*o* emp*to* ij^{s} iij^{d}

S*um*ma vj^{li} xj^{s} iij^{d} ob

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KL/GD/9 (1407/8)

...

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[75] From '*celum*', canopy.

[76] No *Dati Ministrallis* sections are found henceforth, and all such payments are recorded in the *Custus Necessariorum* sections.

[77] The Malone Society does not edit this.

[78] The Malone Society does not edit this.

Necessar*iorum* Custus

Id*em* computatores soluerunt p*ro* clxxiiij lb*s* cere emp*tis* prec*io* l*i*b*ram* v^{d} q*ua* S*um*ma iiij^{li} vij^{d} Et p*ro* factura / eiusd*em* cere vij^{s} Et in goldefoile emp*tis* x^{d} Et in j l*i*b*ra* vermylon*e* emp*to* xxj^{d} Et in oleo emp*to* iiij^{d} / Et in lichino emp*to* xx^{d} Et d*omi*no E*piscopo* p*er* man*um* Roger*i* Pyttes p*ro* redditu iij^{s} x^{d} Et p*ro* cirp*is* emp*tis* iij^{d} ^{ob} Et / ministrallo d*omi*ni de Beaufort iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et uni*us* citherizanti viij^{d} Et in j Waynscot*e* emp*to* Et in clav*is* / emp*tis* j^{d} ^{ob} Et in vad*iis* uni*us* carpentar*ii* & j tegul*arii* v^{d} Et in emend*acione* j cer*e* & ij hostior*um* xiiij^{d} Et in vadiis / Henr*ico* martyne xiiij^{s} iiij^{d} ut in p*ar*ticula Will*elm*i hunder*p*ond evident*ia* patet Et Joh*anni* chandeler / p*ro* sustentac*ion*e lum*in*is l^{s} Et una cera emendic*ion*e uni*us* hostij & clav*is* xv^{d} Et in c*er*visia exp*ens*a circa / deposic*ion*em hercie vij^{d} Et in clav*is* emp*tis* ad id*em* ij^{d} Et in vadiis uni*us* carpentari ib*id*em xij^{d} [Et Will*elm*o / Wilde p*ro* labore suo vj^{s} viij^{d}][79] Et Clementi Decano p*ro* labore suo x^{s} Et in heng*el*es & hokes emp*tis* x^{d} Et / Walt*er*o Chaundeler p*ro* labore suo circa herciam x^{d} ^{ob} Et sacriste eccl*es*ie s*anct*e margarete p*ro* pulsac*ion*e xij^{d} / Et in vadiis cocor*um* ij^{s} viij^{d} Et in vino exp*ens*o p*er* capell*a*m in celebr*anti* missar*um* viij^{d} Ut in p*ar*ticulis / Ric*ard*i Denby evident*ia* appar*et*

S*um*ma ix^{li} xj^{s} iij^{d} ^{ob}

...

KL/GD/10 (1409/10)

...

Necessariorum Custus

Et d*omi*no E*pisci*po p*ro* redd*it*u suo p*er* annu*m* iij^{s} x^{d} Et in cxxxvij lb*s* cere empt*is* lxij^{s} j^{d} Et in fac*tur*a / xviij torch*as* vj^{s} viij^{d} Et in lichino emp*to* ad id*em* iiij^{s} vj^{d} Et in foyle emp*to* xij^{d} Et in situac*ion*e / hercie & sustentac*ion*e l*umin*is xlv^{s} Et in don*a* ministrall*is* x^{s} viij^{d} Et in emendic*ione* coop*er*torij ult*r*a herc*iam* / emp*tis* ij^{s} iij^{d} Et in emedac*ion*e tab*er*nac*u*li iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et in feod*o* Will*elm*i decani x^{s} Et in j l*i*b*ra* cu*m* / uno quarter*is* fili emp*tis* cu*m* factur*a* ij^{s} x^{d} Et in c*er*visi*a* exp*ens*a in pulsac*ione* iij^{d} ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Thom*e* / Abnale p*redic*ti pleni*us* app*ar*et

S*um*ma vij^{li} xiij^{s} vj^{d}

...

KL/GD/11 (1410/11)

...

Cust*us* Necessar*iorum*

Et D*omi*no E*pisco*po Norwic*ensis* p*ro* redd*it*u suo p*er* annu*m* iij^{s} x^{d} Et in cera emp*tis* cu*m* fac*tur*a eiusd*em* in torch*is* xx^{s} / x^{d} Et in sustentac*ion*e lum*in*is & hercie l^{s} Et sacriste p*ro* pulsac*ion*e p*ro* ij ann*is* ij^{s} Et conventu*m* ord*inatibus* p*re*dicat*ibus* / p*ro* sustent*acione* ij ser*e* ardenciu*m* cor*am* su*m*mo altar*i* ib*id*em p*er* annu*m* xij^{s} Et Henr*ico* Martyne p*ro* feodo suo p*er* ij annu*m* xxvj^{s} / viij^{d} ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Thome Ploket Et in vadiis Will*elm*i hirdeler decani x^{s} Et in c*er*visi*a* expens*a* in pulsac*ione* iij^{d} / Et in vad*iis* ministr*allis* ib*id*em vij^{s} Et bedemanno ville iij^{d} ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Thome Abnale

S*um*ma vj^{li} xij^{s} xj^{d}

...

KL/GD/12 (1412/13)

...

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[79] The Malone Society does not edit this.

Custus Necessar*iorum*

Id*em* computatores soluerunt sacr*i*ste eccl*es*ie s*anc*te margar*ete* p*ro* pulsac*ione* p*ro* a*nim*a d*omi*ni Regis xiiij^{d} Et in cera exp*ensa* / ad id*em* iij^{s} viij^{d} Et in pane & c*er*visia ad id*em* vj^{d} Et in tenur*a* torch*as* ad id*em* xij^{d} Et in don*a* ministall*is* / ad d*ictum* f*estum* ib*idem* vij^{s} vj^{d} Et in p*ortag*io h*er*cie usq*ue* ad eccl*es*iam & econv*er*so xvj^{d} Et Bedemanno ville tam p*ro* / labore suo q*uam* p*ro* custod*ienti* porte vj^{d} Et f*ratrib*us p*redicat*ibus* lenn*e* p*ro* sustentac*ione* ij cera ardent*em* cora*m* su*mmo* altar*i* / ib*idem* p*er* a*nnum* xij^{s} Et in feodo decani p*er* a*nnum* x^{s} Et Sac*r*iste eccl*es*ie p*redict*e p*ro* pulsac*ione* in octab*o* f*esti* p*redicti* xiiij^{d} Et / in sustentac*ione* h*er*cie & l*um*in*is* ib*idem* xlvj^{s} viij^{d} Et in p*ortag*io h*er*cie circa villa*m* viij^{d} Et cera cu*m* factur*a* in / torches xx^{s} viij^{d} ut in p*ar*ticulis Joh*ann*is lakynghithe Et sol*utis* p*ro* tax*a* d*omi*ni Regis iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et in pane & / vino exp*enso* in exeq*uia* d*omi*ni Regis iij^{s} ij^{d} Et Bedemanno Ville ij^{d} Et sacr*is*te cappelle s*anc*ti nich*ola*i p*ro* pulsac*ione* / p*ro* rege henr*ico* xij^{d} Et in vad*iis* uni*us* carpentar*ii* & uni*us* tegulat*oris* cu*m* ij pec*ia* m*er*emij emp*tis* cu*m* clav*is* ad id*em* xxij^{d} / Et d*omi*no E*pisco*po p*ro* redd*itu* suo ad f*estu*m Pasche xxiij^{d} [Et in don*a* ministr*allis* ib*idem* vij^{s} vj^{d}]^{80} Et in cera cu*m* / f*act*ura in torches xx^{s} viij^{d} Et in vad*iis* uni*us* carpentarii repar*anti* herciam iij^{s} iij^{d} Et in vad*iis* h*enrico* martyne xiij^{s} iij^{d} ut in p*ar*ticulis Rad*ulph*i Bedyngh*am*

Su*m*ma viij^{li} iij^{s} j^{d}

...

KL/GD/13 (1425/6)

...

Custus Necesar*iorum*

Et in viij torch*is* ponder*ates* vj petras de petra iiij^{s} viij^{d} s*um*ma xxx^{s} iiij^{d} Et Amory Chaundeler p*ro* / sustentac*ione* l*um*in*is* circa herci*am* p*er* a*nnum* l^{s} Et Will*elm*o hirdeler deccano p*ro* feod*is* suis p*er* a*nnum* x^{s} iiij^{d} Et dat*is* / E*pisco*po p*ro* redd*itu* suo p*er* a*nnum* iij^{s} x^{d} Et in una serur*a* pendile iiij^{d} Et in una coop*er*tur*a* nov*a* p*ro* missal*e* / ij^{s} j^{d} Et in emendac*ione* uni*us* albe vj^{d} Et in emend*acione* panni circa tab*er*nac*ulum* iiij^{d} Et f*ratribus* / p*redicat* lenn*e* p*ro* sustentac*ione* ij cer*as* ardentem su*mmo* altar*i* ib*idem* ib*idem*^{81} p*er* a*nnum* xij^{s} ut in compo*to* / d*icti* Joh*ann*is evident*ur* testa*men*to

Su*m*ma Cix^{s} v^{d}

Su*m*ma^{82} om*n*i solut*is* & exp*ensa* huis compo*ti* — xvij^{li} xix^{s} ix^{d} ^{ob} — Et sic debenta d*icte* / societat*is* p*er* d*ict*os thesaur*os* — iiij^{li} xiij^{s} — videl*icet* de T*home* Salesbury lxxij^{s} xj^{d} ^{ob} de J*ohannis* / Bryghtyeve xx^{s} ^{ob} — Et ult*imus* rec*eptum* est sup*er* scr*ipt*um in d*icte* claus*a* compo*ti* ut p*atet* p*er* memor*an*d*um* / ix^{li} ix^{s} ij^{d} — Et quib*us* mag*ist*ro p*ro* feod*is* suis xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et H*enrico* Martyn cl*er*ico xiij^{s} iiij^{d} [Et iiij / ministrall*is* ib*idem* inter*essent*ib*us* in die f*esti* & in Octab*o* xv^{s} iiij^{d}]^{83} Et Belasys sic*ut* x^{s} Et cl*eric*is S*anc*te Marg*arete* / & S*anc*ti Nich*ola*i vj^{s} viij^{d} Et in pulsac*ione* ij^{s} Et Bedemanis iiij^{d} Et cust*odienti* port*is* iiij^{d} Et p*ro* salciamen*to* vj^{d} ^{ob} Et J*ohanni* smyth p*ro* labore suo xij^{d} Et in regardo p*ro* peaut*ris* vessell*is* xx^{d} s*um*ma lxiiij^{s} iij^{d} ^{ob} / Et rem*anent* vj^{li} iiij^{s} x^{d} ^{ob} Et quib*us* in man*ibus* T*home* Salesbury iiij^{li} iiij^{s} x^{d} ^{ob}

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80 The Malone Society does not edit this.

81 'ib*idem*' is repeated.

82 This section follows immediately after the previous one with no additional marginal gloss.

83 The Malone Society does not edit this.

cum *Johanno* Bryghteve xl^{s} [84]

...

KL/GD/14 (1427/8)

...

Custus Necessar*iorum*

Et in Cv lib*ris* & di*midio* cer*a* prec*ium* Ciiij^{li} xviij^{d} s*um*ma iiij^{li} v^{s} x^{d} Et in factur*a* dict*i* cer*am* in xij / torch*as* iiij^{s} ix^{d} Et Almerico Chaundeler p*ro* sustentac*ione* l*u*min*is* c*irc*a herciam p*er* a*nnu*m L^{s} Et vj trumpo*u*res / ib*ide*m int*er*essent*ibus* in die festi & i*n* Oct*abo* x^{s} [.iiij^{d}] Et in j Ston*e* Weyke*s* p*ro* torch*is* faciend*is* ij^{s} Et Will*el*mo Hirdeler / decano p*ro* feod*is* suis p*er* annu*m* x^{s} Et f*rat*rib*us* p*redict*is* Lenn*e* p*ro* sustentac*ionis* ij cer*as* ardent*em* / summo altari ib*ide*m p*er* annu*m* xij^{s} ut in p*ar*ticul*a* p*redicti* Will*elm*i Et trib*us* fistulatorib*us* in die / festi ib*ide*m int*er*essentib*us* ix^{s} Et d*omi*no E*pisco*po Norwic*ensis* p*ro* Redd*itu* iij^{s} x^{d} Et Joh*anni* Belleman custod*ienti* / portas & eunti p*er* villam p*ro* oracione defun*ctor*u*m* viij^{d} Et sacriste Eccl*es*ie S*anc*te Margarete celebrant*i* p*er* Oct*abum* / sub tab*er*nacula xx^{d} Et cl*er*icis eiusd*em* eccl*es*ie vj^{s} vij^{d} Et cl*er*ico S*anc*te Nich*ol*ai xx^{d} Et d*omi*no / Ric*ard*o Salesbury p*ro* divers*is* ocupac*ionibus* xx^{d} Et Rico cl*er*ico / p*er* annu*m* vj^{s} viij^{d} Et in pulsac*ione* campanor*um* p*ro* defunct*is* xx^{d} ut in p*ar*ticull*a* p*redicti* Thome

S*um*ma x^{li} [—xviij^{s}—] xxj^{d}

...

KL/GD/15 (1428/9)

...

Nec*ces*saria cu*m* / aliis custag*iis*

Et in clav*is* empt*is* iij^{d} ^{ob} Et in vj uln*is* panni linei p*ro* le Steyned Clothis ligand*i* prec*ium* ulne v^{d} s*um*ma ij^{s} vj^{d} Et in / ffrenge p*ro* le takkys in ligatur*a* ij^{s} j^{d} Et in j lib*ra* candel de cera j^{d} Et in pulsac*ione* campa*narum* cu*m* pan*e* & cervis*ia* ij^{s} / Et in locac*ione* de peutre vessell*is* xx^{d} Et in Redd*itu* solut*is* d*omi*no E*pisco*po Norwicens*is* iij^{s} x^{d} It*em* solut*is* ad taxam de le meyers bryyge / v^{s} Et in custag*ia* de j Writte p*ro* knappok ij^{s} iij^{d} It*em* ff*rat*rib*us* p*redict*ibus* lenn*e* p*ro* sustentac*ione* ij luminis c*irc*a herciam L^{s} Et Joh*anni* Belleman eunti p*er* villam p*ro* p*rec*ib*us* mortuor*um* & custodient*i* / portas viij^{d} Et p*ro* vj torch*is* de nov*a* fact*ura* ponder*ates* Lxxx lib*ras* & dimid*io* prec*io* lib*ra* v^{d} s*um*ma xxxiij^{s} viij^{d} Et in p*er*cameno / empt*o* p*ro* compot*o* scribend*o* iiij^{d} Et in lavac*ione* vest*imentorum* iij^{d} It*em* p*ro* crounyng de j bolle ij^{d}

S*um*ma v^{li} xvj^{s} ix^{d} ^{ob}

feod*is* cu*m* / vad*iis*

Et in vad*io* mag*ist*ri p*er* a*nnu*m xiij^{s} iiij^{d} It*em* iiij mynstrall*is* xx^{s} Et in vad*io* Will*elm*i Cook iij^{s} iij^{d} Et p*ro* ij mulier*ibus* adiuvant*ibus* / in coqu*in*a xj^{d} Et Thome skorell p*ro* divers*is* occupac*ionibus* viij^{d} It*em* cl*er*ico p*er* a*nnu*m vj^{s} viij^{d} Et Will*el*mo Hyrdeler decano p*er* a*nnu*m x^{s} / It*em* cl*er*icis S*anc*te Margarete ij^{s} Et cl*er*icis S*anc*ti Nich*ol*ai xx^{d} Et d*omi*no Ric*ard*o Salesbury xx^{d} Et ff*rat*ru*m*[85] leche xij^{d}

S*um*ma lxj^{s} iiij^{d}

...

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[84] The *summa* is incorporated in the last statement.

[85] The reading of this word is uncertain, another (unlikely) possibility being 'ffr*ium*' for 'lechefrium'. The 'r' is superimposed upon another letter.

KL/GD/16 (1429/30)

...

Repe*rac*i*one* domor*um* & / hercie in eccl*es*ia[86]

In rep*ara*c*ione* domor*um* Et in prim*is* solut*is* p*ro* m*e*remio empt*o* p*ro* hercia in eccl*es*ia rep*ar*and*o* vj[d] Et divers*is* n*e*cc*ess*ar*ia* de ferr*o* ad id*e*m iij[s] Et p*ro* clav*is* empt*is* ad id*e*m xiiij[d][87] / Et p*ro* Glew empt*o* ad id*e*m iiij[d] Et in portag*io* hercie ex*tr*a eccl*es*iam infra quandam domu ad op*e*rand*um* vj[d] Et in locacione d*ic*t*e* dom*us* iiij[d] Et in stipend*io* ij carpentar*ii* / op*e*rant*i* ib*id*em p*er* v dies & dimid*ium* & capien*s* p*er* diem xij[d] s*um*ma v[s] xj[d ob] Et in pictinac*ione* p*re*dict*i* herc*ie* xviij[s] iiij[d] ...[88] Et p*ro* ij sparrys empt*is* p*ro* scalis inde faciend*o* p*ro* herc*ia* in eccl*es*ia cum fact*ura* dict*e* scal*is* iij[s] v[d] ut in p*ar*cell*a* / sup*r*ad*ict*i Will*elm*i

S*um*ma iiij[li] iiij[s] iiij[d]

Resolut*o* Redd*itu*[89]

Et in Redd*itu* resolut*o* d*omi*no E*pisco*po Norwicen*sis* p*er* a*nnu*m iij[s] x[d] Et ff*rat*rib*us* p*re*dict*ibus* lenn*e* p*ro* sustentac*ione* ij luminis de cera in eccl*es*ia sua p*er* a*nnu*m xij[s] Et Almerico Chaundeler / p*ro* sustentac*ione* luminis c*ir*ca herciam in eccl*es*ia p*er* diem fest*um* & in oct*abo* L[s] ut in p*ar*ticul*a* *Johannis* *W*e*syngham*

...

Necessar*iorum* cu*m* / Alijs custage

Et solut*is* p*ro* scabell*is* fact*uris* ante altar*i* in eccl*es*ia xiij[d] Et solut*is* ad [—qu*i*d—] tax*am* p*ro* ten*emento* iij[s] iiij[d] Et in p*er*cameno p*ro* compot*o* & memorand*is* faciend*is* ij[d] / Et Joh*anni* Belleman custodient*i* portas & eunti p*er* villam p*ro* p*re*cib*us* mortuor*um* h*ab*end*is* viij[d] Et in pulsac*ione* campan*arum* in eccl*es*ia p*ro* defunct*is* cu*m* pan*e* ij[s] j[d] Et in / clav*is* expen*sis* in aula & in eccl*es*ia iiij[d] Et in emendac*ione* de le Drynell in Caio iiij[d] ut in p*ar*cell*a* *Johanni* *W*e*synham* Et in amerciam*entis* sol*utis* p*ro* paviam*entis* fract*is* erga ten*emento* / ij[s] viij[d] Et in lavac*ione* vestimen*torum* ij[d] Et p*ro* j Keye ij[d] ut in p*ar*ticul*a* *W*i*llelmi* *B*e*dyngham*

S*um*ma xj[s] ix[d]

ffeod*is* cu*m* vad*iis*

Et in feod*is* mag*ist*ri p*er* a*nnu*m xiiij[s] iiij[d] ut in p*ar*cell*a* *W*i*llelmi* *B*e*dyngham* Et in vad*iis* Walteri Trumpour cu*m* ij soc*iis* ib*id*em inter*e*ssen*tibus* in die fest*i* & in oct*abo* die ix[s] Et in vad*iis* Will*elm*i hirdeler decani p*er* annu*m* x[s] Et in vad*iis* Ric*ard*i cl*er*ici p*er* a*nnu*m vj[s] viij[d] Et solut*is* d*omi*no Petro celebrant*i* sub tab*er*naclo p*er* xv dies ij[s] viij[d] Et / cl*er*icis S*anc*t*e* Margarete iij[s] iiij[d] Et Ade Walpol ib*id*em cl*er*ico xij[d] Et Rob*er*to Sely cl*er*ico S*anct*i Nich*ol*ai ib*id*em inter*e*ssent*ibus* in die fest*i* d*omi*ni xij[d] ut in p*ar*cel*a* / *Johannis* *W*e*syngham*

S*um*ma xlvij[s]

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[86] Harrod's nineteenth century note underneath this marginal division shows a confusion (that he demonstrates in a number of mistranslations throughout the archives) with 'hercie' which he omits to translate.

[87] The pence sign is supplied in comparison to other payments for nails. The original sign, if provided, is illegible at the right most, damaged, edge of the roll.

[88] Ellipsis of payments relating solely to house repairs.

[89] These sections continue in basically the same format throughout the guild accounts, and invariably contain payments to the Bishop, and for the keeping of the lights around the hearse. This one is edited as an example.

...

KL/GD/17 (1430/1)

...

ffeod*is* cu*m* / vad*iis*

Et in feod*is* mag*ist*ri p*er* a*nnu*m xiij^{s} iij^{d} p*er* Will*elmu*m Bedyngham Et in vad*iis* iiij Trumpours ib*ide*m inte*r*essen*tibus* in die festi xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et in vad*iis* ij fistulat*orum* in oct*abo* die iij^{s} [90] Et in feod*is* Ric*ardi* cle*r*ici p*er* annu*m* vj^{s} viij^{d} Et Will*elm*i hurdeler p*er* a*nnu*m x^{s} Et in vad*iis* Will*elm*i Cook / p*ro* oct*abo* die ij^{s} ut in p*ar*cell*a* Joh*ann*is Wesyngham

S*um*ma xlviij^{s} iiij^{d}

fforinc*ece* / Custag*ia*

Et solut Joh*ann*i Belleman custod*ienti* portas & eunt*i* p*er* villam p*ro* p*re*cib*us* mortuor*um* h*abe*nd*ibus* viij^{d} Et in pulsac*ione* campan*arii* ij^{s} Et Will*elm*o Benyngton / Capellus celebrant*i* sub tab*er*naculo p*er* oct*avum* xx^{d} Et xvj sacerdot*ibus* p*or*tant*i* tab*er*nac*ul*um cu*m* sac*r*amento p*er* villam iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et cl*er*icis eccl*es*ie / S*anct*e Margarete iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et Adam Walpoll ib*ide*m xij^{d} Et in regard*o* p*ro* peautre vessell*is* xij^{d} Et Sely cl*er*ico S*anct*i Nich*ol*ai xij^{d} / Et in p*er*cameno empto p*ro* compoto & memorand*is* faciend*is* ij^{d}

S*um*ma xiij^{s} ij^{d}

...

KL/GD/18 (1431/2)

...

Custag*ia* ex*ter*ior

Et in pulsac*ione* campan*arum* p*ro* f*rat*rib*us* defunct*is* cu*m* pan*is* & cervis*ia* ij^{s} iiij^{d} p*er* / Ric*ardu*m Lechour Et Joh*ann*i Belleman custodient*i* portas & eunt*i* p*er* villam p*ro* p*re*cib*us* mortuor*um* h*abe*nd*ibus* viij^{d} Et xvj sacerdotib*us* portant*i* tab*er*nac*ul*um cu*m* sac*r*amento p*er* villam iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et Will*elm*o / Benyngton Capellus celebrant*i* sub tab*er*naculo p*er* xv dies ij^{s} Et cl*er*icis eccl*es*ie S*anct*e margarete iij^{s} iiij^{d} p*er* Joh*ann*em Wesyngham

S*um*ma xj^{s} viij^{d}

ffeod*is* cu*m* vad*iis*

Et in feod*is* mag*ist*ri p*er* annu*m* xiij^{s} iiij^{d} It*em* Cl*er*ico p*er* annu*m* vj^{s} viij^{d} It*em* decano p*er* annu*m* x^{s} It*em* in vad*iis* de iiij mynstrell*is* / d*omi*ni Ducis Norff*olcensis* ib*ide*m inte*r*essent*ibus* in die festi x^{s} It*em* in vad*iis* de le Waytes de lenn p*ro* die festi & in oct*abo* die iiij^{s} Et in vad*iis* / Will*elm*i Cook ib*ide*m inte*r*essent*ibus* in oct*abo* die t*em*p*ore* xx^{d} p*er* Joh*ann*em Wesynham

S*um*ma xlv^{s} viij^{d}

...

KL/GD/19 (1432/3)

...

Necessar*iorum* cu*m* / aliis custag*iis*

Et in pulsac*ione* campan*arum* p*ro* f*rat*rib*us* defunct*is* ij^{s} p*er* Ric*ardu*m lechour Et sol*utis* Joh*ann*i Belleman eunti p*er* villam p*ro* / p*re*cib*us* mortuor*um* h*abe*nd*ibus* & custodienti portas viij^{d} Et xvj sacerdot*ibus* portant*i* tab*er*nac*ul*um cu*m* sac*r*amento p*er* villam iij^{s} iiij^{d} [91] Et Will*elm*o Benygton

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[90] The Malone Society misedits 'fistulat*orum*' as 'fistulator*um*'.

[91] The Malone Society does edit this and the later payment for the carrying of the canopy, but it has failed to edit payments such as this before now since there are numerous mentions starting with KL/GD/1.

Capell*a*no celebrant*i* sub taberna*c*ulo p*er* octo dies ij^{s} Et cl*e*ricis / s*anc*te margarete iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et p*ro* portagio de le Syllour[92] supra tab*er*nac*ulu*m iiij^{d} [p*er* Joh*ann*em Wesyngham][93]

S*um*ma xj^{s} viij^{d}

ffeod*is* cu*m* / vad*iis*

Et in feod*is* mag*istr*i p*er* annu*m* xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et in feod*is* decani p*er* annu*m* x^{s} Et in feod*is* cl*e*rici p*er* annu*m* / vj^{s} viij^{d} Et in vad*iis* tri*u*m fistulator*um* ib*ide*m inter*e*ssent*ium* in die ffest*i* & in Oct*abo* die vij^{s} Et in vad*iis* Will*elm*i / Cook ij^{s} Et p*ro* ij mulier*ibus* adiuvant*ibus* in coquina vj^{d} ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Joh*ann*is Wesyngham

S*um*ma xxxix^{s} vj^{d}

...

KL/GD/20 (1434/5)

...

Repera*c*i*one* domor*um* cu*m* / aliis necessar*iorum*

...[94] Item p*ro* Awterclothes fact*ura* & Rydell*o* in eccl*esia* de / virid*o* fico xvj^{d} Item p*ro* cuttyng de le Boltys tabernaculi viij^{d} Item p*ro* j / hanging lok iij^{d} Item p*ro* emendac*ione* de iij lokkys & p*ro* una nova clave vj^{d} / Item p*ro* v elne[95] panni linei p*ro* awterclothes iij^{s} iiij^{d} Item p*ro* candel*a* cere ardent*em* / sup*er* altare iiij^{d} Item p*ro* spikyng empt*is* iij^{d} Item in divers*is* nayll*is* empt*is* xx^{d} / Item p*ro* j laborer p*er* x dies iij^{s} ix^{d} Item p*ro* mundac*ione* fenestr*a* vicr*ea* in eccl*es*ia viij^{d} Item in lavac*ione* de table clothes iij^{d} p*er* Will*elmu*m Wythe

S*um*ma ix^{li} xli^{s} v^{d}

...

ffeod*is* cu*m* Vad*iis* ac / aliis expens*a*

Et in Vad*iis* iiij mynstrell*is* *ibide*m inter*e*ssent*ibus* in die gen*er*ali xij^{s} p*er* Robertu*m* / Brandon Item in Vad*iis* Will*elm*i hirdeler decani p*er* a*nnu*m x^{s} Item in vad*iis* de ij mynst*allis* / in oct*abo* die xx^{d} Item in vad*iis* coci cum ser*vien*t*ibus* ij^{s} Item sol*utis* Joh*ann*i Belleman / custodient*i* portas & eunt*i* p*er* villam p*ro* precib*us* mortuor*um* h*ab*end*is* viij^{d} Item p*ro* / pulsac*ione* campan*arum* p*ro* defunct*is* ij^{s} Item sol*utis* Ric*ard*o Salesbury Capell*an*us celebrant*i* / sub tab*er*naculo p*er* viij dies xx^{d} It*em* cl*e*ricis s*anc*te margarete xl^{d} Item Ade / Walpoll xij^{d} ut in p*ar*ticul*a* Will*elm*i Wythe

S*um*ma v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

KL/GD/21 (1437/8)

...

[ff]est*u*m / cust*us* Hospic*ii*

Item Idem Joh*ann*es Pygotte sol*utis* in Octavis ffesti in carnib*us* bovinis iij^{s} ij^{d} Item p*ro* ij caponib*us* viij^{d} Et p*ro* iij caponib*us* / de Joh*ann*e Beckham xviij^{d} Et j capone & p*ro* j herensewe de Will*elm*o Coke x^{d} Et Solut*is* p*ro* xx pull*is* ij^{s} ij^{d} Item p*ro* / carnib*us* ovinis & vitulinis iij^{s} Item sol*utis* p*ro* spec*ibus* ij^{s} ij^{d} Et Sol*utis* p*ro* j cent*o* ovor*um* vij^{d} ob Et p*ro* bunys vj^{d} Item / solut*is* Will*elm*o Coke & coadiu*a*torib*us* suis ij^{s} Et sol*utis* Remeanno viij^{d} Et sacriste [eccl*esie*] s*anc*te margarete p*ro* pulsac*ione* xviij^{d} / Et solut*is* Will*elm*o

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[92] The Malone Society mistranscribes this as 'Syllom' and yet notes it as a canopy. The correct transcription of 'Syllour' strengthens this, as it is a known variant of '*celum*' meaning 'canopy', (cf. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin WordList*, p. 79).

[93] The Malone Society does not edit this.

[94] Ellipsis of payments relating solely to house repairs.

[95] From '*ulna*', A measure of length, ell.

hyrdeler decano p*ro* salareo suo p*er* a*nn*um x^{s} Et Joh*an*ni Whyte clerico p*ro* salareo suo p*er* a*nn*um vj^{s} viij^{d} Et / Solut*is* Ric*ard*o Salesbury cap*ell*ano celebrant*i* subt*us* tabernac*ulu*m infra oct*abo* ij^{s} Item solut*is* clerico eccl*esie* S*ancte* Margarete xiij^{s} / Item Ade Walpole iiij^{s} Item solut*is* uni monaco cu*m* suo adiutore p*ro* organ*is* ij^{s} Et solut*is* histr*i*onib*us* ville lenne iiij^{s} / Item solut*is* in die ffesti corp*or*is *Christ*i p*ro* xiiij lagenis vini Et in Octav*o* p*ro* viij lagenis p*reciu*m uni*us* lagene x^{d} s*um*ma xviij^{s}

S*um*ma vj^{li} v^{d}

Cust*us*

Item Joh*an*nes Assheden sol*utis* p*ro* jantac*u*lo facto p*ro* xxiiij p*er*sonar*um* ville lenn*e* ad domu*m* Margarete ffranke xxiiij^{s} [96] / Item id*em* joh*an*nes sol*utis* p*ro* iij sooes bone servecie & ij sooes mediocre servicie viij^{s} Et sol*utis* j capone & v pull*is* x^{d}

S*um*m*a* xxxij^{s} x^{d}

...

KL/GD/22 (1438/9)

...

Expense

Et idem Joh*an*nes Assheden sol*utis* pro Jantac*u*lo facto p*ro* xxiiij Jurat*is* ville lenn*e* ad hospic*ium* margarete ffrank — xxiiij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*ro* iij Sooe / bone sirvac*ie* & p*ro* ij sooesse mediocr*is* sirvac*ie* viij^{s} in ffesto Corp*or*is *Christ*i & i*n* Octav*o* expendit Item sol*utis* p*ro* j Capone & v pullis expendit / tu*n*c ib*idem* x^{d}

S*um*ma — xxxij^{s} x^{d}

...

Cust*us* hospit*ii*

Idem Joh*an*nes sol*utis* p*ro* j q*uarta* frumenti x^{s} viij^{d} Et p*ro* moll*i* ei*usdem* frumenti iiij^{d} Et solut*is* Walt*er*o dalham p*ro* bunnes v^{s} vj^{d} / Silic*et* sol*utis* Joh*an*ni Saltwyn pistori p*ro* bunnes xij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* carnib*us* bovinis & ovinis xiij^{s} vij^{d} Et s*olutis* p*ro* vj duodenis pulle / vij^{s} Et p*ro* j pek avene ij^{d} Item p*ro* cirpis vj^{d} Et s*olutis* p*ro* cancris vj^{d} Silic*et* p*ro* j warpe pissis salsi xij^{d} Et p*ro* makrelle x^{d} / Et sol*utis* p*ro* cirphis iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* dim*idio* unc*ia* croci vij^{d} Item s*olutis* p*ro* buschell salis p*ro* sinapio vino eg*er*o & p*ro* veriuse viij^{d} / Et sol*utis* in festo corp*or*is *Christ*i p*ro* v tubatorib*us* x^{s} iiij^{d} / Idem joh*an*nes pygotte s*olutis* in Oct*abo* die cor*por*is *Christ*i p*ro* carnib*us* bovinis iij^{s} ij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* ij caponib*us* viij^{d} Et p*ro* iij caponib*us* de Joh*an*ne Bekham xviij^{d} Et p*ro* capone & j herynsewe de will*el*mo coke x^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* xx pull*is* ij^{s} ij^{d} Et s*olutis* p*ro* carnib*us* ovinis & / vitulinis iiij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*ro* spec*ibus* ij^{s} ij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j C*ento* ovor*um* vij^{d} [ob] Et p*ro* bunys vj^{d} Et s*olutis* Will*el*mo Cooke & coadiu*at*o/ribus suis ij^{s} Et sol*utis* Remeanno viij^{d} Et sacriste eccl*esie* s*ancte* margarete p*ro* pulsac*ione* xviij^{d}

ffeoda

Joh*an*nes Karyn mag*ist*ri recepit p*ro* feodo suo xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et Joh*an*nes pygotte sol*utis* Will*el*mo hyrdeler decano p*ro* salareo suo p*er* a*nnu*m x^{s} / Et s*olutis* Joh*ann*i Qhyte cler*ico* p*ro* salareo suo p*er* a*nnu*m vj^{s} viij^{d} Et Ric*ard*o

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[96] This breakfast was most likely the meal for the city's council of 'Twenty Four'. A similar payment appears sporadically through the accounts. Margaret Frank is known to have owned an inn or tavern, and taken on her own apprentices. She is mentioned throughout the records of this period, and her establishment was to have been frequented by both civic dignitaries and actors (cf. KL/C/39/55).

Salesbury capellano celebranti subtus tabernaculum infra Octabo ij^{s} Et solutis / clericis sancte Margarete iij^{s} iiij^{d} Et Adem Walpole iiij^{d} Et solutis uni monaco cum suo adiutore pro organis ij^{s} Et solutis hystrionibus / ville lenne iij^{s} Et solutis in die ffesti Corporis *Christi* pro xiiij lagenis vini precium unius lagene x^{d} summa xvj/^{s} iiij^{d} Et solutis pro ij lagenis vini domine Cometisse Exonie xx^{d} Et pro vino ij^{d}

Custus hercia

Solutis Almerico Trecke pro hercia cum torches xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et almericus allocatum de debito introiti sui xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Summa summi solutis per Johannis pygotte — xv^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[dorse]

...Item unum palleum cum iiij valenciis / de rubeo panno de auro de damaske proferrendo supra Tabernaculum in festo corporis *Christi*...[97]

...

KL/GD/23 (1439/40)[98]
KL/GD/24 (1441/2)
KL/GD/25 (1442/5)
KL/GD/26 (1444/5)

...

Expensa facta

In primis solutis pro j comba frumenti empto erga festum corporis hoc anno — ij^{s} j^{d} Et solutis pro le / gryndyng & bakyng — vj^{d} Et solutis pro uno salmone empto — xviij^{d} Et solutis pro duobus / pisabus salsis — x^{d} Et solutis pro xx^{ti} makerell — x^{d} Et solutis pro xxiiij allecia vocatur makerell / heryng — xij^{d} Et solutis pro ij <•> Welkis — v^{d} Et solutis pro pisebus vocatur crabbis & crebeis / — xij^{d} Et solutis pro uni croppis & ij roondis de carnibus bovinis — vij^{s} ix^{d} Et solutis pro iij loynes / & ij rackys carnibus ovinis — xv^{d} Et solutis pro vj doseni & iiij pullis — vj^{s} ix^{d} Et solutis pro / iiij pekkes de ordeo — ij^{d} ob Et solutis pro herbage — viij^{d} Et solutis pro j uncea de saferone — ix^{d} / Et solutis iij trumpouris — ix^{s} Et j harpour — xvj^{d} Et solutis Offord trumpour — xij^{d} Et solutis pro russez — iiij^{d} ob Et solutis pro hamis ad pendendum le clothez in gilde aula — j^{d} ob / Et solutis pro clavatione le clothez in ye rooffe circa tabernaculum — j^{d} ob Et solutis pro pakke threde le dicti / clothez — j^{d} Et solutis pro dimidio comba frumenti erga Octabo corporis *Christi* — xiij^{d} Et solutis pro le / gryndyng & bakyng — iij^{d} Et solutis pro iij soes & j bolle servisie — v^{s} Et solutis pro wastello /

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[97] This is in the midst of a partially legible inventory of ecclesiastical garments on the dorse. The Malone Society reads 'palleum' as 'pall<i>um' and 'supra' as 'super'. Harrod gives a partial translation of what was legible in the late nineteenth century: "One principal vestment of red cloth of gold with albe, amite, apparel, stole, fanon, and zone; another good vestment of red velvet with garters of blue, with albe amite, stole, fanon, and zone; and another red vestment with roses, with apparels of shields, albe, amite, stole, and zone; and another vestment, ancient, with two albes, two amites, two stoles two fanons and two zones; also one white vestment (ancient) with albe, amite, apparel, fanon, and zone for feast days; also three corporas cases with three corporals; also one pall with three valents of red damask cloth of gold for bearing above the tabernacle in the feast of Corpus Christi; also one surplice with sleeves and two altar towels of diaper of ancient date; also one good chalice of gilt weighing —." H Harrod, *Report on the Deeds & Records of the Borough of King's Lynn*, 2 vols (King's Lynn: Thew & Son, 1874), p. 34.

[98] KL/GD/23-25 are partial (draft?) accounts of only one treasurer, John Carle. They mostly contain *Redditu Assile*, and hence contain no payments for dramatic activity.

— ij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j barell de bere — xx^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* loc*ione* mapparum & al*iis* rerum — iiij^{d} Et / sol*utis* p*ro* j tynte salis — iij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j libra candell*arum* — j^{d} q[99] Et sol*utis* p*ro* j quarte de mustard*o* — j^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j quarte de verious — j^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j potell de veneger — ij^{d} ob / Et sol*utis* p*ro* v capon*is* — j^{s} xx^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* iiij marybones — iiij^{d} ob Et sol*utis* p*ro* dimid*io* cento / ov*is* — ij^{d} ob Et sol*utis* p*ro* ij pigg*es* — xvj^{d} Et sol*utis* — xvj^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* vj aucis — ij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*ro* q*ua*rtio libr*a* / peper*is* — ij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j libr*a* dat*es* iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* dimid*io* libr*a* de reysyng corannce — ij^{d} / Et sol*utis* p*ro* ij libr*a* amigdal*e* — vj^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* una unc*ia* de Saunderis — j^{d} ob Et sol*utis* / p*ro* j pynte hony — j^{d} ob Et sol*utis* p*ro* j unc*ia* de clower — iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* dimid*io* libr*a* de gynger & sinamon — xij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j potell de creme — ij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* segge — j^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* lambe / & veelle — xiij^{d} ob Et sol*utis* p*ro* ij dosen*i* & dimid*io* <••••••> — xij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* lymnyg / writyng ^[de] nom*in*ib*us* fr*atr*um in libro gilde — v^{d} Et sol*utis* fr*atr*ib*us* pr*e*dicat*ibus* lenne lenne antiqua*m* / cons*uetudinem* — xij^{s} Et sol*utis* Thome Eton collect*ione* redd*itu* d*omi*ni E*pisco*pi Norwicens*is* ^[p*ro* redd*itu* assile] usque f*estu*m nativit*atis* / S*anc*ti Joh*ann*is Bapt*iste* hoc A*nno* scil*icet* xxiij — iij^{s} x^{d} Et sol*utis* coco & secu*m* laboratib*us* p*ro* eor*um* laboribu*s* — ij^{s} vj^{d} Et sol*utis* le belman circume*un*ti villam p*ro* a*nim*ab*us* a*nno* — viij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* pulsac*ione* — xxviij^{d} / Et sol*utis* p*ro* ovis — j^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* focali — j^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* vyneger — j^{d} Et sol*utis* Ric*ard*o Salisbery cap*ellan*o celebranti / subt*us* tab*er*nac*ulum* p*er* totas Octab*as* — ij^{s} [Et sol*utis* Benet barbo*ur* garpour ev*entio* ad eccl*es*iam cu*m* cithara — xij[^^{d}]][100] / Et sol*utis* p*ro* x lagen vini p*rec*i*um* lagen — vj^{d} s*um*ma v^{s} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j potel*lo* vini rubii iiij^{d}

S*um*ma iiij^{li} ix^{s} viij^{d} ob

...

KL/GD/27 (1446/7)

...

Exp*ens*a

In p*ri*mis solut*is* p*er* d*ictu*m Simonem Pygot p*ro* j comb*a* fr*ument*i cu*m* le bakyng & gryndyng — iij^{s} vj^{d} Et / p*ro* iiij soes bone s*er*visie & j soe tenuis s*er*visie vij^{s} Et p*ro* j barell de small bere — xx^{d} Et / Et[101] p*ro* carn*ibus* ovin*is* & bov*inis* empt*is* p*er* div*ersas* p*ar*cell*as* — viij^{s} vj^{d} ob Et p*ro* duodeno pull*is* — viij^{s} j^{d} / Et p*ro* pistib*us* salsis — v^{d} Et p*ro* iiij[^or] tenchez — xj^{d} Et p*ro* makerell — vj^{d} Et p*ro* crabbys — iiij^{d} Et p*ro* wilkys — ij^{d} Et p*ro* segge — ij^{d} Et p*ro* turbys — iij^{d} Et p*ro* russhis — iiij^{d} Et p*ro* saferon*a* & pep*er* — ij^{d} Et p*ro* / p*ar*sely — j^{d} ob Et p*ro* veneger mustard*o* vergeons & onyons — ij^{d} ob Et p*ro* ordeo — j^{d} ob Et p*ro* / j motte de coles — iiij^{d} Et p*ro* j quarter focal*i* — iiij^{d}

S*um*ma xxxiij^{s} ij^{d}

Exp*ens*a in / Octab*o*

In p*ri*mis p*ro* uno bussel fr*ument*i cu*m* bakyng — x^{d} Et p*ro* j soe s*er*visie xviij^{d} Et p*ro* vj aucis xx^{d} Et / p*ro* j dosen*i* chekons xviij^{d} Et p*ro* iij porcell*is* xvj^{d} Et p*ro* vj marybones vj^{d} Et p*ro* ^[c] ovis v^{d} / Et p*ro* dates ij^{d} Et p*ro* reysynge*s* j^{d} ob Et p*ro* saferon*a* j^{d} Et p*ro* creme & mylk v^{d} Et p*ro* j / mette

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[99] The 'q' is an abbreviated 'q*uandrans*', farthing.

[100] The Malone Society does not edit this payment.

[101] [*sic*], 'Et' is repeated.

colys iiij^{d} Et p*ro* segge j^{d} Et p*ro* conduct*ione* ij doseni panni rub*ei* iiij^{d} Et sol*utis fratribus* p*re*dicat*ibus* / eodem antiqua*m* cons*uetudinem* — xij^{s} Et ^[sacriste] p*ro* pulsac*ione* xxviij^{d} Et p*ro* coco & s*er*vien*tes* ij^{s} vj^{d} Et sol*utis* / Remeano ville viij^{d} Et Ric*ardo* Salisbery cap*ellano* celebranti subtus tab*er*naculu*m* p*er* totas Octab*a* ij^{s} Et sol*utis* iij mynstrell*is* ij harpou*ris* j pip*er* j taberer xj^{s} Et p*ro* floure viij^{d} Et / p*ro* tenc*ione* torchetar*ium* vj^{d} Et rob*er*to Walsyngham p*ro* v galon & j potell vini xliiij^{d} Et / Simoni Pygot p*ro* iij lagen*is* vini un*i* q*uod* dat*i* pore lenn*e* ij^{s} Et sol*utis* collect*ione* E*pisco*pi Nor*wicensis* p*ro* / redd*itu* ^[ten*mento*] a retro exist*entia* p*er* ij a*nn*os — vij^{s} viij^{d}

S*um*ma Lviij^{s} iij^{d} ob

...

...[102] Et sol*utis* Joh*ann*i Robynson p*ro* xvj li*bris* de Weyke / xxviij^{d} Et sol*utis* Will*elm*o Martyn Wexchaundeler p*ro* le Werkmanship / xvij^{s} iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* ij carpentar*is* p*ro* capc*ione* deorsu*m* & sursu*m* sublevac*ione* tab*er*nac*ulum* / ex convenc*ione* fact*o* in grosso — viij^{s} Et sol*utis* p*ro* clav*is* — viij^{d} Et sol*utis* Steph*an*o Smyth / p*ro* brod*eraria* dic*to* tab*er*nac*u*lo — vj^{d} Et sol*utis* le Grabour p*ro* emendac*ione* dic*ti* tab*er*nac*u*li xxxiiij^{d} / Et sol*utis* p*ro* le gildyng dic*ti* tab*er*nac*u*li — v^{s}...

...

KL/GD/28 (1446/8)

...

Exp*ensa* ff*esti* / in die

In p*ri*mis q*uid*am comput*ans* solver*ant* p*ro* j comb*a* fr*ument*i cu*m* le Bakyng & gryndyng — iij^{s} I*tem* p*ro* ij soes bone s*er*visie & / j soe tenuis s*er*visie — iiij^{s} in pist*ibus* salsis — vij^{d} ob In dentricib*us* — xv^{d} It*em* in crabbes — vij^{d} It*em* in / makerell — ix^{d} In carn*ibus* bovin*is* & ovin*is* vj^{s} — ij^{d} ob It*em* in v doseni & di*midio* pull*is* — v^{s} vj^{d} It*em* in wastell*o* / — ij^{s} It*em* in turbis — iij^{d} It*em* p*ro* uno mette colis — iiij^{d} It*em* p*ro* uno q*uarter* de Astell*a* — x^{d} It*em* p*ro* sinapiso — j^{d} / It*em* p*ro* vergeons — j^{d} It*em* p*ro* vyneger — ij^{d} It*em* in pep*er* & saferon*a* — ij^{d} It*em* in h*er*bag*io* — ij^{d} It*em* p*ro* una uncis / de saferon*a* — ix^{d}

S*um*ma xxvj^{s} viij^{d} ob

Exp*ensa* Ad / Octab*um*

In p*ri*mis p*ro* carn*ibus* bovin*is* & marybones — ix^{d} ob It*em* p*ro* aucis xxviij^{d} It*em* p*ro* iij porcell*is* xviij^{d} / It*em* p*ro* ij duoden*is* colimb*ris* — xij^{d} It*em* p*ro* j dosen*i* & di*midio* pull*is* — xxj^{d} It*em* p*ro* hony — ij^{d} It*em* p*ro* c ovis — v^{d} It*em* p*ro* / j li*bra* de reysyng*is* of coraniis — iiij^{d} It*em* p*ro* clowes & mases — ij^{d} It*em* in segge — ij^{d} It*em* in pane — viij^{d} It*em* / p*ro* j soe bone s*er*visie xviij^{d} It*em* in j barell de bere — xx^{d} It*em* p*ro* j pekke de ffloure — vj^{d} It*em* p*ro* cirp*is* — iiij^{d} It*em* p*ro* milke & creme — iiij^{d} ob It*em* p*ro* iij lagen*is* & di*midio* vini — ij^{s} iiij^{d} It*em* p*ro* iiij mynstrell*is* xiij^{s} iij^{d} / It*em* p*ro* j turpour — xiij^{d} It*em* sol*utis* collect*ione* redd*itu* E*pisco*po Nor*wicensis* p*ro* redd*itu* p*er*tinen*tia* societati corp*o*ris *Christi* — iij^{s} x^{d} / It*em* conduct*ione* iiij doseni vessell*es* xij^{d} It*em* coco & s*er*vien*tibus* suis — ij^{s} vj^{d} It*em* p*ro* butiro — j^{d} It*em* p*ro* pulsac*ione* / sacriste s*ancte* margarete — ij^{s} It*em* p*ro* tenc*ione* torchear*um* — vj^{d} It*em* le belman — viij^{d} It*em* Ric*ardo* Salisbery / capell*ano* — ij^{s}

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102 These payments are from a final unlabelled section added after the final *Summa*.

Summa xlij^{s} x^{d}

...

KL/GD/29a (1450/1)[103]

...

Expensa festo / Corporum *Christi*[104]

In primis pro ij busshelles frumenti — xx^{d} pro Gryndyng — j^{d} pro bultyng & bakyng — iiij^{d} / Item pro Beeff & moton — iij^{s} ix^{d} pro iiij doseni checkonys — iiij^{s} iij^{d} pro pane pistoris — xviiij / pro j tynte salis — iij^{d} pro j tynte ordei pro chekonnys — j$^{d\ ob}$ pro un ownce croci — ix^{d} pro / Sinapiso & Veriouse — j^{d} pro segge — j^{d} pro torbys — j^{d} pro C Belet — xx^{d} pro cirpis — iij$^{d\ ob}$ / Item pro iij soes servicie optime — iiij^{s} vj^{d} pro j soe smale ale — viij^{d} pro dimidio barell dubille / Bere — xvj^{d} pro dimidio Barell small Bere — x^{d} Et pro lavacione de naprye — ij^{d} In / Octabo Corporis *Christi* pro j bushell frumenti — x^{d} pro Gryndyng — ^{ob} pro bultyng & bakyng — ij^{d} pro Baxter brede — xij^{d} pro Beeff — xv^{d} pro xij chekons — xiij^{d} pro iiij pigges — ij^{s} pro v caponis / — xxv^{d} pro uno capona vij^{d} pro lambe — ix^{d} pro pearious — xij^{d} pro Rabett — ij^{s} pro powdir / lumbard & peper — iij^{d} pro butiro & pakthrede — ij$^{d\ ob}$ pro vynegir — j$^{d\ ob}$ pro stemele — ^{ob} / Item pro vino — xxx^{d} pro stipendio coci — ij^{s} vj^{d} pro le cornour — iij^{d} Et solutis histrionibus — / —[105] xvj^{s} viij^{d} Item pro ij busshelles colys v^{d} pro dimidio C Belet — x^{d} pro ij Garnysch vesseles viij^{d} & pro ij [ac] turbis — ij^{d}

Summa lix^{s} viij^{d}

...

KL/GD/29b (1451/2)

Expensa

In Primis solutis pro dimidio comba frumenti cum le bakyng et Gryndyng — xxvj^{d} Et solutis pro ij soes bone cervisie — iij bolles / tenuis cervisie — iiij^{s} vj^{d} Et solutis pro pane wastell — ij^{s} Et solutis pro j barell de bere — xx^{d} Et solutis pro v / caponis xx^{d} Et solutis pro butiro et creme — x^{d} Et solutis pro j doseni et dimidio columbis — viij^{d} Et solutis pro C ovis / v^{d} Et solutis pro floure — vj^{d} Et solutis pro v pyggys — xxv^{d} Et solutis pro j tynte de barly — ij^{d} Et solutis Roberto / Abnale collectione redditu domini Episcopi Norwicensis pro redditu et cetera — iij^{s} x^{d} Et solutis le trumpoures — iiij^{s} Et solutis pro conductione le vesselles — xij^{d} Et solutis harpoures et ij luteres — ij^{s}

Summa xxxvj^{s}

...

expensa

In primis solutis per dictum computans pro carnibus bovinis et ovinis a festo corporis *Christi* expensa — iij^{s} ix$^{d\ ob}$ / Et solutis carnibus bovinis et ovinis in octabo corporis *Christi* — xiij$^{d\ ob}$ Et solutis pro saferona — x^{d} Et solutis pro ij / Busselles frumenti una cum le gryndyng et bakyng — xxvj^{d} Et solutis pro turbe et Segge — vij^{d} Et solutis / pro colys — iiij^{d} Et solutis pro iij caponis —xij^{d} Et solutis pro sale — iiij^{d} Et solutis pro mustardo vergeons — v^{d} / Et

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[103] The Malone Society lables KL/GD/29a as KL/GD/29b and vice versa.

[104] Expenses in this roll, and specifically this section, are grouped together by having an 'Item' or 'Et' for the first payment of the group, but not those that follow it. While there is some correspondence of the types of materials or services being accounted for, it is more likely that the relationship between the items of the individual groups is temporal or administrative in nature.

[105] The original contains a dash at the edge of the roll, and then again on the next line.

sol*utis* p*ro* porc*acione* tab*er*nac*u*li — iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* gynger & cynamoni — ij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* pip*er* j q*u*arte*r* j li*bra* — / ij^{d} ^{ob} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j q*u*arte*r* clowes et maces — viij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* ij li*bris* de grete reysynge*s* — iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j / q*u*arte de hony — iij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* otemele j^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* coco & *s*er*v*ien*tibus* suis — ij^{s} vj^{d} Et sol*utis* / p*ro* prandio Joh*ann*is Cave Salt pist*icatori* — j^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* pane iij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* focali — xviij^{d} /

*Sum*ma xvij^{s} ^{ob}

...

[106]Rob*erto* Walsyngham — xij^{d} / Et Rob*er*to Walsyngham —xij^{d} / Et capellano celebr*anti* p*er* tot*um* oct*abum* — xx^{d} / Et cl*er*icis celebr*anti* p*er* idem temp*orem* — iij^{s} / Et p*ro* pulsac*ione* — xvj^{d} / Et p*ro* le hangyng closez —xij^{d} / Et le Belman — viij^{d} / Et decano — v^{s} / Et cl*er*ico — xviij^{d} ^{ob}

...

KL/GD/30 (1453/4)

...

Exp*ens*a

In p*ri*mis id*e*m comput*ans* p*ro* iij duoden*is* le chekyns — iiij^{s} vij^{d} ^{ob} Et p*ro* ordio — ij^{d} p*ro* iij bussell*es* frumen*ti* — ij^{s} / Et p*ro* le gryndyng — iij^{d} Et p*ro* wastrelbred p*ro* fact*ura* le Brewes — xxj^{d} Et p j soo bon*o* fruc*to* — xviij^{d} / Et p*ro* j barell de peny berr & portac*ione* — xxj^{d} Et p*ro* carn*ibus* bovin*is* & carn*ibus* ov*inis* — iiij^{s} iiij^{d} Et p*ro* salt — vj^{d} / Et p*ro* j mott*e* le Turfes & portac*ione* — vij^{d} Et p*ro* cirp*is* — iiij^{d} Et sol*utis* p*ro* j soo bon*o* fruc*to* xviij^{d} Et p*ro* portac*ione* / le tab*er*nac*u*le — viij^{d} Et p*ro* virguus — j^{d} Et p*ro* s*er*vic*ie* p*re*sbiter*orum* portac*ione* le tab*er*nac*u*le — ij^{d} Et p*ro* iij / quarter*ij*s silve arden*cii* — xij^{d} Et p*ro* iv unce croc*i* — xij^{d} Et p*ro* vergeons & le mustard*o* — ij^{s} Et p*ro* / di*midio* comb*a* le oct*abo* vj^{d} Et p*ro* ij bussell*es* carbon*is* martinor*um* — vj^{d} Et p*ro* ij porcell*is* — xv^{d} Et / sol*utis* Joh*ann*o Ada p*ro* ij duoden*is* peutervessyll*es* — x^{d} Et p*ro* j bole bon*o* fruc*to* — x^{d} Et sol*utis* / p*ro* iij capon*is* — x^{d} Et p*ro* ij capon*is* — viij^{d} Et p*ro* segge — j^{d} Et p*ro* portac*ione* focal*i* — iij^{d} Et sol*utis* / histrionib*us* — ix^{s} Et p*ro* mustard*o* & vergeons — ij^{d} Et p*ro* veneg*er* — j^{d} Et p*ro* *piper*[107] & sinamon — ij^{d} / Et in expen*sis* — iij^{d} Et sol*utis* coco & s*er*vien*ti* suo — ij^{s} vj^{d}

*Sum*ma xl^{s} iij^{d} ^{ob}

...

KL/GD/31 (1459/60)[108]

...

Exp*ens*a ff*esti*

In p*ri*mis sol*utis* p*ro* pane in die corp*or*is *Christi* — xvj^{d} Item in uno boll*o* s*er*visie exp*ens*a ib*id*em eod*em* die — ix^{d} Item sol*utis* p*ro* ij dos*eni* pull*is* / cum custod*ienti* eor*um*d*em* — ij^{s} iij^{d} Item sol*utis* p*ro* iij croppes carn*ibus* bovin*is* — ij^{s} Item in ij b*usselles* carbonn*is* maritimi — v^{d} Item in / salciament*is* & herbis — iij^{d} Item in conducione xij disc*i* & di*midio* — vj^{d} Item sol*utis* p*ro* regardo coc*i* eod*em* die — xij^{d} Item sol*utis* p*ro* / portagio tabernaculi eod*em* die — iiij^{d} Item sol*utis* p*ro* loc*ione* vestim*entorum* Gilde

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[106] The following paragraph appears in the original as a list with one item per line, and appears after the final summa of the roll. The entire list is bracketed (on the right) with the text 'Et deb*ent* j^{d}'.

[107] The original reads 'p*ro* ip*er*' with standard *pro* and *per* abbreviations. The scribe most likely forgot the initial 'p' of pepper as it closely follows the *pro* abbreviation.

[108] The Malone Society mislabels this as KL/GD/32 and has no KL/GD/31. The real KL/GD/32 is labelled as KL/GD/32a in its edition.

— iiij^{d} Item p*ro* cirppis & m*u*ndac*i*one Aule — vj^{d} / Item sol*utis* p*ro* pane in Octab*o* Corp*o*ris *Christi* — xvj^{d} Item in ij porcell*is* — xiij^{d} Item in sex Aucis — ij^{s} Item sol*utis* p*ro* sex / capon*is* — ij^{s} Item in xviij pull*is* — xx^{d} Item sol*utis* p*ro* carnib*us* bovin*is* — xij^{d} Item ij b*usselles* carbonn*is* maritimi — v^{d} Item sol*utis* / p*ro* salciament*is* & herbis — vj^{d} Item in regard*o* fact*o* coc*o* in octab*o* — xij^{d} Item p*ro* repa*ra*c*i*one un*ius* Orti[109] — x^{d}

S*um*ma — xxj^{s} viij^{d}

...

[note: MS Roll is damaged — barely visible]

Expen*sa* cere cu*m* / al*ia* expen*sa*[110]

In p*ri*mis id*em* compuntans computat se soluisse will*el*mo marche <••••••••••••>[111] p*ro* cera hoc anno — lxxvj^{s} viij^{d} Item sol*utis* p*ro* / uno bolle s*er*visie tenuis & di*midio* barell bere in festo corp*o*ris *Christi* — xj^{s} xvij^{d} Item sol*utis* p*ro* j bolle bone s*er*visie & j bolle tenuis s*er*visie in / Octabis ij^{s} xv^{d} [Item sol*utis* minstr*all*is huius ville hoc anno ex <••••••>[112] iij^{s} iiij^{d}][113] Item sol*utis* cap*ellan*us & cl*er*icis int*er*essent missis / subtus le tabernac*u*le in eccl*es*ia s*anct*e Margarete p*er* om*n*es Octab*um* iij^{s} iiij^{d} Item sol*utis* Remeano ville p*ro* circuitu suo ad orand*um* / p*ro* animabus ff*ra*t*r*um &c*etera* iiij^{d} [114]

...

S*um*ma iiij^{li} livj^{s} v^{d}

KL/GD/32 (1460/1)

...

Expen*sa* in ffesto / Corp*o*ris *Christi*

Item in pane expendit in festo corp*o*ris *Christi* — xviij^{d} ^{ob} Item in s*er*visia expendit eodem die — xiij^{d} ^{ob} Item in j Barell / Biere — ij^{s} Item in carnib*us* bovinis eidem die — xij^{d} Item in ij Rakk*es* multon*um* — iiij^{d} ^{ob} Item in ij dosen*i* &dimid*io* pull*is* / p*reci*um le dosen*i* xvj^{d} — iij^{s} iiij^{d} Item in cere — iij^{d} Item in Racemis de Coranx — j^{d} Item in sale ij^{d} Item in / salsiament*is* — j^{d} Item in ffocali eodem die — ij^{d} ^{ob} Item p*ro* portacione vestimenti sup*ra* tabernaculu*m* in ffesto cor*po*r*is* / *Christi* — iiij^{d} Item in cirpis eod*em* — ij^{d}

S*um*ma — x^{s} viij^{d}

Expen*sa* in Octabis

Item in pane expendit in Octabis — ij^{s} Item in s*er*visia eodem die — ij^{s} vj^{d} Item in carnib*us* bovinis expendit eodem die / — xij^{d} Item in iij Rakk*es* multon*um* vj^{d} Item in ij dosen*i* pull*is* — ij^{s} viij^{d} Item in carnib*us* agnell*is* — v^{d} Item in iij porcell*is* / — xv^{d} Item in vj caponib*us* empt*is* iij^{s} vj^{d} Item in vj Auc*is* — ij^{s} Item in ij dosen*i* Rabett*is* — xv^{d} Item in croco / — iij^{d} Item in zinzibere & cynamono — v^{d} Item in Racemis de coranx — ij^{d} Item in salsiament*is* — ij^{d} It*em* in sale — j^{d} / Item in cirpis — iij^{d} Item in ffocali — v^{d} ^{ob} Item in locione vest*imentorum* Gilde — iij^{d} Item in Regardo cocis p*ro* duob*us* / dieb*us* — ij^{s} Item in conduccione vasor*um* v*idelicet* iij dosen*i* Garneys de peuter p*ro* ij dieb*us* — x^{d} [Item in Regardo fact*o* / ministrall*is* p*ro*

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[109] Most likely in the sense of 'Garden' or 'Courtyard'.

[110] This section of the roll is significantly damaged.

[111] The illegible text is most likely 'Waxchaundeler'.

[112] The illegible text might be 'regard*o*' but the reading is uncertain.

[113] The Malone Society does not edit this.

[114] The ending of this line is obscured through damage, and the reading is uncertain.

ij diebus — iiij^{s}]^{115} Item solutis Remeano pro circuitu suo ad orandum pro animabus ffratrum defunctis — iiij^{d} Item solutis / Capellanis & Clericis interessentibus missis subtus le tabernacule in ecclesia Sancte margarete per omnes Octabas — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Summa — xxx^{s} viij^{d} ob

...

KL/GD/33 (1492 - 1501)^{116}

...

[bottom - fol. 6v (1496/7)]

Solucíones^{117}

— In primis idem computans solutis preordinationi & conventum / domus ffratrem predicatorum Lenne Episcopi —^{118} xij^{d} / — Item solutis lez mynstrallis pro regardo in ffesto & cetera — xliiij^{d} / — Item solutis primis portanti Torchas ad Exequias — vj^{d} ob / — Item solutis Remeano ville pro labore suo & cetera — viij^{d} / — Item solutis cuidam mulieri cantanti in Regardo — iiij^{d}

[continued - fol. 7r]

— Item solutis Johanni Punder decano Gilde pro feodo suo — ij^{d} / — Item solutis Thome Breton clerico Gilde pro feodo suo — iij^{s} iiij^{d} / — Item solutis Thome Rysurowe Wexchaundeler pro denariis sibi debit / super Computi Ultimo Anno & cetera — xvj^{s} / — Item solutis eidem Thome pro denariis sibi debit hac Anno — vij^{s} / — Item solutis presbiteris portanti tabernaculum in festo & cetera — viij^{d} / — Item solutis pro mundacione Aulo — ij^{d} Item pro cirpis emptis — iiij^{d} / — Item solutis pro duobus hanglokkes emptis & cetera — iiij^{d} / — Item solutis pro lavacione napparum Gilde predicti — ij^{d} / — Item in ffeodo Magistri societatis pro prandio & cena miniorum — vj^{s} viij^{d}

Summa — liij^{s} viij^{d} ob

...

[fol. 7r]

Expensa in / ffesto

Item idem computans solutis pro pane — xvij^{d} In cervisia — ix^{d} / In Beyre — x^{d} In carnibus multonum — xij^{d} In carnibus / Bovinis — vj^{d} In xxvj pullis emptis — ij^{s} ij^{d} In / Specíbus Sale salciementis & otemele — v^{d} In ffocali — iiij^{d}

Summa vij^{s} vj^{d}

...

[fol. 7v]

Expensa / in Octabis

Item idem computans solutis pro pane — xvj^{d} pro servisie — ix^{d} / pro Beyr — x^{d} In marybones — ij^{d} In carnibus / multonibus —xij^{d} In uno Agnello — vij^{d} In quinque / Avis — xx^{d} In quinque Caponis — xx^{d} In duobus / porcellis — xij^{d} In xvj Rabettis — viij^{d} In j dissseni / pygeons — iiij^{d} In milke creme Eggez & butter — vij^{d} / In sale salciementis — ij^{d} In ffocali — x^{d} In condducione / iij Garnyssh pewter vesselles — xij^{d} In Regardo Coci / — xij^{d} In vino ad prandium hac die — x^{d} Item / in locione napparum &

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115 The Malone Society does not edit this.

116 KL/GD/33 is a single codex spanning 1492-1501 and contains combined minutes and accounts.

117 The following section is in the format of a list in the original.

118 Both lines of this payment are bracketed before the amount.

c*etera* hac die — iij^{d} /

S*um*ma xiiij^{s} viij^{d}

...

[fol. 8v (1497/8)]

Soluc*i*ones / & Expens*a*[119]

In p*ri*mis solut*is* domin*is* ff*ratr*um p*re*dicator*um* & c*etera* — xij^{s} It*em* sol*utis* / mag*istr*o Societat*is* p*redicte* p*ro* fe*odo* It*em* in pr*e*<••>dent[120] — vj^{s} viij^{d} / It*em* sol*utis* in fe*odis* Cl*er*ici & iij^{s} iiij^{d} It*em* sol*utis* p*ro* fe*odo* decani / — ij^{d} It*em* sol*utis* p*res*bit*er* & cleric*is* cantant*ibus* miss*is* p*ro* octab*is* — iiij^{s} iiij^{d} It*em* sol*utis* p*res*bit*er* portant*i* Tab*er*nac*ul*um in die ffesti — viij^{d} It*em* / sol*utis* p*rim*is portant*ibus* les torches — vj$^{d\ ob}$ It*em* sol*utis* in Regard*o* p*ro* Mimis — iij^{s}[121] It*em* sol*utis* p*ro* locione napp*arum* — iij^{d} It*em* sol*utis* Remeanno / ville in Regard*o* & c*etera* — viij^{d} It*em* sol*utis* p*ro* regardo Coci — xx^{d}[122] / — Item p*redicti* Thesauri petitur alloc*atione* p*ro* cert*is* rep*arac*ionib*us* fact*is* / hac a*nnu*m circa domas & ten*enementos* dict*i* soci*etatis* ut p*atet* bill*am*[123] — iij^{li} xliij$^{s\ ob}$ / — It*em* petitur alloc*at*ione p*ro* expens*is* fact*is* in die & c*irc*a Iantac*ul*um / ut patet p*er* billam[124] — lxii^{s} vj$^{d\ ob}$ / — It*em* p*ro* expens*is* Iantac*u*li in die Octab*o* ut patet & c*etera* — lxvj^{s} vij^{d}

S*um*ma soluc*iones* & expens*a* c*etera*

...

KL/GD/33A — Indenture (Wednesday, 12 March, 1449)[125]

This indentur*e* made Witnesseth that John Pygot burgess & m*er*chant of Lynne Byshope maister of / the cumpany of Corpus *Christ*i in Lynne aforeseid hath delivered to William March WexChaundeler / of Lynne C and vj l*ib*r*a* in clene Wex v[^xx] and xii l*ib*r*a* for the C and in Torches half C and xxj l*ib*r*a* of / Wex and in x grete chapterell*is* xvij l*ib*r*a* & half a l*ib*r*a* Wex & Rosyn and in smale Chapterell / xj l*ib*r*a* Wex and rosyn To have the kepyng of the same Weyght ^[of Wex] duryng the term of x yeers / the seid William to fynd ev*er*y yeer duryng hys seid t*er*me as well all the lyghtes about y*e*[126] / tab*er*nacle of Corpus *Christ*i in y*e* chirche of seynt Mergaret in Lynne as the lyghtes of all y*e* / torches which the seid company spendeth or shal spende ev*er*y yeer durynge y*e* seid t*er*me And the seid William to sette up every yeer the heerse

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[119] This entire section is bracketed on the left with the section heading.

[120] This word is difficult to read, and might contain an erasure and there is a short dotted line underneath the illegible character, possibly cancelling the erasure.

[121] The Malone Society reads this as a pence sign superimposed with a shillings sign. While the shillings sign is messy, it is a certain reading.

[122] At this point the section is bracketed to the right with summa of xxxiiij^{s} j$^{d\ ob}$. There is a black line between this and the remaining text, even though still bracketed by the section heading on the left.

[123] This expense is bracketed to the right before the amount.

[124] This expense is bracketed to the right before the amount.

[125] This document was not transcribed by the Malone Society. Transcriptions of this indenture are provided in Mackerell's *History*, pp. 254-5, which is in turn quoted in William Richards *History*, pp. 448-9. A fresh transcription is provided here, while now in very bad condition, it was made much more legible through backlighting and corrects a number of minor errors in Mackerell's editing of it — mistrancriptions, translation of Latin, editorial additions, added punctuation. KL/GD/33A is about 19x13cm and John Pygot's seal used to be affixed to the end, but 'being much dilapidated it was removed' by a later archivist, probably Henry Harrod.)

[126] With this and all other uses of the word 'y*e*' the original contains a 'y' with a suspension mark above it. In some cases it was difficult to tell whether the mark above it was an abbreviation mark or was a small 'e'. It has been edited as a suspension in every case for this document. The 'y' undoubtedly is a modified thorn.

of *ye* said Cumpany in *ye* chirche / beforeseid and take it down upon his owne costs and expens*es* as it hath ben doon & used / afor*e* this tyme and in *ye* end of the seid terme the seid William to deliv*er*e ageyn*e* the / seyd Weyght of Wex torches and Chapterell to the mayster of the seyd Cumpany for the / tyme beeng for the whyche lyghtmaking & fyndyng ev*er*y yeer*e* the seid William shal have / of the maist*er* and Company v marks and x^{s} of good money of Inglond to be paid to *ye* seid William ev*er*y yeer in *ye* Utasse of the feste of corpus *Christi* Into Witness hereof *ye* parties / aforesaid to these indentures alt*er*natly have sette theyr seales Written atte lynne forseid / on wednysday the feste of Seynt Gregory the Pope The yeer of the Regne of Kyng / Herry the sixth after the conquest xxvij

...

KL/GD/37 The Accounts of the Guild of Saints Giles and Julian (1392/3-1445/6)

...

[fol. 5v. (1394/5)]

...Colloqiu*m* gen*er*al*is* tent*is* in domo Thome del brigge de lenne de lenn[127] p*rox*i*me* post festu*m* app*ostol*or*um* Petri e*t* Pauli anno r*egni* r*egis* Ric*ard*i sec*un*d*um* post conq*uestum* xix...

...

...Will*elm*o Wilde & Joh*anno* de Trumpington*e* mynstrall*is* int*er*erut & ing*ressit* suic *con*donat*ia* /alt*er*ii eor*um* xiij^{s} iiij^{d} [^p*ro* ingresso suo feod*o*] q*uo*d decent*ibus* ser*vient*i*bus* Gilde p*reaccepte* annual*is* ad diem gen*er*alem / in officio suo & nichil capiant*ibus* p*er* annu*m* p*ro* labore suo p*arte* ciba*m* & potu*m* & / caput*ia* sua de libe*r*tate gilde p*redicte* & q*uo* libe*r*t*atis* anno iij^{s} iiij^{d} durant viij annis...

...

...Item solut*is* mynstrall*is* xiij^{s} iiij^{d}...[128]

...

[fol. 8v. (1398/9)]

...Item / in latte viij^{d} ^{ob} Item mynstrall*is* j^{d} Item in carn*ibus* multon*ibus* xiij^{d} ^{ob}...

...

...Item in stepend*ia* ministrall*is* iij^{s} iiij^{d} Item in stipend*ia* / coci ij^{s} ij^{d}...[129]

...

[fol. 10. (1399/1400)]

...Item in I ludo xij^{d} Item Will*elm*o Wilde & soc*iis* suis mynstrall*is* vj^{s} viij^{d} / Item solut*is* ij harp*er*s iij^{s} iiij^{d}...

...

[fol. 12v. (1400/1)]

...Item Will*elm*o Wilde & soc*iis* suis ministrall*is* vj^{s} iiij^{d} Item ij harpo*r*s iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 13v. (1401/2)][130]

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[127] [*sic*], 'de lenne' is repeated.

[128] This payment is in the midst of payments for the 'Die Generalis' and might refer to performance on that day.

[129] This payment is followed by other payments to people for the feast, for example women for cleaning the kitchen and the 'janitor' for his work.

[130] The Malone Society mislabels this as fol. 14v and is consistently out by one folio within KL/GD/37. The corrected foliations are given here.

...Item in lacto viij^{d} / Item cuidam[131] xx^{d} Item in portis scabella & aliis rerum vj^{d} ... Item solutis Willelmo Wylde / & Servientis suis v^{s} Item Johannis Griffeld[132] harpour iij^{s} viij^{d} Item in feodum clerici gilde xx^{d} Item in feodum Decani gild xij^{d}

...

[fol. 14v.(1402/3)][133]

...Item cuidam[134] xx^{d} Item in portis scabella & aliis rerum vj^{d} ... Item solutis Willelmo Wylde / & Servientis suis v^{s} Item Johannis Griffeld harpour iij^{s} viij^{d} Item in feodum clerici gilde xx^{d} Item in feodum Decani gild xij^{d}...

...

[fol. 16v. (1403/4)][135]

...Item in feodo clerici Gilde xx^{d} Item in feodo Decani gilde xij^{d} Item Willelmo Wilde & / pueris suis v^{s} Item Waltero Aleyne trumpour iij^{s} iij^{d} Item cuidam alio trumpour ij^{s}...

...

[fol. 17 (1405/6)]

...Item solutis Willelmo Wylde & pueris suis v^{s}...

...

[fol. 18 (1406/7)]

... Item Willelmo Wylde & pueris suis v^{s} / Item Waltero Aleyn & servientis suis iij^{s} iiij^{d}...

...

[fol. 19 (1407/8)][136]

...Praeter hoc solutis Willelmo Wilde & pueris suis pro feodis suis — v^{s} / Item Thome Trompeter cum domino de Beaufort — ij^{s} / Item Johanni Chyventeyne Gestour pro labore suo [in parte solucione introito] — xx^{d} / Item Thome Harpour pro labore suo — xx^{d}...

...

[fol. 19v (1407/8)][137]

Ordinaciones / & constitucione / factis

Ad coloquium quidam Ordinatum est per eleccionem predictam quod Aldermannum / Gilde qui pro tempore fuit de cetero habebit qualibet anno unum capucium / de vj rayes de libertate gilde qualibet Scabimis unum capucium de / iiij Rayes clericus Gilde unum capucium de iiij rayes & decanus gild unum / caputium de iij rayes & qualibet Mynstrelli de eadem gilde unum capucium de / iiij rayes qualibet anno quod servientes gilde predicte Et si quis officiariorum predictorum / plus pannum pro capucio suo accipere voluit unum habebit ita videlicet quod soluet / scabimis pro hac quod plus accipit /

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[131] The Malone Society marks the 'a' or 'cuidam' as supplied when it is simply superscripted.

[132] The reading of this surname is unsure, Malone Society reads 'Suffeld' which is almost certainly incorrect. No trace of either of these readings has been found in other documents.

[133] That this year's payments and the preceding year's payments are almost identical has been carefully checked for mistranscription and is correct. It acts as a reminder of the repetitive nature of some accounts.

[134] The Malone Society marks the 'a' or 'cuidam' as supplied when it is simply superscripted.

[135] The Malone Society does not edit these payments.

[136] These payments appear in a list in the original document, one payment per line with the amounts right justified. In addition the Malone Society ceases to provide further foliations for its edited extracts from this document.

[137] The Malone Society does not edit these ordinances.

...
[fol. 20] [138]
...Item allocatum fuit eodem die ^[Thome harpour] de introitum suo pro labore suo — xx[d] / Item Thome Trumpet cum domino de Beaufort — ij[s] / Item Johanni Chyventeyne Gestour — xvj[d] / Item clerico Gilde pro feodo suo — xx[d] / Item decano Gilde pro feodo suo — xij[d] / Item pro uno enterluyte — vj[d] [139]

Summa viij[s] ij[d]

...
[fol. 20v]
...Radulphus de Bedyngham filius Radulphi de Bedyngham debet xiij[s] iiij[d]...
...
[fol. 21v.]
...Item in feodo clerici gilde xx[d] In feodo decani xij[d] In portacione torchis / iiij[d]...
...
[fol. 22v (1411/12)]
...Item solutis mynstrallis / iiij[s]... [140]
...
Item in feodo clerico Gilde xx[d] Item in feodo Decani gilde xij[d] Item solutis / Thomas harpour xx[d] — Summa iiij[s] iiij[d]
...
[fol. 30 (1421/2)] [141]
...Item solutis pro feodo clerici xx[d] Et pro feodo / decani xx[d] Et pro histrione ceco xvj[d] Et pro cantoribus xij[d] / ...
...
[fol. 30v (1422/3)] [142]
...Et pro histrionibus iiij[s] Pro ffeodo clerici xx[d] Et ffeodo decani xx[d] Et ffeodo decani xx[d] Et pro iiij naproniis xvj[d] Et cantoribus ij[d]...
...
[fol. 32]
...Pro firma Aulae Sancti Georgi oblici in anno elapso & S<••>ton<•> viij[d] Et ij[s] pro organis & / in capell Sancti Jacobi & residuum disponsat...
[fol. 37v (1430/1)]
...In Wood & Turff ij[s] x[d]. In ye hire of halle v[s]. In / mynstrelles v[s]. In hire of vesselles xvj[d]. In torches & stote heryng vj[d]. In Keper of ye dore vj[d]. / ... In candelles mustdard ij[d] In pleyers xij[d]. In iij tableclothes xiiij[s].
...
[fol. 38v (1431/2)]
...Item / for salt ij[d ob] Item for plaiers xvj[d] Item for Wood & Turff ij[s] iiij[d] ... Item for Garlek and onyouns iij[d] In vynegir ij[d] Item for bred and candelles iij[d] Item for mynstales / v[s] viij[d] Item for spices iij[s] vj[d ob] ... Item for mylk ij[d] Item for a pleyer iiij[d].

---

[138] These payments appear in a list in the original document, one payment per line with the amounts right justified. The Malone Society does not edit these payments.
[139] This is only certain reference to a play or interlude in the Guild of Saints Giles and Julian accounts, there are references to 'pleyers' at a number of later dates.
[140] The Malone Society reads this as pence.
[141] The Malone Society edits the payment to the 'histrione ceco' but omits the 'cantoribus'.
[142] The Malone Society edits the payment to the 'histrionibus' but omits the 'cantoribus'.

...
[fol. 39 (1432/3)]
...Et [—p*ro* Otch—] dat Aquebaculo & minstrall*is* pro potu iij^{d} / Et p*ro* sale ij^{d}
... Et p*er* minstrall*is* v^{s} / Et p*ro* [^p] pleiers xij^{d} Et in stipendi coci iiij^{s}...
...
[fol. 41 (1437/8)]
...Pleyers viij^{d} / Hale v^{s} I chyld j^{d} ... amonia viij^{d} mynstrell*es* ij^{s} ye cooking's / torchys beryng iiij^{d} makyng clean of ye Kandylstyke j^{d}.
...
[fol. 49v][143]
...Wille*l*mu*s* Wylde / mynstralle*s* / [144]
Joh*ann*es trumpyngton / ...
...
[fol. 50]
... Thomas Benet harpou*r* /

---

[143] This folio contains a list of guild members.
[144] William Wylde and John Turmpington are bracketed together and 'mynstralles' is written to the right of the bracket.

Appendix Two: Extracts from the Snettisham Churchwardens' Accounts

NRO: PD 24/1 (1467/8-1581/2) [1]

1467/8[2]

[fol. 59]

...

Item payd for costes of Ingaldisthorp procession — vij[d]

...

Item for costes on hallow thrysdaye for beryng of ye chafte — ij[d] [3]

Item for j lambe to Seynt Edmundes — xij[d]

...

1468/9

[fol. 22][4]

...

Item receperunt de potacione facta in dominica post festum sancti / Edmundi Regis & martyris in brasio iij tribus [—iij vj—] / de gravis ecclesiasticus omnibus claris allocatis — xij[s] vj[d]

...

[fol. 22v]

...

Item receperunt de potacione facta in dominica post festum corporis *Christi* de ij quarters / brasio ex gravis ecclesiasticus omnibus claris allocatis — xviij[s] vj[d]

Item receperunt de potacione die lune proxime sequenter — vj[d]

...

[fol. 23]

...

Item receperunt de potacione facta in dominica proxime ante festum apostolorum Phillippi & / Jacobi de gravis ecclesiasticus videlicet j quarter mixtelyum et ij quarters / brasio cum omnibus aliis allocandis clare — xx[d]

...

Item receperunt de potacione facta in dominica ante festum sancti Jacobi apostoli in brasio / ij quarters & ij cumbes mixstilioum de gravis eccliasticus omnibus claris allocatis — xv[s] viij[d]

...

[fol. 60][5]

...

Item payd in costes at Ingaldysthorp procession — ij[d ob]

---

[1] The majority of entries in this codex are in the form of a list, one item per line. When they occur as such they have been edited in this manner. As with all the transcriptions '/' indicates a line break where one occurs. The accounts run from Lady Day to Lady Day.

[2] The Malone Society misdates this as 1468/9.

[3] The Malone Society does not edit the following two expenses, nor many others for the bearing of shafts on Holy Thursday, and for costs at Saint Edmunds. See Malone Society, *Collections XI Norfolk*, p. 85. Other payments for these activities which the Malone Society does not edit are transcribed silently here.

[4] The Malone Society does not edit any of the receipts from drinkings or ales.

[5] The Malone Society misdates this as 1469/70.

Item payd for beryng of ye chaftes on hallow thursdaye — iij^{d}
Item payd for costes of ye plowys in barly seele[6] — xviij^{d}
...
Item payd for costes of Brycham game — xiiij^{d}
...

1469/70

[fol. 60v]
...
Item for ye costes of ingaldisthorp processione — vij^{d} ob
Item for beryng of ye chaftes in holy thursdaye — iij^{d}
Item for a lambe to Seynt Edmundes — xij^{d}
...
Item for costes of ye plowys in barly seele[7] — xviij^{d}
...
[fol. 61]
Item Doliveryd to ij drynkynges — viij cumbes
Item delyveryd to ye plow for ij yeres — iiij cumbes
...

1470/1

[fol. 61v]
...
Item for costes of Ingaldisthorp processione — vj^{d}
...
Item for beryng of ye chaftes on hallow thursdaye — iiij^{d}
...

1472/3

[fol. 63]
...
Item payd for ye chaftes in hallow thursdaye — iiij^{d}
...

1473/4

[fol. 24]
...
Item receperunt de le plow — vij^{s}
...
[fol. 63v]
...
Item for Ingaldesthorp processione — vj^{d}
Item for ye schaftes on holy thursdaye — iiij^{d}
...

1474/5

[fol. 24v]
...
In primis recepetum est de potacione facta in die dominica passionis domini — xij^{s} viij^{d} ob
...
[fol. 26][8]

---

[6] The reading of this word is uncertain, possibly 'feeld'?
[7] The reading of this word is also uncertain.

...
Item receperunt de Nortunhill dawnse — xx^{s}
...
[fol. 27]
...
Item ffrom Willelmo Wade — j^{d}
Item ffrom Gilda sancti iohannis — x^{d}
Item ffrom Gilda sancte Anne — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item ffrom Markette dauns — iiij^{s}
Item ffrom Nortyn hylle Rokfest — x^{s}
Item ffrom Sutton hylle dauns — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item ffrom Norton hylle dauns — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
...
Item receperunt de le plow — vj^{s}
...
[fol. 64]
Item payd for of[9] Ingaldisthorp procession — vj^{d} ^{ob}
...
Item payd to ye schafts on holy thorysday — ij^{d}
...

1475/6

[fol. 27v]
...
Item de le plowe — vij^{s} vj^{d}
...
Item receperunt of a drynkyn made in ye secunde Sunday of Clene Lentt / alle thynges rekynyd & alowyd with ij semilis of ye churche malte — xiiij^{s} v^{d}
...
[fol. 65v]
...
Item payd for ye procession of Ingaldysthorp — vj^{d} ^{ob}
...
Item payd for ye schaftes on hallow thursdaye — ij^{d}
...
Item payd for a lyne to ye menies schaftes — iij^{d}
...
Item payd for Ryngstede game — ij^{d}
Item payd for costes of hecham maye — viij^{d}
...
...
Item payd for fryng maye — vj^{d}
...

1476/7

[fol. 28]
...
In primis pro potacione facta in dominica passionis domini — xx^{s}
...
Item receptum of ye plowe — vij^{s} iiij^{d}

---

[8] This receipt is amongst numerous others from individuals, cf. fol. 27.
[9] [*sic*].

...
Item receptum de potacione facta in die dominica post festum petri et pauli — xj^{s} ij^{d}
...
Item receptum pro anima Johannis Rust — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item receptum de gilda sancti Jacobi — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item receptum de gilda sancti Johannis — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item receptum de norton hyll Rockfeste — vij^{s}
Item receptum de potacione facta in quarta dominica *quadragesime* — xij^{s} viij^{d}
Item de nicholao Smiythe[10] pro sowgate dawnce — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
...
...
[fol. 66v]
...
Item for Ingaldysthorpe processyon — vj$^{d\ ob}$
Item for hegghyng[11] at ye gylde hall — j^{d}
...

1477/8

[fol. 67]
...
Item for ye processyon of Ingaldysthorpe — vj^{d}
Item for ye schaftes on holy thorsday — iiij^{d}
...

1478/9

[fol. 28][12]
Item receptum de norton hylle dawnse — xj^{s}
...
[fol. 29][13]
...
Item de le plow — vj^{s} vj^{d}
...
Et de brasio vj [—omnibus—] pro le plow et ij bussellis pro david down / Et there remandi iij combes brasii
...
[fol. 67v]
...
Item for ye processyon of Ingaldysthorpe — vj^{d}
Item for ye schaftes on holy thorsday — iiij^{d}
...
Item for makyng of ye plow torche — xx^{d}[14]
...

1479/80

---

[10] This reading is uncertain, what can be read is: 'S' + 4 minims + 'y' + 'he', with a 't' inserted afterwards following the 'y'. This is most likely a simple scribal error as there are a number of mentions of a Nicholas Smythe in the accounts, and the above reading was chosen on this basis.
[11] The meaning of this word is uncertain, two readings 'hegghyng' = 'hedging' or 'haying' are possible.
[12] The Malone Society misdates this as 1477/8.
[13] There is no date change noted, even though there is an obvious change of ink and hand. It might be 1479 since no records survive for this year.
[14] The Malone Society suddenly edits this payment although it does not edit many of the other plough torch records or similar expenses.

[fol. 68v]

...

Item for mendyng of ye northehyle — vj^{d}

...

1480/1

[fol. 29v]

...

In primis receptum anima thome clerke — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item receptum de gilda Jesus Christi[15] — xij^{s}
Item receptum de tripudio de marketstede — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item receptum de nortonhylle dawnce — viij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

In primis for ye floytes — ij^{s}

...

[fol. 69]
In primis for ye schaftes of holy Thursday — iiij^{d}
Item for Ingaldysthorp processyon — vj^{d}
Item for washyng [—yat—] ageyn Sent Edmund — x^{d}
Item for mendyng of surples yat tyme — xij^{d}
Item for a lambe — x^{d}
Item for beryng of schaftes yat tyme — xij^{d}

...

1483/4

[fol. 69v]

...

Item for Ingaldysthorpe processyon — vj^{d}
Item for ye schaftes on holy thorsday — iiij^{d}

...

1484/5

[fol. 30]

...

Item receptum de le maye / xxx^{s} ij^{d} ^{ob} omnibus computatis et allocatis [—xxviij^{s} ij^{d} ^{ob}—]
Item receptum de gilda sancta anne — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item receptum de gilda sancti jacobi — xx^{d}
Item receptum de gilda Jesus Christi[16] — iij^{s} viij^{d}

...

Item pro ffloytes — ij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 70]

...

Item for Ingaldysthorpe processyon — vj^{d}
Item schaftes on holy thorsday — iiij^{d}

...

1485/6

[fol. 70]

...

---

[15] The abbreviation is 'jhc'.
[16] The abbreviation is 'jhc'.

It*em* for Ingaldesthorpe p*ro*cessyon — vj^{d}
...
[fol. 71]
It*em* for yngaldysthorpe p*ro*cessyon — v^{d}
It*em* for ye schaft*es* of holy thorsday — iiij^{d}
It*em* for ye ballys at hecham — ij^{d}
...
It*em* for Costys of ye plays — ix^{d}
...
[fol. 71v][17]
...
It*em* in cost*es* ffor Ingaldysthorpe p*ro*cessyon — v^{d}
...

1486/7

[fol. 30v]
...
In p*r*imis recept*um* de le maye — xxv^{s}
It*em* recept*um* de le plow i*n* anno p*redicto* — viij^{s} iiij^{d}
...
It*em* pandoxat*ori* ad le maye vj^{d} [18]
It*em* p*ro* visitac*ione* e*pisco*pi — j comb*e*
It*em* p*ro* ye plow vj b*ussellis*
...
[fol. 72]
In p*r*imis payd to ye schaft*es* of holy thorsday — iiij^{d}
...
It*em* payd ad[19] seynt Edmu*ndes* — viij^{d}
...
It*em* payd ffor mendyng of sadyll hurt i*n* ye maye — vj^{d}
...

1487/8

[fol. 30v][20]
...
In p*r*imis ffor Ingaldysthop p*ro*cessyon — vj^{d}
...
[fol. 72v]
...
In p*r*imis ffor Ingaldysthorpe p*ro*cessyon — vj^{d}
It*em* for schaft*es* of holy thorsday — iiij^{d}
...
It*em* ffor cost*es* of hecham may — iiij^{d}
...

1488/9

[fol. 73v]

---

[17] The Malone Society has this date as uncertain.
[18] The Malone Society does not edit this.
[19] [*sic*].
[20] This 'In p*r*imis' is crossed out with a different one beneath it.

...
In p*r*imis ffor Ingaldysthorpe p*ro*cessyon — vj^{d}
It*em* ffor schafts on holy thorssdey — iiij^{d}
It*em* for j lambe to seynt Edmundys — viij^{d}
It*em* for Costys at seynt Edmundys — iij^{s} viij^{d}
It*em* for Costys of docking game — ij^{d} [—^{ob}—]
...

1489/90

[fol. 31v]
...
Summa pro organ*is* — xxiij^{s} viij^{d}
...
[fol. 74v]
...
In p*r*imis ffor Ingaldisthorp p*ro*cession — vj^{d}
It*em* ffor schaft*es* of holy thorsday — iiij^{d}
...
It*em* payd ffor cost*es* of Walfyrton[21] game — v^{d}
It*em* payd ffor cost*es* of hecham may — v^{d}
...

1490/1

[fol. 31v][22]
...
It*em* de market stode dawnce — ij^{s}
...

1491/2

[fol. 31v][23]
...
In p*r*imis of ye maye — xviij^{s} iiij^{d}
...
[fol. 75][24]
...
In p*r*imis ffor Ingaldsthop p*ro*cessyon — vj^{d}
It*em* ffor ye schaft*es* of holy thorsday — iij^{d}
It*em* for washyng ageyn sent Edm*u*nd*es* — x^{d}
It*em* payd to ye vykyr of honstant*u*n ffor a lombe — x^{d}
...
[fol. 76][25]
It*em* payd for cost*es* of Ingaldysthorp p*ro*cessyon — v^{d}
It*em* payd ffor schaft*es* on holy thorsdey — iiij^{d}
...
[fol. 76v]
It*em* payd ffor Ingaldythorpe p*ro*cessyon — v^{d}
It*em* payd ffor schaft*es* on holy thorsdey — iiij^{d}

---

[21] The Malone Society mistranscribes this as 'Walsyrton', but 'Walfyrton' = 'Wolfverton'.
[22] The Malone Society misdates this as 1489/90.
[23] The Malone Society misfoliates this as folio 32.
[24] The Malone Society misdates this as 1490/1.
[25] The Malone Society misdates this as 1490/1.

...
[fol. 77]
...
Item ffor Costys off fryng game — v^{d}
Item payd at ffryng game — xiiij^{d}
...

1492/3

[fol. 32][26]
...
In primis of ye maye — xvj^{s}
...
Item receptum of ye plow — vij^{s} iij^{d}
...
[fol. 32v]
...
Item for the Organys — xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
...
[fol. 77v]
...
Item ffor Ingaldysthorpe processyon — vj^{d}
Item ffor schaftes on holy Thursday — iiij^{d}
Item payd for ale at ffryng — iiij^{d}
...
Item for peynttyng of Marye & John — ij^{d} [27]
...

1493/4[28]

[fol. 78]
...
Item for processhon for ynggaldsthorpe — v^{d}
Item for the shaftes on holy thyrsdaye — iiij^{d}
...

1494/5[29]

[fol. 78v]
...
Item payd for ye processyon of yngalldesthorpe in bred & ale — vj^{d}
...
Item payd for bred & ale for Sharnbrun processyon — vj^{d} ob
...

1499/1500

[fol. 79]
...
Item payd for a lamb offeryng at sent Edmundes — viij^{d}
Item payd for oder Costes & charges at ye said Chapell — ij^{s} iiij^{d}
...
[fol. 79v][30]

---

[26] The Malone Society misdates this as 1491/2.
[27] This is certainly for painting within the church, cf. 1556, fol. 2 for painting explicitly connected to the rood screen.
[28] This date is uncertain.
[29] This date is uncertain.

...
Item payd for costes in ye prosesshon of ynggylthorp — vj^{d}
Item payd for ye shaftes on hawlowe thyrysdaye — iiij^{d}
...

1500/1

[fol. 33]
...
Item receptum the ^[same] yere [—of—] at the plowe daye — vij^{s} iiij^{d}
...

1500/1-1502/3[31]

[fol. 33v]
...
Item receptum anno xvij at ye plowlyght — viij^{s} iiij^{d}
...
Item receptum de recepcione pro le maye de Snetisham — xvj^{s} viij^{d}
...
Item browyn[32] for Dounis erday[33] the furst yere — ij bussellis
Item browyn for the plowe ye same yere — vj bussellis
Item for David Dounis eyrdaye ye secound yere — ij bussellis
Item Ingaldisthorpe prossecion[34] — ij bussellis
Item browyn for the plowe — vj bussellis
...
[fol. 80v]
...
Item for bred for [—alle—] ale for Ingaldisthorp procecion — iij^{d}
Item payd at Sent Edmundes besyd ye gaderyng of Snetisham — ij^{s} viij^{d}
...
Item for brede to Ingalisthorp prossesion — iiij^{d}
Item for wassyng of the syrples agayn ye prosession — vj^{d}
Item payd to ye young men for beryng ther shaftes to Sent Edmundes — vj^{d}
...
Item for bred & Ale for hecham maye — iiij^{d}
...
Item payd to Richard Wright for strykyng the stage and other warke — v^{d} [35]
...
[fol. 81]
...
Item payd to ye men shaftes — viij^{d}
Item payd for aspysing[36] to the maye rode — iiij^{d}
...

---

[30] The Malone Society tentatively misdates this as 1495/6.
[31] These compiled accounts are for two full years.
[32] 'browyn' = 'brewing'
[33] 'erday' = 'yearday'. There are expenses for regular celebrations, masses and drinkings for David Downs throughout the accounts.
[34] The pro abbreviation used is in reality a typical pre/prae abbreviation, but is expanded as pro from context.
[35] R.R. Wright includes this in his transcriptions in *Medieval Theatre in East Anglia*, but as it comes with building and repair expenses it is most likely for scaffolding. cf. 1528/9.
[36] 'aspysing' = 'seeking out'. Many of the senses are of discovery of something hidden or covert observation.

1502/3

[fol. 34]

...

Item receptum pro le plowe — vj^{s}

...

[fol. 82]

...

Item for the costes of ye procession to scent Edmundes — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1503/4

[fol. 82v]

...

Item payd for bred ^[ale] to the processeon of Ingaldisthorp — vj^{d}

...

[fol. 83]

...

Item in Costis of the procession to Sent Edmundes / besyd the gaderyng of the town — iiij^{s} iiij^{d} [37]

...

1504/5

[fol. 83]

...

Item for Costys at scent Edmundes — xx^{d}

...

1505/6

[fol. 83v]

...

Item for Ingaldysthorp procession — vij^{d}

...

1506/7

[fol. 34v]

...

Item receptum of the maye — xxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 35]

...

Item receptum of the plough — vij^{s} vij^{d}

...

[fol. 83v]

...

Item solutis pro pane & servicia pro processione de Ingaldisthorp — vj^{d}

...

Item solutis pro pane pro le Maye de Sharnburne — j^{d}

Item solutis pro pane & servicia pro le maye Segeforth — vj^{d}

...

1507/8

[fol. 35]

Item receptum of John Smyth for Halowmes lyght — ij^{s} vj^{d}

---

[37] The amount is bracketed to the right of both lines of this payment.

Item rec*eptum* of the Seme lyght on Alsolme Daye — xviij^{d}
Item remaynith in the handes of Will*i*am Hoo — xij co*m*b*es* of barly p*r*ice — xiij^{s} iiij^{d} / Thereof to be alowyd for v buss*hells* malte browne for the plowe p*r*ice — xx^{d}
...
Item rec*eptum* of the plough — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
...
[fol. 84]
...
Item for bred & ale for Ingaldisthorp p*ro*cession — vj^{d}
Item for the p*ro*cession to Sce*n*t Ed*mund*is — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
...
Item in brede for Sharnburn Maye — j^{d}
Item in brede & Ale for segeforth maye — vj^{d}
...

1508/9

[fol. 84v]
...
Item for bred & ale for Ingaldsthorp p*ro*cession — vj^{d}
Item for wasshyng of Syrples agaynst the p*ro*cession went sce*n*t Ed*mund*is — vj^{d}
...
Item for brede & ale for Segeford maye — iij^{d}
Item for brede & ale to Hecham maye — iij^{d}
...

1509/10[38]

[fol. 85]
...
Item in brede & ale f*or* Ingaldisthorp p*ro*cession — vj^{d}
Item at scent Edm*u*nd*es* — iij^{s} viij^{d}
Item in brede & ale for Segeford may — iij^{d}
...

1510/1

[fol. 35v]
...
Item John Audeley[39] for a tree — ij^{s}
...

1512/3

[fol. 36]
...
[40]...Item at ye plowe — v^{s} iij^{d}
...

1514/5[41]

[fol. 36v]
...

---

[38] The Malone Society misdates this as 1508/9.
[39] cf. 2 November, 1547, fol. 120v.
[40] There is more than one entry on this line.
[41] The accounts are for the year 15 August 1514-15 August 1515. The Malone Society puts the receipt of May money in 1514, and although it preceeds this record, places the mention of the 'Rockfest' in 1515. If the 'maye' was prior to the 15 August, then it must have taken place in 1514.

Item de Willelmo Grene[42] pro Southgate Rocfest — xx^{s}

...

Item receptum de le maye mony — Liij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 86]

...

Item In pane & servicia arga[43] processionem de Ingaldisthorp — vj^{d}
Item pro processione usque Capellam Sancti Edmundi — iij^{s}

...

Item pro emendacione le pavement in le South Ale[44] — ij^{d}

...

1515/6

[fol. 86]

...

Item payd for bred & ale for the procession of Ingaldisthorp — vj^{d}

...

[fol. 86v]

...

Item payd at Scent Edmund — xiij^{d}

...

[fol. 86v]

...

Item solutis pro punctis[45] duobus vicibus pro le Maye — vj^{d}
Item solutis Ricardo Stone diversis vicibus pro factura Instrumentorum & procuracione sua — xlv^{s}

...

1516/7-1518/9

[fol. 87]

...

Item in pane & servicia pro processione de Ingaldisthorp — vj^{d}

...

Item solutis ad processione usque Sancti Edmundo — xij^{d}

...

[fol. 87v]

...

Item receptum de Johanne Halyday & Willelmo Grene[46] de Maye money — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Item for brede & ale for Ingaldisthorp procession in Cros weke [. ij yere] — xij^{d}
Item for Shamburn procession one yere — iiij^{d}

---

[42] cf. 1516-18, fol. 87v. William Grene is often a churchwarden and mentioned in numerous accounts. See also *NRS*, XXI, p. 78 for mention of a will from 1565 of a William Green, yeoman, from Snettisham (201 Marten). In his discussion of St Mary's church, Blomefield claims that "William Green, by his will, 1519, desires to be buried in the north ele, before St. James's altar, and gave 10 £ to the leading of that ele.", p. 1318.

[43] [*sic*].

[44] 'Ale' = 'Aisle'.

[45] 'punctis' in Medieval Latin has a variety of meanings, including those related to sewing and incisions which are also Middle English uses. In this context it is most likely used in the sense of a passage of time, normally a quarter or fifth of an hour.

[46] John Halyday and William Green are earlier churchwardens.

Item for the p*ro*cession to Sce*n*t Edmu*nde*s one yere — iij^{s}

...

[fol. 88]

...

Item payd for makyng of the plowe Torcheis — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Item payd at Sce*n*t Edmu*nde*s — xviij^{d}

...

1519/20

[fol. 37]

...

Item rec*eptum* of the Daunce mene clerly — xvij^{s} vij^{d} ob

...

1521/2

[fol. 89][47]

...

Item fro brede & drynke to Ingaldisthorp / p*ro*cession — vj^{d}

...

[fol. 89v]

...

Item p*ri*mis payd for brede to the p*ro*cessyon of Ingaldisthorp — iij^{d}
Item for the Costys to [—scb—] Sce*n*t Edmund*es* in p*ro*cessione — iij^{s} viij^{d}

...

Item for bred & ale to the maye of Brycham — ij^{d}

...

[fol. 90]

...

Item payd for costys to sce*n*t Edmu*nde*s — ij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1525/6

[fol. 90v]

...

Item for bred & ale for Ingaldysthorpp p*ro*cession — v^{d}

...

[fol. 125]

...

Item recevyd of the maye money — [—vij^{s} xj^{d}—] iij^{li} vij^{d}

...

Item recevyd of the money y*at* was gatherd to dersyngham maye more / yan was paid — xiiij^{d}
Item receyvyd of qwuyte gild stoke*s* to the churches — x^{s}
Item recevyd of the gild of Sent Anne — v^{s} x^{d}
Item recevyd of the gild of Scent James — j^{li} [*blank*]^{s} [48]

...

1527/8

[fol. 92]

...

---

[47] The following record is found as a marginal note which the Malone Society misdates as 1522/3.

[48] There is a short blank and a shillings sign.

Item for Ingaldisthorp *pro*cessyon — vj[d]

...

[fol. 93]

...

All yn barley receyvyd of the dett*es* of the polowe boks of the same / barley sowyn v comb*es* & ij b*ussellis* a*t* the cherch land*es*

...

1528/9

[fol. 94]

...

Item for drynke for yngalsthorpe p*ro*cessyon att ye rogatyon*es* dayes — vj[d]

...

Item for vj poolys to stage wyth — xv[d] [49]

...

1529/30

[fol. 95]

...

Item for prycke Wand*es* & byndyng[50] for ye churche howse and for ye gylde hall — ij[s] ij[d]

...

[fol. 96]

...

Item yn brede for yngalstorpe p*ro*cessyon — ij[d]

...

[fol. 96v]

...

Item for ale for ynglastorope p*ro*cessyon — iiij[d]

...

[fol. 97]

...

Item on ye plowe daye — xxvj[s] [—v—] iij[d]

...

Item receyvyd off ye maye moneye — iij[li]

...

[fol. 97v]

...

Item receyvyd off ye maye moneye — xxxv[s]

...

1530/1

[fol. 97v]

...

In[51] primis on the plowe daye — vij[s]

...

[fol. 98v]

Item for brede and ale for yngalsthorppe p*ro*cessyon — vj[d]

---

[49] This certainly refers to building expenses and scaffolding. cf. 1500/1-1502/3.

[50] It is assumed that these 'prycke Wand*es* & byndyng' were used for the preparation of manuscript accounts, but this is far from certain as a reading of surgical instruments could be equally valid.

[51] The 'I' is decorated with minor flourishes.

...

1531/2

[fol. 101]

...

Item for bredde and ale for yngalstorp processyon — vj^{d}

...

1532/3

[fol. 39]

...

In primis on[52] receyvyd on the plowhe daye — vj^{s} viij^{d}

...

[fol. 103v]

...

Item for bredde for yngalstorpe processyon — ij^{s}

...

1533/4

[fol. 39]

...

In primis of the plowhe — xij^{s} iij^{d} ob

Item of the cystemasse lorde — ij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Item of the gatheryng lefte of Sir Thomas myller — xj^{d}

...

[fol. 39v][53]

...

In Primis on sowlmasse daye — xix^{s}

...

In Primis on sowlemasse daye — xix^{s}

...

[fol. 104]

...

Item for a drynke on hallowmasse nygth — ij^{s} viij^{d}

...

Item for a dryncke for byrcham maye — ij^{d}

...

[fol. 104v]

...

Item for yngalstorpe processyon — vj^{d}

...

1534/5

[fol. 105v][54]

...

Item for yngalstorpe processyon — vj^{d}

Item for Byrcham maye — ij^{d}

...

---

[52] [*sic*].

[53] This receipt could be a simple repetition, they are in each of the individual Churchwarden's accounts, Thomas Borowe and Guillemi Wenter. This might also explain the similar repeated receipts in other years.

[54] The Malone Society does not transcribe either of these entries.

1535/6

[fol. 40]

...

In primis of the plowhe stocke — iiij^{s}

...

Item of the maye mony — xxx^{s}

...

[fol. 107v]

...

Item for bredde for yngalstorpe p*ro*cessyon — ij^{d}

...

Item for a pullye for the plowhe — iij^{d}

...

[fol. 108]

...

Item for yngalstorp p*ro*cessyon — iiij^{d}

Item for dryncke att Saynte Edm*un*d*es* — v^{d}

Item for dryncke for Byrcham maye — ij^{d}

Item for dryncke for Seggeforde maye — ij^{d}

...

1536/7

[fol. 40]

...

In primis att the plowhe daye — v^{s}

...

In primis att he plowhe day — v^{s}

...

Item for the maye rodde — vij^{d}

...

[fol. 108v]

...

Item for yngalstorpe p*ro*cessyon — iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 109]

...

Item for yngalstorpe p*ro*cessyon — ij^{d}

Item for darsyngham maye — v^{d}

Item for byrcham maye — ij^{d}

...

1537/8

[fol. 40v]

...

In primis on Sowlemass daye — ix^{s} ij^{d}

Item of ye plowhe — v^{s}

...

In primis on Sowlemass Daye — ix^{s} ij^{d}

Item of the plowhe — v^{s}

...

[fol. 110v]

...

Item for yngalstorpe *pro*cessyon — iij^{d}
Item for saynte Edmu*ndes* p*ro*cessyon — iiij^{d}
...
[fol. 111]
...
Item for yngalstorpe p*ro*cessyon — ij^{d}
Item Saynte Edmu*ndes* p*ro*cessyon — ij^{d}
...

1541/2

[fol. 111v]
...
Item payed to John Crystmasse for schotyng of the belle / brasys — x^{s}
...
Item for makyng of ye Swerdawnce lygths[55] & for fyeryng — xiij^{d}
...
Item for breade ad dryncke for yngalstorp men — vj^{d}
...
[fol. 112]
...
Item for lygth on ye dedycatyon daye — j^{d} ^{ob}
...

1542/3

[fol. 112v]
...
Item for yngalstorpe processyon — iij^{d}
...
Item for ye swerdawnce lygth makyng — viij^{d}
...
[fol. 113]
...
Item for mowyng of corne to garlonde — xxiij^{d}
...
Item for yngalstorpe p*ro*cessyon — iij^{d}
...
[fol. 113v]
...
Item for the Swerdawnce lygthmakyng — viij^{d}
...

1543/4

[fol. 114]
...
Item for bredde and drynck for yngalstorpe me*n* — iij^{d}
...
[fol. 115]
...
Item for ye co*m*mon lygth makyng — x^{d}
Item for kepyng of ye same lygth — ij^{d}
...

---

[55] The Malone Society reads this as singular.

Item for bredde & dryncke for yngalstorpe men — v^{d}

...

1544/5

[fol. 41v]

...

Item of ye gatheryng yn ye towne — x^{s} vij^{d}

...

[fol. 115v]

...

Item for ye common Lygth makyng — xij^{d}

...

[fol. 116]

...

Item for yngaldesthorpe processyon — viij^{d}

...

Item for v processyonerys — xx^{d}

...

Item for lygth on ye dedycatyon daye — j^{d} ^{ob}

...

[fol. 117]

...

Item for ye commonlygth makyng — ij^{s}

...

1545/6[56]

[fol. 118]

...

Item for ye common lygth makyng — ij^{s}

...

Item for yngaldesthorp processyon — vj^{d}

...

Item for processyoners — vj^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Item for lygth on ye dedycatyon daye — j^{d} ^{ob}

...

1546/7

[fol. 42v]

...

Item de Joanne Redhedd de le Rockefest de Sowthgate — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item de Alano nuttyng de eodem Rockefest / de Sowthgate — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 119]

...

Item for makyng of the common lygth — xiiij^{d}
Item for kepyng of the same lyghth — ij^{d}

...

[fol. 119v]

...

Item for makyng of the common lygth — x^{d}

---

[56] The Malone Society does not edit these records.

...

Item for yngaldesthorpe processyon — viij^{d}

...

Item for lygth on ye dedycacyon daye — j^{d} ob

...

2 Nov 1547[57]

[fol. 120v]

...

Also the same daye Mary Awdeleye wyddowe / hathe delyv*er*yd unto ye use of ye sayde Churche of / Snettyssh*a*m — vj^{s} viij^{d} st*er*lyng for the dette of John Audeleye late hyr husbande And — ij^{s} iiij^{d} of ye / rockefest of Sutton hyll of ye wyche — vj^{s} viij^{d} and / ye sayde — ij^{s} iiij^{d} ye parysche and towneschyppe hold / y*eir*[58] Selff well and truly contentyd and payd and / ye sayde Marry Awdeley y*ere*of to be quyett for ev*er* / by the p*re*sente Wyttenesyng all ye parysch / as ys behynde wryttyn

...

1548/9

[fol. 122v]

...

Item payed to Rob*er*te Grawnte for brekyng up of yee altar*s*[59] — iiij^{d}

Item payed to ye same Rob*er*te for x dayes worke / meate and wag*es* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1551/2

[fol. 124]

...

ffyrste for pullyng downe of ye awt*er*s — iij^{s} viij^{d}

...

1552/3

[fol. 43]

...

Item of Rob*er*te Hunte for ye gatheryng — viij^{d}

...

Item of ye bulle — xx^{d} [60]

...

[fol. 124]

...

Item for ye pey*n*tyng of ye Kyng*es*[61] arms / yn ye churche — v^{s} ij^{d}

Item for ye Indentur*es* makyng and / ye weyeng of ye chalyce / and other costs att walsyngh*a*m — iij^{s}

Item to ye glaycers before all say*n*ctes — vij^{s} ij^{d}

...

1554/5

---

[57] The Malone Society does not edit this record.

[58] The 'y' of 'y*eir*' has developed from the thorn 'þ' character. Hence 'y*eir*' = 'th*eir*'.

[59] This has been expanded as plural 'altars' because of a suspension mark and comparison with the expense recorded in 1551/2.

[60] There is no indication whether this bull was simply sold or whether the money was raised by baiting the bull.

[61] Edward VI's reign lasted until 6 July 1553, and these accounts go past that date. This painting of arms could have taken place before his death or after in remembrance.

[fol. 1]

...

Item to Sayncte Johannis for Rent of ye gyld hall — j^{d}

...

Item for drynckyng of Ingaldesthorpe processyon — vj^{d}

...

[fol. 43]

...

In primis Receyvyd of ye plowe — xviij^{s} ij^{d}

...

1556/7

[fol. 2][62]

...

Item for peyntyng of ye Roode[63] [^ ffor paynting of the divell -/-6-/-2-] — vj^{s} ij^{d}

...

[fol. 2v.]

...

Item for Ingaldesthorpe processyon — x^{d}

...

[fol. 44]

...

Item att the plowe day — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

In primis of the plowe — ix^{s}

...

In Primis of ye plowe — ix^{s}

...

1557/8

[fol. 3v]

...

Item for mendyng of ye cuckystoole — vj^{d} [64]

Item for Ingaldesthorpe processyon — x^{d}

...

1558/9

[fol. 4]

...

In primis for the oblacyon for ye benefactores — ij^{d} [65]

Item for breade and dryncke for Ingaldesthorpe / processyon — iiij^{d} ob

1559/60

[fol. 4v]

...

---

[62] This record is a marginal and interlinear insertion in dark black ink (versus the standard dark brown ink).

[63] There is an earlier expense for 'The newe Roode makyng'.

[64] That the cucking stool is in need of mending could imply two divergent things. Either it has been in such use that it is damaged and needs repairing, or it has fallen to disuse and needs mending before use.

[65] Similar payments are often found immedieately preceeding the payments for the Ingoldisthorpe procession. This one is edited as an example, the others have been checked and do not provide additional contextual information.

Item for dryncke for Ingaldesthorpe p*ro*cessyo*n* — vj^{d}
Item for breade for Ingaldesthorpe p*ro*cessyon — iij^{d}
...
[fol. 44v]
...
In p*r*imis of ye churche stocke of ye last reckenyng — x^{s}
Item of ye plowe stocke — vj^{s} x$^{d\ ob}$
...
In p*r*imis att hallowmass Recknyng — x^{s}
Item of ye plowe — vj^{s} x$^{d\ ob}$

1561/2

[fol. 45]
...
In Primis Receyved of hallowmass Reckenyng — x^{s} vij$^{d\ ob}$
...
Item of hallowmasse Recknyng — x^{s} vij$^{d\ ob}$
...

1563/4

[fol. 8][66]
...
Item yn expese*s* for caryeng the ij belle*s* to Walsingh*a*m — ij^{s} x^{d}
Item yn expese*s* att the schotyng of ye belle*s* — viijs vi[j^{d}] [67]
Item for fecchyng home of the belle*s* — vij^{s}
Item for the bellstocke*s* — v^{s}
Item for a horse to carye ye — ij^{d}
Item to the bellfowd*er* yn p*ar*te paymen*t*e for shotty*n*g — iij^{li} [68]
...
[fol. 47v]
...
Item the gatheryng on blowe munday[69] — xv^{s}
...

1568/9

[fol. 48][70]
...
Item of John Savage for the yere that he was *Christ*emasse lorde — iij^{s} ix^{d}
...
Item of Thomas Norris for the yere y*a*t Richard Skayth was *Christ*emasse lorde — ix^{s}
...

1574/5

[fol. 16v]
...

---

66 There are a lot of expenses concerning the church's bells in this year, some of which are edited here. There are also common payments to 'Ryngers on Hallomasse nyght' which have not been edited.
67 The final portion of this seven pence is obliterated, but appears correct given the amount of space left.
68 The 'shottyng' of bells was the repairing or splicing of a cracked bell, cf. *OED* 'shutting'.
69 'blowe munday' = 'Blue Monday, the Monday before Lent.'
70 For years starting 2 November, but "For two years last past before the date herof".

Item at ffak*enh*am at the mustere ffor gown powthere — viij^{d}

...

1579/80

[fol. 56r][71]

...

Item to the ryngers uppon the Coronation daye — xij^{d}

Item my chardges at the courte at Fakenham — viij^{d}

...

Item to one wh*o* gathered for the Quenes[72] bench — xij^{d}

...

Item my chardges at the courte — viij^{d}

...

Item at ffakenham when I was excommunicated — vj^{d}

...

Item at Lynne for one booke of Artycles — vj^{d}

Item my chardges there — vj^{d}

...

---

[71] This is the account of Thomas Banyard.

[72] Elizabeth I.

Appendix Three: Extracts from the Lestrange Household Accounts

NRO Lestrange P/1 - P/4 (1518-1550)[1]

[P/1]

1518

(1518 before September) [p. 3]

Item for iij raakes bought at hecham fayre — j^{d}

(1518 before September) [p. 4]

Item to master Cobbe for stuff Bought for ye Children / As it Apere by a Bille of his hand — iiij^{s} xj^{d}

(1518 week ending 19 September) [p. 8]

Item to John Causton Son for goyng to Snetisham / for conyes ij tymes — j^{d}

(1518 week ending 10 October) [p. 10]

Item to Grawnt of Snetisham for a peck Otemelle — iij^{d}

Item to hym for gret naile — ij^{d}

Item for ij pygges at Snetisham market — ix^{d}

(1518 week ending 7 November) [p. 14]

Item at snetisham market for plons — iij^{d}

Item for vyneger — iij^{d}

(1518 week ending 21 November) [p. 15]

Item to Spent for xvj redd herynges — ij^{d}

1519

(1519 week ending 20 February) [p. 27]

Item to Sir John Audeley mynstrell in Reward — iiij^{d}

1520

(1520 week ending 1 January) [p. 75]

Item to ye lord of Crystmasse at Ryngsted — iiij^{d}

(1520 week ending 12 February) [p. 80]

The xxj weke / Item to my lord of Oxforth Bereward in Reward — xx^{d} ?

---

[1] NRO Lestrange P/1-P/4 are large codices of multiple household accounts for different members of the household. Some are in the hand of Dame Anne Lestrange (neé Vaux). Many are detailed inventories of the foodstuffs purchased for the household each week, often detailing expenses down to the very day of the week. The individual non-contiguous records are reassembled into chronological order except in the few instances where a series of contiguous records from the same page are edited as a whole. A few entries from P/3 overlap with P/2 chronologically, and the same is true for some from P/4 which overlap P/3. In these cases keeping the records together with the others from their document has been thought to be preferable. Almost without exception if a record takes up more than one line then they are bracketed ({}) in the original before the expense and so these are not indicated. Otherwise the entries are normally found with a single entry per line — the documents very consistent in doing this.

(1519 Christmas week) [p. 81]

Liveryes delyv*er*d agayn Cristmas A*nn*o xj [^mo]
Item M*istr*es M*ar*garet ffowffreys iij brod yerd*es* p*r*ice [^ ye] yerd iij^{s} viij^{d}
S*um*ma — xiiij^{s}
Item to david John iij brod yerd*es* p*r*ice ye yerd iiij^{s} s*um*ma — xij^{s}
Item to Edward [—E—] Dewseleys iij brod yerd*es* p*r*ice ye same p*r*ice — viij^{s}
Item to Edm*u*nd Sochers iij brod yerd*es* p*r*ice ye yerd ij^{s} viij^{d} s*um*ma — viij^{s}
Item to Thomas pedder iij brod yerd*es* ye same p*r*ice — viij^{s}
Item to Petye John iij brod yerd*es* ye same p*r*ice — viij^{s}
Item to Wyll*ia*m Balye iij brod yerd*es* ye same p*r*ice — viij^{s}
Item to Old John of ye stable iij brod yerd*es* ye same p*r*ice — viij^{s}
Item to Yong John of ye stable iij brod yerd*es* ye same p*r*ice — viij^{s}
Item to Thomas ye Balter iij brod yerd*es* ye same p*r*ice — viij^{s}
Item to John Nevell iij brod yerd*es* ye same p*r*ice — viij^{s}
Item to John Lawrance iij brod yerd*es* ye same p*r*ice — viij^{s}

(From 1 May 1520) [p. 87]

Reward*es* to Londonward
I*tem* to m*aster* Benyfled horskep*er* ye first daye of maye at oxborugh — iiij^{d}
I*tem* to a mynstrell at Newm*ar*kett At my m*asters* comaundment — iiij^{d}
I*tem* to an harmyte Betwy*n* Barkney & Ware — j^{d}
I*tem* to a ffreer at [—at—] ware — ij^{d}
I*tem* p*ai*d to ye Keper of the wardope w*ith* my lorde [—at—] in reward at the delyv*er*y of my m*aster* cote clothe — ij^{s}
I*tem* to iij pore men at powlis be my m*asters* comandment — j^{d}

(1520 after 1 May) [p. 90]

I*tem* d*elivere*d to my m*aster* ye iijrd daye of maye at ye rose tav*er*ne — ij^{s} iiij^{d}
I*tem* d*elivere*d to my m*aster* the vth daye of maye at ye harpe in ffletestrete — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

(11 June 1520 in London) [p. 97]

I*tem* p*ai*d ye sa*me* daye for iiij payers of hauk*es* belle*s* — xij^{d}

(23 August 1520) [p. 131]

Item d*elivere*d to Edward Owseley ye xxiijth daye of August / at m*aster* lovell*es* place in harlyng for my m*aster* — xx^{s}

(1520 week ending 28 September) [p. 220]

I*tem* p*ai*d to thomas Bakon of Snetisham for makyng of / iiij torchys my m*istr*es Ageyn that she was brought to bedde / for to bere to Chirche at ye crystonyng of m*istr*es Anne — v^{s} iij^{d}

---

[2] This entry is alone on the top of page 80, and it was not transcribed by the Malone Society, but it finds a similar entry in BL Add. MS 27449 fol. 9. And yet, this lists seven shillings and eight pence instead of twenty pence. Most likely either the Malone Society or the scribe of BL Add. MS 27449 have confused a one shilling character for a seven shilling character. I have not consulted BL Add. MS 27449 to see where the confusion originates, but the numbers which prefix the entries taken from BL Add. MS 27449 are the outdated page numbers in NRO Lestrange P 1.

1522

(1522 week ending 26 October) [p. 205]

Item paid to Outelawe of ffryng for vj geess — xxij^{d}

1523

(18 April 1523) [p. 285]

Item paid to Lyn ye same daye for a dossen [of] Lute strynges — xij^{d}

...

(After April 1523)

Item paid for A Cronycle booke for my master — vj^{s} viij^{d}

(1523 week ending 27 December) [p. 278]

Item paid to iiij pleyers yat sholde a pleyed ye same day yat Master owen Cam / hyther in reward at my Masters Comandement — viij^{d}

1525

(From 20 December 1525) [p. 339]

Item delivered ye on seynt Thomas Evyn ye Apostle to my master for to pley / at cerdes with master Robert Towneshend — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item delivered on seynt Thomas day at nyght to my master to pley at cardes with master Robert Townesheng — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item delivered to my master ye iiij day of January for [—ye mone—] to pay Sir John Cressen for / money that my master Borowyd of hym — xx^{s}

Item delivered ye vijth day of January to my Master yat he gaffe to ij Mynstrelles — xij^{d}

[P/2][3]

1527

(9-16 June 1527) [p. 37]

Strangers in ye Same weke

My Lady Boleyn & master Edmund Knevett & his wyffe j daye / Master pearn & his wyffe iij dayes

1534

(25 January - 1 February 1534) [p. 107]

Straungers in thatt week my Sone / Gressenall John dowerman & the / wyves of the town & dyverse others / so the sum of thys week besyde gyft & store — xx^{s} iij^{d}

(February 1 - 8 1534) [p. 108]

Straungers yn thatt week my /sone gressenall the vycare of / Snettysham with wyves of thys town & wyves of hecham / with others & so the sum of thys week besyde gyft & stor — xix^{s} j^{d}

[P/3][4]

1533

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[3] Although the accounts in NRO Lestrange P/2 are quite detailed in respect to household expenditure and contain very accurate lists of strangers staying as guests in the house are provided for almost every week, there is little of interest by way of entertainment records.

[4] Although the records for 1533 and 1534 overlap with P/2 they have been kept separate here for greater clarity.

(6 April 1533) [p. 139]

Item paid to the shomaker of Lynn the vj daye of Apryll for / a payer of Shoes for Rychard & a payer for John Cresineres / boye & a payer for the folle and a payre for Wyllyam — xxiij^{d}

...

Item paid to Ralfe of hecham for ij Kalve Skynes the / xxix daye off maye for the fooll — xij^{d}

Item paid to the taylere the xxix daye of maye for makynge / the fool a doblett — iij^{d}

(17 August 1533) [p. 151]

Item in Reward the [^x]vij daye of Auguste to ij mynstrelles / off Wyndham — viij^{d}

(From 27 September 1533) [p. 140]

Item paid to the bocher off hunstanton the xxvij daye off September for a / payre off shoyes for the fooll — vij^{d}

...

Item paid to Ralff Thomson the xj daye off October for Clowtynge / lether for the boye off the kytchyn and the fooll — iiij^{d}

...

Item paid the xviijth daye off November to John Syffe for iij yerdes / off blankett for a petykott & payre off sloppes for the fooll — ij ^{s} vj^{d}

(23 November 1533) [p. 99]

Satterdaye /

Item spente in the Seyd Weeke /

...

Item spente [—in—] for folle — vij^{d}

1534

(From 6 January 1534 onwards) [p. 149]

Item delyveryd to my husbond when he wente to my lorde of / Northfolkes at twelthe — xx^{s}

Item delyveryd to hym the same tyme in crystmes for to play — xx^{s}

Item delyveryd the same tyme to Edward Owsleye for our / costes when we went to myn Uncle Woddouse — x^{s} iij^{d}

Item delyveryd to my husbond the xiiij daye of ffebruary Whan he / playd att the cardes with John draner — v^{s}

Item delyveryd to hym the xvij daye of ffebruary when he pleyd / att the cardes with Master Bramton

...

(From 22 February onwards)

Item delyveryd to my husbond the xxij daye of the same moneth[5] / whan he pleyd att the cardes with my cosyn gressenalle — x^{s}

Item delyveryd to hym the xxiij daye of the same moneth / whan he pleyd with my cosyn gressenalle — v^{s}

(5 February 1534) [p. 153]

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[5] The records are still for February 1534.

Item in reward the v daye of february to the pyper of hech*a*m — iiij^{d}

(6 April 1534) [p. 244]

Item in reward the vj daye of the same month to the Chirche lyght & / to the bellman — iiij^{d}

(13 April 1534) [p. 245]

Item in reward the xiij daye of aprill to a felow that gethered for the Kyng*es* bench — j^{d}

(1534 after 17 July) [p. 259]

Item at Robynson*es* at Boston whan ye playd at ye card*es* — xx^{d}

...

Item to the syngyng chyldern of Boston — viij^{d}

Item to the freers — iiij^{d}

(Between 20 September and 13 October 1534) [p. 267]

Item p*aid* to the ta*i*ller fo*r* makyng of the foolle*s* ceke — iiij^{d}

(From 20 November 1534 onwards) [p. 268]

Item p*aid* to John Syffe the xx^{ti} of the same moneth for / a peyer of schow*es* for Robyn of the Kytchyn — vij^{d}

Item p*aid* for mendyng of the foolis schow*es* the xij daye / of December — ij^{d}

(Christmas Season 1534) [p. 260]

Item delyv*er*yd to hym at the card*es* Cristmes — v^{s} iiij^{d}

Item delyv*er*ed to yow a*t* other tyme*s* whan ye pled at card*es* / w*ith* my cosyn wym*ond*h*a*m — [—xx^{s}—] j^{li}

1535

(26 January 1535) [p. 248]

Item in reward to mast*er* Robsar*es* [—mynstelel—] mysterel the xxvj^{ti} day / of Januari — xij^{d}

...

(9 March 1535) [p. 248]

Item in reward the ix daye of marche to the Duke of Suff*olks* Trumpetours — iij^{s}

Item in reward that same daye to the Taborar — v^{s}

(10 February 1535) [p. 268]

Item p*aid* the x daye of ffebruary to John Smythe for / j yerde & di of Blankett for the foole*s* hosen & for / the makyng of the same — xiij^{d}

(1 July 1535) [p. 192]

Hecham ffeyer /

Item rec*eived* the first day of July of John Smyth / for money rec*eived* at hecham feyer — iiij^{s} vj^{d}

1536

(16 March 1536) [p. 620]

Item delyv*er*ed yow the xvj day of marche When m*aster* / W*ym*ondham [was here] to play at dice w*ith* ffrance*s* fflemyng — xij^{s}

...
Item delyvered yow at Wymondham when / you played with master
Robeshart — xv^{s}

(17 April 1536) [p. 587]
to the Duke of Suffolks trumpytors /
Item in reward the [—mu—] xvij day of Aprill estern Munday / to the duke of
Suffolks Trumpytours — xij^{d}

(13 May 1536) [p. 588]
to my lord of Sussex servantes /
Item in reward the xiij day of May to my lord / of Sussex iij servantes — ij^{s} [6]

(11 August 1536) [p. 305]
The toll of / hecham ffeyer /
Item received of William Ryx the xj day of august for / the toll of the feyer at
hecham on our lady / day thassumpcion — iiij^{s} viij^{d} [7]

(From between 8-21 August 1536)[8] [p. 617]
Item paid for ij shertes for the foole of the Kechyn at / hecham feyer — xx^{d}
...
(16 September 1536)
Item paid the xvj day of september for a peyer of / shoys for the ffoole of the
kechyn — viij^{d}

(From 27 December 1536-1537) [p. 621]
Item delivered yow on Seynt Johns day to pley at the dyce & / cardes in
Cristmas — xx^{s}
Item delivered yow the vjth day of January to pley at dyce — x^{s}

1537

(4 January 1537) [p. 591]
Item in reward the iiijth day of Ianuary to the players / that Cam from
Wyndham —ij^{s}
Item in reward the same day a Minstrell that Cam / from Dereham — xij^{d}

(8 January 1537) [p. 591]
Item in reward the viijth day of Ianuary to the / Mynstrelles of lyn — v^{s}

(17 January 1537) [p. 622]
Item delivered yow the xvij day of january that yow dyd giff / a man of cure
that had brent his hous — viij^{d}

(21 January 1537) [p. 618]

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[6] It is unclear why the Malone Society has edited this payment when it leaves numerous other similar payments to the servants of nobles unedited. If the Malone Society has reasons to believe these servants were entertainers of some sort, it is not indicated.
[7] The dating of this record is confusing, as the feast of the assumption is the 15 August, not the 11 August. cf. 1 July 1535. There are similar (untranscribed) records in 1537 (p. 338), 1538 (p 372), 1539 (p. 399), 1540 (p. 424) and 1543 (p. 488).
[8] This entry is probably from the 11 August 1526, if this is the correct date for Hecham fair.

Item p*aid* the xxj[ti] day of January for a peyer of hose for the ffoole of the Kechyn — xix[d]

(12 February 1537) [p. 622]

Item d*elivered* yow the xij day of ffebruary to pley at dyce / w*ith* henry Russell — iiij[s]

(24 February 1537) [p. 622]

Item d*elivered* yow the xxiiij day of ffebruary when yow played / at the dyce w*ith* m*aster* Robyshart & Crampton — v[s]

(18 march 1537) [p. 71]

Item p*aid* te xviij day of marche for a peyer of show*es* for the ffoole of the Kechin / & for the clowghtyng — xj[d]

(26 March 1537) [p. 77]

Item p*aid* the xxvj day of marche to S*ir* John [—S—] / Southwelle p*resented* by the hand*es* of Will*iam* / le Straunge for money that yow borrowyhed / of him to pley at Dyce when you wer ther — xx[s]

(15 April 1537) [p. 77]

Item d*elivered* yow the xv day of aprill to pley / at dyce when my nevew throcm*or*ton was / her & my brother Walton — xx[s]

(17 April 1537) [p. 45]

Item in reward the xvij day of ap*r*ill aforeseid / to warner of newm*ar*kett — xx[d]

(10 May 1537) [p. 45]

Item in reward the x day of may to my / lord of Suffolk*es* Trumpeter — xij[d]

(5 June 1537) [p. 45]

Item in reward the vth day of Iune to my / Lord Morleys Mynstrell*es* — iij[s] iiij[d]

(23 June 1537) [p. 78]

Item p*aid* the same day to my brother Wutts / f*or* mony that yow lost at Shotyng — xij[d]

(7 July 1537) [p. 713]

Item p*aid* the seme vij[th] of july to Roger / le strange for money that he dyd Wyn / of yow at shotyng — iiij[s] iiij[d]

(7 July 1537) [p. 46]

Item in reward the vij day of Iuly to / the Minsterell*es* of lyn — xij[d]

(11 July 1537) [p. 79]

Item d*elivered* yow the xj day of July when / yow Rod m*aster* woodhous to shote — xl[s]

(20 July 1537) [p. 46]

Item in reward the xx day of Iuly to / my lord of Surreyes *servantes* at kenynghall — iiij^{s} viiij^{d}

Item in reward the same tyme to the / Kyngg*es* Mynstrell*es* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

(17 August 1537) [p. 713]

Item delyv*er*ed yow the xvij day of august / for to pay for your dew at John Man*nes* / at Norwiche & for schotyng to m*aster* / Roger Wodhous — x^{s} v^{d}

(20 August 1537) [p. 72]

Item p*aid* the xx^{ti} day of august for ij shert*es* for the ffoole of the Kechin — xx^{d}

Item the same day for a peyer of slopes / for him — xvij^{d}

(22 August 1537) [p. 713]

Item d*elivered* you the same day to pley at / Tables w*ith* m*aster* stede of System — vj^{s} viij^{d}

(17 September 1537) [p. 73]

Item the same day for a lether doblett / for the ffoole of the Kechin — xiij^{d}

(22 October 1537) [p. 74]

Item p*aid* the xxij daye of October for a pyre / of shoes for the fole — vij^{d}

(21-28 October 1537) [Strangers List for that week][9] [p. 14]

Straungers / my lord ffytzwater / m*aster* Calthorpe / m*aster* *Christo*fer Conyng*es*by / George Cressen / and the Kyng*es* pleyers

(23 October 1537) [p. 48]

Item in reward the xxiij day of Octobre to the / kyng*es* pleyers — v^{s}

(4 December 1537) [p. 62]

Item p*aid* the iiij daye of decembre for Coverlett of Imagery — xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

(28 December 1537) [p. 49]

Item in Reward the same tyme to ij mynstrell*es* — xx^{d}

(30 December 1537) [p. 72]

Item p*aid* the xxx daye of decembre to ye Will*iam* / le Strange for to playe at the card*es* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

1538

(5 January 1538) [p. 81]

Item delyv*er*ed you the vth day of January to / pley at card*es* & dice With m*aster* Croppe & others — x^{s}

...

(27 January 1538)

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[9] The Malone Society notes that "Among 'straungers' (house guests) for the week of October 21 are listed 'the kyngs pleyers'." Malone Society, *Collections XI: Norfolk*, p. 22.

Item d*elivere*d yow the xxvij day of January to play / at dyce w*ith* m*aster* croppe & ffranc*es* Rymes — [—xx^{s}—] x^{s}

(3 February 1538) [p. 75]

Item p*aid* the iijrd day of ffebruary for a peyer of Shoys for the foole of the Kechyn — vj^{d}

(15 February 1538) [p. 49]

Item in reward the xv day of ffebruary to / a Iogeler that cam from my lord ff*itzewate*r — viij^{d}

(28 April 1538) [p. 674]

Item in reward the xxviij day of Aprill / to the Duke of Suff*olks* Trumppett*ers* & to my / lord p*rivy* Seall*es* Minsterrell xvj^{d}

(3 June 1538) [p. 703]

Item p*aid* the ij^{d} day of June for iij yerd*es* of / Blankett for to hose the fooles of the Kechin — ij^{s} ij^{d}

(15 June 1538) [p. 703]

Item p*aid* the xv day of June for ij payere of / shoys for the ij ffooles — xiij^{d}

(23 June 1538) [p. 703]

Item p*aid* the xxiij day of June for a / shert for the ffoole of the Kechin — viij^{d}

(22 August 1538) [p. 675]

Item in reward the xxij day of august to / Warner of Newm*ar*kett — xij^{d}

(24 August 1538) [p. 704]

Item p*aid* the xxiiij day of august for ij / shert*es* for the ffooles of the Kechin — xx^{d}

(25 September 1538) [p. 675]

Item in reward the xxv day of Septemb*er* to / Hayles the Minstrell — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

(30 September 1538) [p. 722]

Item p*aid* the last day of Septemb*er* to John Redhede / by the hand*es* of S*ir* Edm*und* Colton for the careyng of the tythe corne ther — xx^{s}

(5 October 1538) [p. 676]

Item in reward the v day of October to [—the—] my / lord of Rutlond*es* Mynsterell*es* — xij^{d}

(3 November 1538) [p. 705]

Item p*aid* the iij day of Novemb*er* for ij Shert*es* / for the foole of the kechin — xx^{d}

(Between the 1-16 December 1538) [p. 706]

Item p*aid* for a peyer of show*es* for the ffoole of / the kechyn — ix^{d}

(Christmastide 1538) [p. 706]

Item Gyven to Roger le Straunge in Cristmes / to pley — v^{s}

(27 December 1538) [p. 714]

Item delyv*er*ed yow the xxvij day of december / for to pley card*es* at my cosyn Southwell*es* w*ith* viij^{s} vj^{d} delyv*er*ed yow when / [—W—] yow went to Wymondham lodge — xij^{s} vj^{d}

1539

(1 January 1539) [p. 676]

Item in reward the same day to *Christ*iane Downes for her New yere gift — vij^{s} vj^{d}

(17 January 1539) [p. 677]

Item in reward the xvij day of Ianuary to M*aster* Stedes s*erv*ant the organ pleyer — xij^{d}

(18 January 1539) [p. 706]

Item p*aid* the same day for a peyer of show*es* / for the ffoole of the kechin — iiij^{d}

(From 22 January 1539) [p. 714]

Item delyv*er*ed yow the xxij day of January / when yow went a hawkyng w*ith* my uncle / Roger Woodhous — vij^{s} vj^{d}

Item d*elivered* yow the ixth day of ffebr*u*ary to pley / at card*es* w*ith* my co*us*in Cressen — ij^{s} viij^{d}

(15 February 1539) [p. 677]

Item in reward the xv day of ffebruary to M*aster* Hegons Mynstrell*es* & to the logeler my lord Fytzwater s*erv*ant — iij^{s}

(15 February 1539) [p. 708]

Item p*aid* the xv day of ffebruary for a doblett / for the ffoole of the kechyn — xviij^{d}

...

(28 February 1539)

Item p*aid* the same day for a peyer of Sloppes for the ffoole of the kechin — xvj^{d}

[P/4][10]

1527

(From 28 March 1527) [p. 324]

Item d*elivered* to my mast*er* ye xxviij day of m*a*rche whan he mett thomas manne / to pley at cerdes for hym — v^{s}

...

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[10] Malone Society notes that these are the accounts of Sir Nicholas Lestrange, and while some of them are, accounts from his father Thomas Lestrange are also bound with them. Accounts for P 4 overlap with those from P 3, but they have been left separate (for now) for greater clarity.

Item delivered ye last day of July to my Master that he lost to [—master P—] Sir Wyllam / Pennyngton at Shotynge — j^{s}

...

Item delivered ye vth day of October to my master at Walsyngham Whan he / was yere to meete with ye ffrenche qwene [—yat—] for to pay Sir John herdon ye / lost to hym at dyse

Item delivered ye xvth day of October to my master whan he rode his pylgrymage / toward the holy blod of hayles — lx^{s}

Item delivered on seynt Nicholas day to my master yat he gaffe to / seynt Nicholas clerkes — iiij^{d}

(Most Likely 1527)[11] [p. 337]

... Brother in Lawe [—fo—] in reward / ... — xx^{d}

... [e]mber to ^[one of] the ffrenche quenes mynstrelles at / ... [f]or his rewardes — xx^{d} / Summa — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

(Most likely 1527) [p. 339]

... [e]mber Robert Taillor for makyng of a / ... [tork?] the ffooll — vj^{d}

... to hym for a payer of Shoes for Robert ye ffoolle — v^{d}

1528

(1 January 1528) [p. 325]

Item delivered the first day of January to my master for ^[whan] he pleyd at cardes / with Thomas Thorn & [—lyst—] lycester — xx^{s}

...

(From 10 February 1528)

Item delivered ye xth day of ffebruary to my master whan he pleyd at cardes / with John Inglowse & masteres hastynge — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item delivered ye xv day of ffebruary to my master whan he pleyd at / Cardes with master wymondham — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

(18 March 1528)

Item delivered ye xviijth day of marche to my master whan he pleyd [—at—] ^[cardes] — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

1540

(8 April 1540) [p. 48]

Item in reward the viijth day of Aprill to the / Duke of Suffolkes Minstrell — xij^{d}

...

(12 April 1540)

Item in reward the same day to Hayles / the minstrell — iiij^{d}

Item in reward the seid xxiij day of Aprill to / Warner the Minstrell of Newmarkett — xij^{d}

(29 May 1540) [p. 82]

Item paid the same daye to Kemps wiff of Walsyngham / for ij shertes for the ffole of the Kechyn — xx^{d}

Item paid the same day for a peier of showes for him — viij^{d}

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[11] Extracts from p. 337 & p. 339 are from damaged folios in the same hand as the Steward's accounts a few pages earlier from 1527. Other expenses for the 'ffrenche quene' are from October 1527.

Item p*aid* the same day for a peyer of hose for the / seme ffoole — xvij^{d}
Item p*aid* the same day the taylou*r* of Godwik for / makyng of a doblett for him — iij^{d}

(24 August 1540) [p. 84]
Item p*aid* the same day for a peyer of show*es* / for the ffolle of the Kechyn — ix^{d}

(17 October 1540) [p. 85]
Item p*aid* the same day for a peier of hose for the foole — xvij^{d}

(28 November 1540) [p. 86]
Item p*aid* the same day for a peier of Show*es* for the ffoole of the Kechyn — ix^{d}

(20 December 1540) [p. 52]
Item in reward the same day to the Kynge*s* / Game pleyars — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

1541

15 January 1541) [p. 92]
Item d*elivered* to yow the xv day of January to play / at dice — x^{s}

(15 January 1541) [p. 61]
... & for a lovynge belle — v^{s}

1543

(8 February 1543) [p. 210]
Item Gyven In Rewarde the viijth daye of februarye / to thomas Causton for Rynggyn of the daye belle / from hallowmes tyll candelmes — iiij^{d}

(19 March 1543) [p. 206]
Item in reward the xix day of Marche to a Tru*m*pyto*ur* — viij^{d}

(31 May 1543) [p. 242]
Item p*aid* the last day of may to Trewe / for a dosen & di*midio* of Shafte*s* for the childern — vj^{d}

(31 May 1543) [p. 249]
...for a peier of spetacles — xx^{d}

(10 June 1543) [p. 207]
Item in Reward the x day of Iune to Warn*er* of Newm*ar*kett the Minstrell — xx^{d}

(22 July 1543) [p. 247]
...for a shert for the / [—for—] ^[ffoole] of the Kechyn — xij^{d}

(5 August 1543) [p. 208]
Item in reward the the[12] v day of august to my lord of Sussex*es* [—Ioy`e—] Ioggler — xij^{d}

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[12] [*Sic*].

(10 September 1543) [p. 247]

Item p*aid* the same day for makyng of the / ffooles sloppes to Roulond the taylour — ij^{d}

(12 November 1543) [p. 247]

Item the same day to John Siff for ij peier / of Brekes for the ffoole of the Kechyn — ij^{s} iiij^{d}

(29 December 1543) [p. 245]

Anne le Str*ange* /

Item Gyven to Anne le Straunge for to pleye / at Card*es* in Cristmas tyme the xxjx day of dece*m*ber — xij^{d}

1544

(2 January 1544) [p. 284]

Item y*at* I lost the secunde daye of Januari / at the card*es* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

(20 January 1544) [p. 285]

Item lost at Card*es* ye xx^{ti} daye of Januarye — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

1548

(From 31 January 1548) [p. 382]

Item p*aid* the last of Januarye for a payer / of showes for the foule — ix^{d}

Item p*aid* the xxxth of marche for a peyer of sloppes for the foule — xx^{d}

Item p*aid* the vth of maye for a payer of / showes for the foule — x^{d}

Item p*aid* the xijth of august for a peyer / of showes for the foule — x^{d}

(From 8 September 1548)[13] [p. 383]

Item p*aid* the viijth of September for gere / boughte for the foule — iiij^{s}

Item p*aid* the laste of November for A / payer of Showes for the foule — xij^{d}

Item p*aid* the same daye for a yerd & di# of / causeye for a peyer of sloppes for the foule — ij^{s}

Item p*aid* the seme daye for a payer of — / showes for the boye of the kychuyn — viij^{d}

Item p*aid* the j laste of december for a / payer of Showes for the foule — xij^{d}

1549

(30 November 1549) [p. 518]

Item p*aid* the same day for a peyer of show*es* / for the ffoolle — xij^{d}

1550

(20 January 1550) [p. 507]

... [p*ai*]d the xxth daye of january by my mas*ters* / [comm]andment for the pley — xiiij^{d}

(23 February 1550) [p. 520]

Item p*aid* the xxiij of ffebru*ary* ffor [ij] [—a—] peyer of / show*es* for the ffolle — xij^{s} ij^{d}

Item p*aid* the xxiij of ffebru*ary* for iij yard*es* of / cloth*e* for a cott & a peyer of sloppes for / the ffolle aft*er* xiij^{d} the yard — iij^{s} vj^{d}

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13 This set of entries continues on directly from the previous page.

(20 March 1550) [p. 521]

Item p*aid* to the shomaker of Thornham for / solyng of ij peyer showes for the ffolle — xij^{d}

(25 March 1550) [p. 521]

Item p*aid* him then for the makyng of / ij peyer of sloppes *viz* the oon for the folle & the other for Eruck the boye of / the Kecheing — viij^{d}

Appendix 4: Extracts from the Tilney All Saints Churchwardens' Accounts

Wisbech & Fenland Museum M/R 99/M (1443/4-1589/90)[1]

1443/4[2]

[fol. 1v]

...

Item receperunt pro lumine beate Marie in die omnium sanctorum — iij^{s}

...

Item receperunt cum aratro — viij^{s} x^{d}

...

1444/5

[fol. 2]

...

Item pro lumine beate marie in die omnium sanctorum — iij^{s} x^{d}

...

Item receperunt cum aratro — viij^{s} viij^{d}

...

1445/6

[fol. 2v]

...

Item receperunt pro lumine beate in die Omnium sanctorum — iiij^{s}

Item receperunt cum aratro

...

1446/7

[fol. 3v]

...

Item receperunt pro lumine sancte Marie in die Omnium sanctorum iij^{s} viij^{d}

Item receperunt cum aratro — viij^{s} ij^{d}

...

1447/8

[fol. 4]

...

Item receperunt pro lumine beate Marie in die omnium sanctorum — iiij^{s}

Item cum aratro — vij^{s} viij^{d}

...

[fol. 4v]

...

Item in uno nuncio misso ad Cressyngham — vj^{d}

...

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[1] This document is well conserved and, for the most part, very legible. A transcription was completed by A.D. Stallard in 1914, the brother of the vicar, and published posthumously by his widow in . A.D. Stallard, *The transcript of the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Tilney All Saints, Norfolk, 1443 to 1589*, transcribed 1914 (London: Mitchell, Hughes and Clarke, 1922). Although he did not have a chance to revise it, this transcription is generally reliable in terms of content, but does not indicate line breaks, expansions, and some other editorial intrusions. The Malone Society did not know of this transcription and relied instead on flawed partial extracts found in the Norfolk Record Office's Bradfer-Lawrence Collection (II e).

[2] The accounts in Tilney All Saints ran from Good Friday until Good Friday.

1448/9

[fol. 4v]

...

Item p*ro* lum*ine* be*a*te Marie in die om*nium* s*anc*tor*um* — iij^{s} vj$^{d\ ob}$

Item cu*m* aratro re*ceperunt* — vij^{s} vij^{d}

...

1449/50

[fol. 5v]

...

Item in die Om*nium* s*anc*tor*um* — iiij^{s}

Item in c*ircumeun*do cu*m* aratro — viij^{s}

...

[fol. 6]

...

Item pro uno carpe*ntario* pro trussy*n*g & stykyng p*arv*e campane — viij^{d}

...

Item p*ro* cereo l*umine* Be*a*te in die Om*nium* S*anc*tor*um* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item p*ro* aratro — viij^{s} j^{d}

...

1450/51

[fol. 6v]

...

Item die Om*nium* s*anc*tor*um* pro lumine be*a*te — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item r*eceperunt* cu*m* Aratro — viij^{s} ix^{d}

...

1451/2

[fol. 7v]

...

Item i*n* die Om*nium* Sanctorum pro l*umine* be*a*te Marie — iij^{s} iij^{d}

Item cu*m* aratro [—cur—]circ*um*eundo vill*am* — x^{s} iij^{d}

...

1452/3

[fol. 8v]

...

Item de le Ca*n*delsylvyr v*iz* pro cer*eo* Pasc*hali* de to*t*a vill*a* — vij^{s} iiij^{d} [3]

Item p*ro* l*umine* Be*a*te Marie i*n* die Om*nium* s*anc*tor*um* — iij^{s} v^{d}

Item cu*m* aratro c*ircumeun*do — x^{s} j$^{d\ ob}$

Item de le maysylvy*e*r in toto — v^{s} xj$^{d\ ob}$

...

...

[fol. 9]

...

Item in c*ircumeun*do bina vice c*ircum* eccl*esiam* colligen*do* — v^{s} ij^{d}

...

1453/4

[fol. 9v]

...

Item r*eceperun*t de Ca*n*delsylvyr v*iz* pro cereo pasch*ali* de to*t*a vill*a* — vij^{s} iiij^{d}

---

[3] Receipts for Easter 'Candelsylvyr' are not transcribed for the rest of the document, but they, along with other collections for wax, occur regularly into the late sixteenth century.

Item p*ro* l*um*i*n*e B*ea*te Marie in die om*n*i*um* s*anc*tor*um* — iij^{s} vj^{d}
Item cum arat*r*o c*ircum*e*un*do — xj^{s} iij^{d}
...
In *r*eccess*u* meo re*manet* in bursa p*reter* le ca*n*delsylv*er* — v^{s} viij^{d}
Item i*n* le ca*n*delsylv*er* — vij^{s} iiij^{d}
...

1454/5

[fol. 11]
...
Item pro l*um*i*n*e S*anc*te Marie in die Om*n*i*um* s*anc*tor*um* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item cu*m* aratro c*ircum*e*un*do vill*am* — x^{s} j$^{d\ ob}$
...
Item c*ircum*e*un*do eccl*es*iam bina vice de promiss*is* et spo*n*tanee dat*is*
...

1455/6

[fol. 12v]
...
Item p*ro* l*um*i*n*e S*anc*te Marie in die Om*n*i*um* s*anc*tor*um* — iiij$^{s\ ob}$
Item cu*m* aratro c*ircum*e*un*do vill*am* — x^{s}
...

1456/7

[fol. 13v]
...
Item p*ro* l*um*i*n*e S*anc*te Marie in die om*n*i*um* s*anc*tor*um* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item cu*m* aratro c*ircum*e*un*do vill*am* — viij^{s} iij$^{d\ ob}$
...
In p*r*imis p*ro* cera empt*a* erga festu*m* reliq*uarum* & festum Asu*mp*cionis B*ea*te Marie — vj^{s} iij^{d}
Item p*ro* cera erg*a* fest*um* Nativitat*is* D*omi*ni — v^{s} vj^{d}
Item p*ro* le Rowell & Pascall et aliis l*umi*nari*bus* — x^{s} vj^{d}
...

1457/8

[fol. 14v]
...
Item p*ro* l*um*i*n*e B*ea*te Marie c*ircum*e*un*do ecc*les*ia*m* — iij^{s} x^{d}
Item c*ircum*e*un*do cu*m* arat*r*o — ix^{s} vj^{d}
...

1458/9

[fol. 15]
...
Item p*ro* l*um*i*n*e b*ea*te Marie in die Om*n*i*um* s*anc*tor*um* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item c*ircum*e*un*do cu*m* arat*r*o — viij^{s} x$^{d\ ob}$
...

1459/60

[fol. 15v]
...
Item recp*erunt* p*ro* lumine B*ea*te Marie i*n* die Om*n*i*um* S*anc*tor*um*
...

[fol. 16][4]

...

Item ^[rece*perunt*] cir*cum*e*un*do cu*m* aratro — x^{s} ij^{d}

...

Item in p*ri*mis p*ro* em*pt*a erga festa Asumpci*on*is B*ea*te marie Et Nativitat*is* D*omi*ni eodem anno — vj^{s} viij^{d}

...

1460/1

[fol. 16v]

...

Item rec*eperunt* cir*cum*e*un*do cu*m* aratro — [*blank*]

...

1462/3

[fol. 17v]

...

Item rec*eperunt* in cir*cum*e*un*do cum aratro — ix^{s} ij^{d}

Item rec*eperunt* p*ro* l*um*i*n*e B*ea*te marie — iij^{s} vj^{d}

...

1463/4[5]

[fol. 18]

...

It*em* p*ro* pr*o*sescon days — iij^{d}

...

1464/5

[fol. 19]

...

It*em* in eund*o* cu*m* aratro — xj^{s} j^{d}

...

[fol. 19v]

...

It*em* p*ro* emendac*ion*e off ij handbell*es* — xiij^{d}

...

It*em* for ber*y*ng of bann*er*s on Rogac*i*on days & on / Sencte Lawrence day — ij^{d}

...

1465/6

[fol. 20]

...

It*em* in die Omn*ium* S*anct*or*um* — ij^{s} ix^{d}

It*em* cu*m* aratro — ij^{s} ix^{d}

...

[fol. 20v]

...

It*em* for her burd — ij^{s} ij^{d}

It*em* ye Paschall payntyng — ix^{d}

...

It*em* ye ban*ner*es in Croce weke — iiij^{d}

---

[4] Continues on directly from previous folio.

[5] The dating is uncertain, but I agree with Stallard that the expenses of 1462 and the Compotus and Receipts of 1463 are missing from the MS.

...

1466/7

[fol. 21]

...

Item receperunt in circumendo cum aretro — x^{s}

Item receperunt in die omnium sanctorum pro lumine Beate Marie — iij^{s} vij^{d} ob

...

1467/8

[fol. 22]

...

Item recperunt Circumeundo cum aretro — ix^{s} x^{d} ob

...

Item receperunt in die omnium sanctorum pro lumine Beate marie — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item collectum in ecclesia in die dominica proxima ante ffestum Sancti Laurencii — ij^{s}

Item receperunt in die Assumpcionis beate marie — xij^{d} ob

...

[fol. 22v]

...

Item cuidam puero joculatori ad orgon ad ffestum Pasche — xx^{d}

...

1468/9

[fol. 23]

...

Item receperunt in circumeundo cum aretro

Item receperunt in die omnium sanctorum pro lumine Beate Marie — iij^{s}

...

[fol. 23v]

...

Item solutum pro le Berynge de le Shafte prykett & le / Banneres ad capellam sancti laurencii in expensis — iiij^{d}

...

1469/70

[fol. 24]

...

Item receperunt in circumeundo cum aretro — x^{s} ij^{d}

Item receperunt in die Assumpcionis Beate Marie & in die omnium sanctorum — iiij^{s} ij^{d}

...

[fol. 24v]

...

Item pro le orgon player ad ffestum Pasche xvj^{d} & ad ffestum Pentecostis / xij^{d} ad ffesta Assumpcionis & Nativitatis Beate viij^{d} & ad ffestum / Natalis domini xij^{d} — Summa iiij^{s}

...

1470/1

[fol. 25]

...

Item receperunt in Circumeundo cum aretro — x^{s} ij^{d}

Item receperunt in die Assumpcionis Beate Marie & in die omnium sanctorum

— ij^{s} v^{d}

...

[fol. 25v]

...

Item p*ro* mensa *eorun*dem cu*m* labor le Belman — iiij^{s}

...

Item solut*um* organor*um* joculat*ori* ad div*er*sa pr*in*c*ipa*lia ffesta Anni — iiij^{s}

...

1471/2

[fol. 26]

Item receper*unt* in circume*un*do cu*m* aretro — x^{s}

...

Item rec*eperunt* in die Assumpc*ion*is B*eat*e M*ar*ie & in die [—A—] om*n*i*um* *sanc*tor*um* — iij^{s} vj^{d}

...

1472/3

[fol. 27]

...

Item rec*eperunt* in Circ*u*me*u*ndo cu*m* aretro — xj^{s} v^{d}

...

Item rec*eperunt* p*ro* lumi*n*e B*eate* Marie bina vice — iiij^{s} x^{d}

...

[fol. 27v]

...

Item solut*um* Willelmo Baldynge p*ro* le organes — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Item solut*um* cuidam vestiment maker pro le canepy — v^{s}

...

1473/4

[fol. 28]

...

Item rec*eperunt* in circ*u*me*u*ndo cum aretro — xij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 28v]

...

Item in expens*is* in dieb*us* Roggacci*one*m pro le Banneres — ij^{d}

...

1474/5

[fol. 29]

...

Item una die college*n*do p*ro* uno novo tab*er*naculo — viij^{s} iij^{d} ob

...

Item *receperunt* in die Assumc*ion*is B*eate* M*arie* p*ro* lum*i*ne — ij^{s} iij^{d}
Item r*eceperunt* in die om*n*i*um* s*anc*tor*um* — iij^{s} ij^{d}

...

[fol. 29v]

...

Item p*ro* f*actur*a cuiusd*am* tabernaculi — xiij^{s} vij^{d}
Item p*ro* pictura p*redict*i tabernaculi — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}

...
Item in expensis pro portantibus processionibus — iiij^{d}
...

1475/6

[fol. 30]
...
Item in eundo cum aratro — x^{s}
Item in die Assumpcionis Beate Marie — ij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item in die omnium sanctorum — iij^{s} iij^{d}
...
Item de le Mey sylver — vij^{s} v^{d}
...
[fol. 30v]
...
In primis in expencis pro portantibus vexilla in processionibus — iiij^{d}
...
Item for j newe torche & topyng j olde of ye mey — vij^{s} ix^{d}
...
Item peyde to Jon Awngyl pro organis at Critynmes — xij^{d}
Item pro picture de le stavys to ye fertum — xij^{d}
...

1476/7

[fol. 31]
...
Item receperunt de May sylvyr — vij^{s} vij^{d}
...
Item receperunt in circumeundo cum aratro — ix^{s} ix^{d}
...
Item receperunt in circumeundo ecclesiam duobus vicibus — iij^{s} viij^{d}
...
[fol. 31v]
...
Solutum Johanni Awngell pro tempore Pasche et Pentecoste — ij^{s} j^{d}
...
[fol. 32]
...
Item in expensis to ye baner berers — vij^{d}
...

1477/8

[fol. 32v]
...
Item receperunt de May sylver — v^{s} vij^{d} ob
Item receperunt in circumeundo cum aratro — ix^{s}
Item receperunt in circumeundo Ecclesiam in omnium sanctorum — ij^{s} ob
Item receperunt in circumeundo Ecclesiam pro imagine Sancti Jacobi — vj^{s} iij^{d}
...
[fol. 33]
...
In primis pro organis — iiij^{d}
Item in expensis in diebus Rogacionem — v^{d}
...

1478/9

[fol. 34]

...

Item payd to Wyllyem Cay for blowyng of ye organs — iiij^{d}

...

Item payd to ye booke byndar for ye chenyng of ye bokys in ye library / [—&—]
& for ye a m*en*dyng of ye bokys in ye qwyer w*ith* hys stuffe — ij^{s} vj^{d}

...

Item Wyll*y*em Cay for [—br—] blowyng of ye organs — iiij^{d}

...

1479/80

[fol. 34v]

...

Item de May sylver — vj^{s} j^{d}
Item de circ*umeu*ndo in Eccl*esi*a — xxvij^{d}
Item de circ*umeu*ndo cu*m* aratro — ix^{s}

...

Item Wil*lel*mo Cay p*ro* organ*is* — iiij^{d}

...

Item in exp*ensis* in dieb*us* Rogac*ion*um — vj^{d}

...

1480/1[6]

[fol. 35v]

...

Item rec*eperunt* de May sylvyr — vij^{s} vj^{d}

..

Item r*eceperunt* de circ*umeu*ndo cu*m* aratro — ix^{s} j^{d}

..

Item solut*um* Rob*er*te Man*ne* p*ro* organ*is* in te*m*pore Paschal*is* — xij^{d}

...

[fol. 36]

...

Item in dieb*us* rog*acionum*

...

Item Wille*lm*o Bawld*y*ng p*ro* organ*is* in feste Nat*ivitatis* D*omi*ni — xvj^{d}

...

1481/2

[fol. 36v]

...

Item rec*eperunt* de le May sylver — iiij^{s} v^{d}

...

Item r*eceperunt* de circ*umeu*ndo cu*m* aratro — x^{s} vij^{d}
Item rec*eperunt* de circ*umeu*ndo in eccl*esi*a ad div*er*sa tempora — xj^{s} viij^{d}

...

Item Wille*lm*o Baldyng pro organis per to*tum* annu*m* — iij^{s}

...

Item in expens*is* in diebus Rogac*ion*ib*us* et in die S*anc*ti Laure*n*cii — v^{d}

...

---

[6] The date is actually given as 1410, I agree with Stallard that the 'x' is most likely a scribal error for 'lxxx', and there is also internal evidence to suggest this.

1482/3

[fol. 37v]

...

Item rec*eperunt* de circ*um*eundo cu*m* aratr*o* — viij^{s} ij^{d}

Item rec*eperunt* de circ*um*eundo Eccl*es*ia*m* ad div*er*sa te*m*pora — vj^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1483/4

[fol. 38v]

...

Item rec*eperunt* de le May sylv*er* — vj^{s}

Item rec*eperunt* in circ*um*eundo villa*m* cu*m* aratr*o* — viij^{s}

Item rec*eperunt* in circ*um*eundo Eccl*es*ia*m* ad div*er*sa te*m*pora — iiij^{s} j^{d} ^{ob}

...

[fol. 39]

...

Item in expens*is* in dieb*us* rogac*ion*ib*us* & in die S*anc*ti Laure*ncii* — iiij^{d}

...

1484/5

[fol. 40]

...

Item rec*eperunt* de le Maysilv*er* — v^{s} ij^{d}

Item rec$\overset{ob}{e}$*perunt* in die Assu*m*pc*ion*is B*eat*e Marie col*lecc*i*on*e i*n* eccl*es*ia — xxij^{d}

Item rec*eperunt* in circ*um*eundo villa*m* cu*m* aratro — viij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 40v]

...

Item solut*um* in expens*is* in dieb*us* Rogac*ion*ib*us* — iij^{d}

...

1485/6

[fol. 41]

...

Item rec*eperunt* de le Maysylv*er* — viij^{s} vj^{d}

Item rec*eperunt* de collecc*ion*e in die om*nium* s*anc*tor*um* in eccl*es*ia — ij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item rec*eperunt* p*ro* collecc*ion*e i*n* s*anc*ti sthephani p*ro* novo aratr*o* — ij^{s}

...

Item rec*eperunt* de Gilda Beate Marie — ix^{d}

...

[fol. 41v]

...

Item p*ro* regard hom*in*i de Wysbech p*ro* novo aratro cu*m* expens*is* — ij^{s} ij^{d}

Item solut*um* Willelmo Blower p*ro* peyntyng novi aratri — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1486/7

[fol. 42]

...

Item rec*eperunt* de Maysylv*er* — vij^{s} j^{d}

...

Item rec*eperunt* [~~per~~] in circ*um*eundo villa*m* cu*m* aratro — viij^{s}

...

[fol. 42v]

...

Item solutum in expensis in diebus Rogacionibus — iiij^{d}

...

Item solutum pro emendacione organicis clerico — v^{d}

...

1487/8

[fol. 43]

...

Item receptum de le Maysylver — vj^{s}

Item pro collecctione [—soc—] in Ecclesia in die Sancte Trinitatis — xx^{d}

Item receptum die assumpcionis Beate Marie pro collecctione in ecclesia — xvj^{d}

Item receptum circumeundo villam cum aratro — v^{s} v^{d}

...

[fol. 43v]

...

Item receptum de Ricardo Halle ex dono ad organa et de Willelmo Cowper — xij^{d}

...

Item solutum quatuor luditoribus in tempore Nativitatis — vj^{d}

...

[fol. 44]

...

Item solutum clerico pro ludendo ad organa — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Item solutum pro expensis diversis temporibus cum organmaker & cum aliis — v^{s} iij^{d}

...

1489/90

[fol. 46]

...

Item receptum [—de—] in die Sancte Trinitatis pro collecctione in ecclesia — xvij^{d}

Item receptum in die Nativitatis Beate Marie in ecclesia collectione — xvj^{d}

Item receptum in die omnium sanctorum pro collecctione in ecclesia — xiij^{d}

Item receptum in circumeundo villam cum aratro — viij^{s}

...

[fol. 46v]

...

Item solutum in expensis in diebus Rogacionibus & in die Sancti Laurencii — iiij^{d}

...

1490/1

[fol. 47]

...

Item Receptum in die sancte trinitatis collectione in ecclesia — xj^{d}

Item Receptum de le May sylver collectis in villa — vij^{s}

Item Receptum per collecctis cum aratro circumeundo villam — vij^{s} vj^{d}

...

[fol. 47v]

...

Item solutum in expensis in diebus Rogacionibus — iij^{d}

...

Item solutum Roberto Manne pro ludendi organis pro ultimo anno — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1491/2

[fol. 48v]

...

Item receptum pro Maysylver collectis — iij^{s}

Item receptum in die sancte trinitatis in ecclesia collectis — vij^{d}

...

Item receptum de pecuniis aratri collectis in villa — vj^{s} v^{d}

...

[fol. 49]

...

Item solutum pro expensis in diebus Rogacionibus — ij^{d}

...

Item solutum Thome Warde pro reparacione aratri — iij^{d}

...

1492/3

[fol. 49v]

...

Item receptum cum aratro — vij^{s} ij^{d}

...

[fol. 50]

...

Item solutum pro bothehyer pro tabernaclo — vj^{d}

...

Item solutum in expensis in diebus Rogacionibus — ij^{d}

...

1493/4

[fol. 50v]

...

Item Robertus Cateson debet pro casio aratri — vij^{d}

...

1494/5

[fol. 51v]

...

Item receptum pro collectione cum aratro — v^{s} v^{d}

...

[fol. 52]

...

Item solutum roberto manne pro organicis — xx^{d}

...

1495/6

[fol. 52v]

...

Item receptum de collecctione cum aratro — iiij^{s}

...

[fol. 53]

...
Item solut*um* qui*dam* ho*mini* p*ro* organi*s* in te*m*pore Nat*ivitatis* Do*mi*ni — xx^{d}
Item solut*um* p*ro* glew emp*to* ad organ*a* — j$^{d\ ob}$
...

1496/7

[fol. 53v]
...
Item rec*eptum* p*ro* collecc*ione* cu*m* aratro — v^{s} vj^{d}
...

1497/8

[fol. 54v]
...
Item rec*eptum* p*ro* collecc*ione* cu*m* aratro — iiij^{s} v^{d}
...

1498/9

[fol. 55]
...
Item p*ro* portac*ione* le banners frankensens et expen*sis* — vj^{d}
...
[fol. 55v]
...
Item rec*eptum* p*ro* collecc*ione* cu*m* aratro — iiij^{s} vj^{d}
...
Item Joh*ann*es Noon solv*it* ex leg*ate* p*at*ris sui ad pict*acionem* om*nium* s*anc*tor*um* — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item Do*min*u*s* Will*elmu*s Bladyng solv*it* ex leg*ati* Rob*er*ti Medow / ad pictac*ionem* om*nium* s*anc*tor*um* in plena solu*cione de*cem* libr*arum* — xl^{s}
...

1499/1500

[fol. 56v]
...
Item rec*eptum* de collecc*ione* cu*m* aratro — v^{s} ij^{d}
...
[fol. 57]
...
Item solut*um* in expens*is* in deib*us* Rogac*ion*ib*us* — iij^{d}
Item solut*um* qui*dam* cl*er*ici in tempore Pentecost*es* p*ro* organi*s* — viij^{d}
Item solut*um* Ric*ard*o Whele p*ro* pictac*ione* Imag*inis* om*nium* s*anc*tor*um* — xv^{d}
...
Item solut*um* luditorib*us* in die E*pi*ph*an*ie — viij^{d}
Item solut*um* qu*ib*u*sda*m cantatorib*us* in regard in die dedicat*ion*is Eccl*es*ie — xij^{d}
...
Item solut*um* p*ro* [fact*a*] em wark ad tabernacl*um* om*nium* s*anc*tor*um* — iij^{s} iiij^{d}
...

1501/2

[fol. 58v]
...
Item rec*eptum* p*ro* collect*ione* de le May sylv*er* — vij^{s} iij^{d}

...

Item receptum de collecc*ione* cum aratro — v^{s}

...

[fol. 59]

...

Item solut*um* pro toppyng iij torchis p*ro* le maii — vij^{s} ix^{d}

...

Item solut*um* in expens*is* in dieb*us* rogac*ion*ib*us* — iij^{d}

...

1502/3

[fol. 59v]

...

Item rec*eptum* pro collecc*ione* de le Maii sylv*er* — v^{s} viij^{d}

Item rec*eptum* de collecc*ione* cum aratro — v^{s} ij^{d}

...

[fol. 60]

...

Item solut*um* in expens*is* in dieb*us* Rogac*ion*ibus p*ro* le baners — iij^{d}

...

Item solut*um* in in die s*anct*i laurenc*ii* p*ro* portac*ione* de le shafte ante p*ro*cess*ionem* — iiij^{d}

...

Item solut*um* cuid*am* clerico p*ro* organicis in die om*nium* s*anct*or*um* — iiij^{d}

...

Item solut*um* Ric*ard*o Skynn*er* p*ro* emend*acione* tabernac*ulo*r*um* & p*ro* facc*ione* bac*uli* cruc*is* — x^{d}

Item solut*um* cuid*am* cleric pro lud*endis* org*anis* [—erga—] ad f*est*um Nat*ivitatis* D*omi*ni — xvj^{d}

...

1503/4

[fol. 60v]

...

Item rec*eptum* i*n* pecun*iis* coll*ecc*i*onis* de le May — vij^{s} iij^{d}

Item rec*eptum* i*n* pecun*iis* collecc*ionis* circu*meu*ndo cum aratro — vj^{s} iij^{ob}

...

[fol. 61v]

...

Item i*n* expe*nsis* i*n* dieb*us* Rogac*ion*um et s*anct*i laurencii p*ro* portacc*ione* / div*er*sor*um* vexillor*um* — xj^{d}

...

Item clerico p*ro* organis in te*m*pore paschal*e* — xvj^{d}

[fol. 62]

...

Item ad exeq*ui*as Nicholai Blower Ricardi Henric*i* / Ma*r*gar*ete* & Anne Bolower i*n* die voc*at* Plowmunday vocat — viij^{s}

...

1504/5[7]

[fol. 65v]

---

[7] This date is uncertain.

...
Item Reseyvyd of ye plow-sylver — vj^{s} vij^{d} ob
...
[fol. 66]
...
Item William Smythe pro reparacione librorum & organorum — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
...
Item pro portacione vexillorum in vigilia Assencionis — ij^{d}
Item clerico pro ludendo ad organa — vj^{d}
...

1505/6

[fol. 67]
...
Item in pecuniis collectis circumeundo cum aratro
...
[fol. 68]
...
Item for ye dolle on [—ploal—] Plow Monday — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item paid for ye bred to ye dolle v^{s} iij^{d}
...

1506/7

[fol. 68v]
...
Item receptum of ye plowsilver — vj^{s} vij^{d} ob
Item receptum of ye maysilver — xiiij^{s} ob
...
[fol. 69]
...
Item paid to ye plomer for takyng don ye stage — xvj^{d}
...

1507/8

[fol. 69v]
...
Item in gaderyng with ye plowe — vj^{s} vij^{d} ob
...
Item for brokyn sylvyr sold by me to Robert Segraffe — xj^{s} iij^{d}
...

1508/9

[fol. 70v]
...
Item for beryng off ye banerys a bowte / off Saynct Lawrence day & ye Crosse days — iiij^{d}
...
Item in gaderyng with ye plow — vj^{s} vij^{d} ob
...
[fol. 71]
...
In primis for beryng off banerys to / Saynt Lawrence & ye Crosse dayys — iiij^{d}
...

1509/10

[fol. 71v]

...

Item in pecuni*is* colect*is* a le Plowm*u*nday — iiij^{s} ix^{d} ^{ob}

...

[fol. 72]

...

Item p*ro* porta*c*ione vexillor*um* i*n* feriis Roga*cionu*m / in proc*ess*eone — ij^{d}

...

Md[?] q*uo*d remane*n*t in ma*n*ib*us* Kat*er*ine Segrave / uxor*is* Rober*t*i i*n* pec*u*niis de le May mony — xxxij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1510/1

[fol. 73]

...

Item in pec*u*niis colectis a le Plowm*u*nda*y* — vj^{s} j^{d} ^{ob}

...

Item for beryng of banerys & spysyng of ye belropys — iij^{d}

...

1511/2

[fol. 74]

...

Item in pec*u*niis colect*is* a le plowm*u*nda*y* — iiij^{s} ij^{d}

...

Item for beryng of bane*r*is — ij^{d}

...

1512/3

[fol. 75]

...

Item in pecuniis ci*r*cu*meu*ndo collect*is* cu*m* aratro — iiij^{s} v^{d} ^{ob}

...

[fol. 76]

...

Item solut*um* p*ro* portac*ion*e cruc*is* & vexillor*um* in dieb*us* / Rogac*ionu*m in p*ro*cessione — viij^{d}

...

1513/4

[fol. 76v]

...

Item in pecuniis colect*is* ci*r*cu*meu*ndo cu*m* aratro — iiij^{s} x^{d} ^{ob}

...

1514/5

[fol. 78]

...

Item in pecuniis collect*is* ci*r*cu*meu*ndo cu*m* aratro — vj^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1515/6

[fol. 79]

...

Item in pecuniis collect*is* ci*r*cu*meu*ndo cu*m* aratro — vj^{s}

...

1517/8

[fol. 82]

...

Item rec*eptum* de pecuniis circu*meu*ndo cu*m* aratro — vj^{s}

...

[fol. 82v]

...

Item solut*um* p*ro* portac*ione* vexillor*um* in die s*anc*ti Laure*n*cii — ij^{d}

...

1518/9

[fol. 83v]

...

Item rec*eptum* de pecun*iis* voc*atis* Plowsylv*er* — iiij^{s} ij^{d}

...

[fol. 84v]

...

Item p*ro* emendac*ione* librorum & organorum — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1519/20

[fol. 85v]

...

Item rec*eptum* de pecun*iis* voc*atis* plowsylv*er* — v^{s} viij^{d}

...

1520/1

[fol. 87]

...

Item rec*eptum* de pecuniis voc*atis* plowsylv*er* — vj^{s} vj^{d}

...

[fol. 88]

...

Item payd for mendyng of ye orgens — xij^{d}

...

1521/2

[fol. 88v]

...

Item rec*eptum* de pecuniis voc*atis* Plowsylv*er* — vij^{s}

...

[fol. 89v]

...

Item payd for a new P*r*ocessyon*er* — xij^{d}

Item payd to a wryght j day makyng a stage upon / the stepyll for the plomer — vj^{d}

...

1522/3

[fol. 90v]

...

Item rec*eptum* de pecuniis vocat*is* Plow sylv*er* — vj^{s}

...

1523/4

[fol. 92]

...

Item rec*eptum* de pecuniis voc*atis* Plow sylv*er* — vj^{s} ob

...

1524/5

[fol. 93v]

...

Item rec*eptum* de pecuniis collect*us* cu*m* Aratro — v^{s} ij^{d} ob

...

[fol. 94]

...

Item rec*eptum* of [—of—] ye May mony — xxxvj^{s} viij^{d}

...

[fol. 94v]

...

Item payd to ij men for mendyng of ye orgens — xliij^{s} viij^{d}

...

Item payd for new ropes to the bell*es* to / the lampe to ye Rowell & to ye plowgh — v^{s}

...

[fol. 95]

...

Item payd to John Brown for hangyng / up the lampe the Rowel & for wydyng / a space for the orgens & oy*e*r necess*aries* — ij^{s} vj^{d}

...

1525/6

[fol. 95v]

...

Item rec*eptum* of ye May mony yes heyr — xiij^{s} viij^{d}

...

Item rec*eptum* of ye plou mony — iiij^{s} viij^{d}

...

1526/7

[fol. 97v]

...

[1st on this folio]

Item rec*eptum* for ye plou gaydrien of Plou Mo*n*daye — iiij^{s} xj^{d}

...

Item payd for ye Dyerge of Plou Mo*n*day — v^{s}

...

1527/8

[fol. 98]

...

Item rec*eptum* of the gathryng w*ith* ye May — xiij^{s}

...

Item rec*eptum* the gatheryng w*ith* ye Plo*u*gh — vj^{s}

...

[fol. 99v]

...

Item payd for a dyrge & masse of Plowgh / M*u*nday for ye sowles y*at* gaffe ye iiij aker*es* / lyeng in medyltons medow — iij^{s} vj^{d}

...

1528/9

[fol. 100v]

...

Item rec*eptum* of the [—m*u*nday—] May money — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Item rec*eptum* the Gatheryng w*ith* ye plo*u*gh — vj^{s} j^{d}

...

[fol. 101v]

...

Item payd to John Brown for makyng of / a stage upon ye stepyll & for a credyll — xij^{d}

...

Item payd for beryng the crosse & banners / upon Seynt Lawrence day — iiij^{d}

...

1529/30

[fol. 103]

...

Item Rese*yved* of the gatheryng w*ith* ye Plow — v^{s}

...

[fol. 103v]

...

Item payd to the berers of ye ^[banner] in Cross wyce — ij^{d}

Item payd for ye Cannepe makyng — xvj^{d}

...

[fol. 104]

...

Item for makyng of j dyrche / of Plowm*u*ndda*y* — iiij^{s}

...

1530/1

[fol. 104v]

...

Item Rese*yved* of the gatherynge w*ith* ye plo*u*gh — v^{s}

..

Item Rese*yved* of the May money — xj^{s} & viij^{d}

...

[fol. 105v]

...

Item *pay*d for the Dyrche of Plow Monday — iiij^{s} & vj^{d}

...

1531/2

[fol. 106]

...

Item rec*eptum* of the gatheryng w*ith* the Plowgh — iiij^{s} ij^{d}

...

[fol. 106v]

...

Item payd to the Belman for dressyng / up the copes & vestemen*tes* for ye hole yere — viij^{d}

Item payd to the belman for makyng clene / the stepyll — vj^{d}

...
[fol. 107]
...
Item payd for beryng of the Crosse in Crosse weke — ij^{d}
...

1532/3

[fol. 107v]
...
Item rec*eptum* for Gatheryng w*ith* the Plowgh — iiij^{s} viij^{d}
...
[fol. 108]
...
Item rec*eptum* [—of—] gyft of a man for seyng / the stepyl & ye belles & y*at* I fownd in Chyrch — j^{d} ^{ob}
...

1533/4

[fol. 109v]
...
Item rec*eptum* circumeundo cu*m* aratro — v^{s}
...
[fol. 110]
...
Item rec*eptum* de pecuniis voc*atis* ye May money — xvij^{s} vij^{d}
...
[fol. 110v]
...
Item payd to the Belman for scoryng ye candylstykes / w*ith* other ornamente*s* & for fowyng of ye Gutte*r*s — ix^{d}
...

1534/5

[fol. 111]
...
Item rec*eptum* of the gatheryng w*ith* the plowgh — v^{s} viij^{d}
...
Item rec*eptum* the May money — xv^{s}
...
[fol. 112]
...
Item payd for halfe a barell on Crosee m*u*nday and bred — xvij^{d}
...

1535/6

[fol. 113]
...
Item rec*eptum* of the May money — viij^{s}
Item rec*eptum* of ye on Alhalowes day / at evyngsong — ij^{s} viij^{d}
...
[fol. 114v]
...

Item resavyd xij^{s} &viij^{d} for Maye mon*e*y — [*blank*][8]

...

1536/7

[fol. 115]

...

Item rec*eptum* of ye May money — xij^{s} viij^{d}

...

[fol. 115v]

...

Item rec*eptum* of Rochad Say for may money — xviij^{s}

Item rec*eptum* of John Crystyn for a tre — xij^{d}

Item rec*eptum* of ye gatheryng of ye Plowe — v^{s}

...

[fol. 116]

...

Item payd in Cros weke for bred & dryng at Shelby Cros — xvij^{d}

Item payd for berynge a bowt baners — iij^{d}

...

Item payd for ij dossyng bell*es* to ye May — x^{d}

Item payd to hym y*a*t shold have ben clerke — ij^{s} vij^{d}

...

[fol. 116v]

...

Item payd for ye hand bel & ye gret Sans / bel — xvj^{d}

...

Item payd for strynge to ye Sag*e*rment — ^{ob}

...

Item payd for ye Corporys dressyng — ij^{d}

...

1537/8

[fol. 117]

...

Rec*eptum* of ye May mony — xj^{s} ij^{d}

Rec*eptum* of ye plow lyght — v^{s}

...

[fol. 117v]

...

Item payd for a banner cloth — ij^{d}

...

Item payd for a dosyng bell*es* to ye may — v^{d}

...

1538/9

[fol. 118v]

...

Recevyd of ye May mony — viij^{s}

...

Recevyd for ye plow lyght — iij^{s} vj^{d}

...

---

[8] No amount is given.

1539/40

[fol. 119v]

...

Recevyd of ye May mony — viij^{s}

...

Recevyd of ye gatheryng on Plow Monday — iiij^{s} vj^{d}

...

[fol. 120]

...

Item payd to Robert Say ye bellamn & Thomas Sayver / for makyng clen of ye Steppyl — viij^{d}

...

Item payd to ye orgenmaker — xviij^{d}

...

Item payd for waxe makyng ageyn crysmas — xviij^{d} ^{ob}

...

1540/1

[fol. 121]

...

Rec*eptum* of ye gatherynge one plow mownday — iiij^{s}

...

[fol. 121v]

...

Item payd for Bred & drynke at ye Crosse / one Crose Mownday — xvj^{d}

...

1541/2

[fol. 123v]

...

Rec*eptum* of the gatheryng on Plow Monday — v^{s} vj^{d}

...

[fol. 124v]

...

Item payd for a Stryng for the Sakerment — ^{ob}

...

[fol. 125]

...

Item payd for mendyng of *ye* Chyst to lay / The Regester In — viij^{d}

...

1543/4

[fol. 129]

...

Item Rese*vyd with* ye gatheryng of ye plow — iiij^{s} vij^{d}

...

1544/5

[fol. 131]

...

Item Resevyd of plow Monday *with* garryng of the plow — v^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 132]

...

Item*em* payd for berynge of the banner in Crost wyke — ij^{d}

...

1546/7

[fol. 134v]

...

Item*em* rec*eptum* of the gatheryng of the plowe — vj^{s}

...

[fol. 135v]

...

Item*em* payd to Syr Thomas for makyng of ye / badgys at Crystmas — ij^{d}

...

1547/8

[fol. 136]

...

Item*em* rec*eptum* of ye pewterer for the orgayn / pypes — xv^{s} j^{d}

...

[fol. 137]

...

Item payd for brede & dryngke at the feast of All Sayntes / — ij^{s} ij^{d}

Item payd for one quare of paper — [...][9]

Item payd to the v players at Crystynmas — xij^{d}

...

[fol. 139]

...

Item paid for the orgayns — xx^{s}

...

Item paid for the beryng of the crose & ye banners in Crosse Weke — ij^{d}

Item paid for a roode of flagg*es* to Rycherd Talpe — xx^{d}

Item paid for the fyllyng of it — vj^{d}

Item paid for mendying of the beere and for nayles — xvij$^{d\ ob}$

...

[fol. 139v]

...

Item payd for wasshynge of the clothes that dyd / hange a Bowte all the tabernacles — iij^{d}

...

1548/9

[fol. 140v]

...

Item Resevyd of Master [—vy—] Vyker for the cepulker / & for the cays of the organys & for the bake of the / roude lofthe — xij^{s}

...

1549/50

[fol. 143]

...

Item p*aid* to the players at ester — xx^{d}

...

1550/1

---

[9] The amount is illegible.

[fol. 145]

...

Item p*aid* for bred gyvey*n* to the / poore folke — xviij^{s}

...

[fol. 145v]

...

Item for men*d*yng off the orgay*nes* — ij^{s}

...

Item p*aid* for gathery*n* off the clarges wages att ffene ende — viij^{d}

...

1551/2

[fol. 146v]

...

Item payd for takyng down of the bell / and for drynke — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Item for gatheryng of the clarkes wages at the / fene end — iiij^{d}

...

1553/4

[fol. 148v]

...

Item payd for bred & drynk / at the bell*es* hagnyng[10] — x^{d}

...

Item payd foerth for drynk of hallomes nyght / more then was gatheryd — xij^{d}

...

1554/5

[fol. 150v]

...

Item p*aid* to *Christo*fer Seman for norshyng the poor / chyld one weke — viij^{d}

...

Item p*aid* to Alberd wyffe for makyng iij Shyrt*es* & / other ger to the poor Chyld — ij^{d}

Item p*aid* to *Christo*fer Seman for makyng the por Chyld / s*er*tanne garment*es* — viij^{d}

...

[fol. 151]

...

Item p*aid* Wyllam Sug*er* for di*midio* yer bord of the poor Chyld — xv^{s}

...

Item p*aid* to Wyllam Sug*er* for di*midio* yer bord of the poor Chyld endyd — xvj^{s}

...

1556/7

[fol. 156]

...

Item Resevyd of Thomas Stedman / for the gatheryn at aplowmondaye — v^{s} viij^{d}

...

1557/8

[fol. 157]

...

---

[10] [*sic*].

Item payd to Gorge Long for caryng / of the Crose on the Tewesdaye in the Crose dayes — ij[d]

...

[fol. 161]

...

Item payd for the tabernacle for the / Sacrament — xiiij[d]

...

[fol. 161v]

...

Item payd to Jorge Longe for baryng of the Crose / on the Wedensdays in Crose weke — ij[d]

...

1559/60

[fol. 164v]

...

Memorandum yt ys agreyd yat Thomas Johnson shall / have to his wages for beynge bellman on every / Goodfrydaye of the Churchewardynyes — xij[d]

...

[fol. 166v][11]

...

Item paid for a potell of wine against Mandye Thurdaye — xij[d]

...

1560/1

[fol. 168]

...

Item payd to [—John—] Richard Clenche for kepyng the poor chylde / of John Rayners — x[s] viij[d]

...

Item for Syngyng brede — j[d]

...

[fol. 168v]

...

Item payd for aglase & a boxe of syngynge / bred — iiij[d]

...

[fol. 169]

...

Item payd for Syngyng brede — ij[d]

...

1561/2

[fol. 170v]

...

Item payd for a locke for the poor mens / Chest — iiij[d]

...

1563/4

[fol. 176]

---

11 Various entries are found in the accounts concerning the introduction of Reformation practices, but none of specific interest to this study, see especially fol. 166-175.

...

Item payd to the players at Crysmas — xij^{d}

...

1565/6

[fol. 180v]

...

Item payd to Johnson ye belmane for / h*is* wages — xij^{d} [12]

...

1566/7

[fol. 182v]

...

Item payd for bread & drynke on Rogation wyke — viij^{d}

...

Item payd for bearinge the bell — x^{d}

...

1572/3

[fol. 192]

...

Receyvyd of the gatherynges of the parishners of Tyllnye towards the wryghtinge of the Church — xxx^{s} j^{d} [13]

...

[fol. 195]

...

Item p*aid* for gunn powder — iiij^{d}

...

Item p*aid* to Thom*as* Sutton for helping the / peinter a daye & a halffe — x^{d}

...

Item payd Thomas Sutton for helpin / the peinter fowr dayes — ij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 195v]

...

Item layd out for bread & dryncke when / we dyd Cast the Church bocke — iiij^{d}

Item p*aid* for weyghtunge the Church boke — xij^{d}

...

1575/6

[fol. 200v]

...

Item receyved of John Crane at iij sev*er*all / tymes monie gathered for the bell — xx^{s} vj^{d}

...

[fol. 201]

...

Item for br*e*ade & beare ye M*u*nday in Rogac*i*on weke — xij^{d}

...

1576/7

[fol. 204v]

---

[12] A number of payments to the bellman are found irregularly in the remaining accounts but are not transcribed.

[13] There are numerous payments for work on the church this year.

...

Item payd for drynke in crosse wecke — x^{d}

...

1577/8

[fol. 207]

...

Item bestowed uppo*n* in Roga*c*ion weeke / on bread & beare — x^{d}

...

1578/

[fol. 208]

...

Item p*aid* for bread & bear at the p*er*ambula*c*ion — xij^{d} [14]

...

1579/80

[fol. 210v]

...

Item for bread and beare at the p*er*ambula*c*io*n* — x^{d}

...

1580/1

[fol. 211v]

...

- for Bread & bear uppo*n* ye p*er*ambula*c*ion — xvj^{d}

...

1581/2

[fol. 213]

...

Item layde owt ffor breade and dryncke In / the p*er*ambulation dayes — ij^{s}

...

1583/4

[fol. 215]

...

Ite*m* ffor beare and bread boughte the ffyrst day / off o*ur* p*er*ambulation — xviij^{d}

...

1584/5

[fol. 216v]

...

Ite*m* p*aid* in the p*er*ambulation ffor bread / and bear — xij^{d}

...

[fol. 217]

...

Ite*m* p*aid* for fyre woode — xviij^{d}

Ite*m* p*aid* for stagynge it — vj^{d}

...

Ite*m* payd for breade and drynke in the / Rogacion weke — xx[d] [15]

...

1588/9

[fol. 222]

---

[14] This entry is between similar expenses for Easter eve/day and Whitsunday

[15] The pence sign is illegible and only deduced from comparison with similar payments.

...

Item for bread and drincke one Monday in / Crosse weeke at the north Sedike — ij^{s}

Item for bread & drincke one wensday in / crosse weeke — ij^{s}

...

Appendix 5: Extracts from Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton Churchwardens' Accounts

Leverton Churchwardens' Accounts
Lincolnshire Archives: Leverton 7/1 (1492-1550).[1]

1498/9

[fol. 4v]

...

Item ressevyd of ye plowth lyth of lev*er*ton — xl^{s}

...

1525/6[2]

[fol. 21]

...

Rec*evyd* of Thomas Stedman of benyngton for dett of Robert Warner to ye plough lyght — xx^{d}

Rec*evyd* of Thomas cooke of dett to ye plough lyght — x^{s}

Rec*evyd* of Elyzabet bothby of beny*n*gton for dett of John hardy hyr oy*er* husband to ye plough lyght — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Rec*evyd* of Margaret Messur for dett to plough lyght — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Rec*evyd* of Ric*hard* Wastelarr for dett to the plough lyghth — vj^{s} viij^{d}

Rec*evyd* of Wyll*ia*m Thackar for dett to the plough lyghth — vj^{s} viij^{d}

...

[fol. 21v][3]

...

Recevyd of Henry Estgayte for dett to the ploughe lyght — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 22]

...

paid to Maister holand of Swynsed [—of S—] & ye plaers of the same town / whan thei rood & cryed thare bayne att Lev*er*ton } — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

paid for breed & ayle atthe[4] same tyme to cause them & y*er* company to drynke — viij$^{d\ ob}$

...

1536/7

[fol. 32]

...

Item Resavyd att the dryngkyng for the churche telled by mast*er* thamworth — iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

Item Recevyd att the same tyme that was sent to gus*berton*[5] be3ond boston and of oder gudmen / — xj^{s} v^{d}

...

---

[1] Transcriptions are only edited until 1550, the accounts themselves continue until 1625. The accounts are generally made up on the third Sunday in Advent, and while not complete owing to missing years, the individual extant years are often quite complete.

[2] These accounts were made the 3rd Sunday in Advent, 17 Dec., 1525-6.

[3] This entry follows on directly from the previous folio.

[4] [*sic*].

[5] This expansion is uncertain.

[fol. 32v]

...

Item payd for bred for the dryngyng — x^{s}

Item payd for cakes att the same tyme — xviij^{d}

Item payd to davytt the wryght whan ȝe mayd / yowr drynckyng for the churche } — xx^{s}

...

[fol. 33]

Item payd to John mereld and hys compenye for / Rydyng beȝond boston — xvj^{d}

...

Long Sutton (Sutton St Mary)
Lincolnshire Archives: MF 1/68 Sutton St Mary Par 7 (1543-1573).[6]

1543/4

[fol. 1v][7]

...

Item Recevyd in my nown hand*es* of may daye / ferme that ys to come } — xvj^{s}

Item [—p*ai*d—] Recevyd of rob*er*t rechema*n* for may day / ferme that ys to come } — v^{s}

...

[fol. 3v]

...

Item Recevyd of master Byllingam for crosse Weyke — xx^{d}

...

[Receipts also for Sepulchre Light.][8]

[fol. 4]

...

Item p*ay*d for the Beryng the crosse uppon crose dayes — iij^{d}

Item p*ay*d for Wheit Agayne the crose dayes — iij^{s}

...

[fol. 5]

...

Item payd in reward to the Bayne of Fresto*n* / in [—Bred and—] ale — ix^{d}

...

[fol. 5v]

...

Item p*ay*d for drynk and tole at mawdlyn brig / whane we went to Beckyte*s* feyer to & fro } — iij^{d}

Item payd more for owr Suppers at stoke / and horsmeit the same nyght } — vj^{d}

Item p*ay*d the next daye for owr Brekfast at / the feyer } — v^{d}

Item p*ay*d more for owr dennere at none / at the Sayd feyer } — v^{d}

Item payd at Brandon for owr Supp*er*s / and horsemet uppon thorsday at nyght }

---

[6] The accounts run from 1543 until 1573, and were generally made up around the 21 April (although this is not entirely consistent).

[7] These entries are transcribed as examples to demonstrate that the numerous collections of money on May Day were certainly for rents due at that time.

[8] Receipts for lights such as this will normally be noted instead of transcribed in the Long Sutton transcriptions.

— vj^{d}

Item p*ayd* the next day for owr drynk in the feyr — ij^{d}

...

[fol. 6][9]

Item p*ayd* for owr deners at Uppon fryday at none — iiij^{d}

Item payd for xx hunderyth Bord at / iij^{s} the hunderyth } — iij^{li}

Item for vj pec*es* of Wode Bowght at / the Sayd feyer } — iij^{s} x^{d}

Item for xxxiij of geshes at the same feyer — vij^{s} viij^{d}

Item p*ayd* more at the same feyer for xliij geshes — xj^{s}

Item payd more fore the tole of iiij cart*es* / at Wisbiche } — iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 9v]

...

Item Recevyd of the churchewardens of Saynt James — liij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[Receipt for Sepulchre Light on Easter Day.]

[fol. 10]

...

Item paid for the schaft ale at crosdayes — ij^{s} x^{d}

...

1543/4

[fol. 11]

...

In prim*is* payd to freston playars whan thay cryed ye bane here — v^{s}

Item gyven in rewarde to framton players whan*e* they were here — v^{s}

Item payd for brede & ale than — vj^{d}

Item payd for chese at crosdays — viij^{d}

...

1544/5

[fol. 15v]

...

Item payd to the playar*es* at chrystmes — xx^{d}

...

[fol. 16]

...

Item payd for my dynner at Wysbych whan / I spake for bere agey*n*st crisse dayes } — ij^{d}

Item payd for brede ageynst crosse Weke / to alys odam & jone Worshyppe } — ij^{s}

Item payd to crosse off Wysbych for / too half barryl*es* of bere ageynst crosse Weke } — iij^{s} viij^{d}

...

[fol. 17v]

...

Item payd for bereyng of the crosse at the crosse days — iiij^{d}

Item payd for a stone of chese at crosse days — xiiij^{d}

...

Item payd for ryngar*es* at hallowmys — vij^{d}

---

[9] Entries continue on directly from previous folio.

...

1545/6

[fol. 19v]

...

Item of the vycar at crosse dayes — xx^{d}

...

[fol. 20]

...

Item to the belman for watchynge of the sepulture lyght — viij^{d}
Item for my drynke whan I spake for the bere agaynste crosse / dayes } — ij^{d}
Item for my costes whan I whent to spaldynge — viij^{d}
Item for ij baryls of bere — iij^{s} viij^{d}
Item for beryng of the crosse at crosse dayes — iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 21v]

...

Item for my costes whan I whent to Spaldynge — viij^{d}
Item for brede agaynste crosse dayes — iij^{s} ij^{d}
Item for schese agaynste ye same dayes — xvj^{d}
Item for spyse than — iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 24]

...

Item for spyse at crosse dayes — iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 24v]

[Bellman is paid for watching Sepulchre Light again, c.f. fol. 20]

[fol. 25]

...

Item payde to the golde smythe mendynge of the best crosse — ij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item for my costes that tyme — xij^{d}
Item for spyse at crosse dayes — iiij^{d}

...

Item for Rynggyng allomas — xix^{d} [10]

...

[fol. 25v]

...

Item payd for berynge the crosse at crosse dayes — iij^{d}
Item for brede — ij^{s}
Item for ij barrelle of bere — iiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item for a stone of chese — xvj^{d}
Item for mendynge of the canabe — xij^{d}
Item to the glayer[11] — viij^{d}
Item for my exspensys whan I whent to spaldyng — vj^{d}

...

1546/7

---

[10] Further Hallomas ringings are not transcribed from the accounts unless they provide additional information.

[11] This is most likely a scribal error for 'glayser', although tantalisingly 'p'-like this is certainly a 'g'

[fol. 29v]

...

Item payd for spyse & brede at crosse dayes — iiij^{s} viij^{d}

...

1547/8

[fol. 33v]

...

Item for a stone cheys In the Crosse Weke — xij^{d}

...

[fol. 34]

...

Item for berynge of the Crosse in Crosse days — iiij^{d}

Item for berynge of thre bannardes then — vj^{d}

Item for Brede & Spyce att Crosse days — iiij^{s} j^{d}

Item for ij Barrells Berre then — vj^{s}

...

[fol. 35]

...

Item payd to the playerȝ in the churche — ij^{s}

...

1549/50

[fol. 38]

...

Item payd for Robert Rogemans expenses & myn to lyncoln & home in the Rissynges / a genst Rober phillyppe & for owr horsse schwynge } — vij^{s} viij^{d}

...

[fol. 38v]

...

Item payd to Robert Thomas for the pore chyld & fownd by the [gysthe][12] — v^{s}

Item to Alyce harpley for the Sayd chyld bord — ij^{s} viij^{d}

...

1550/1

[fol. 39v]

...

Item for one barrell of bere — ij^{s} viij^{d}

...

Item to the players for playnge — iiij^{s}

...

[fol. 42v]

...

Item to my ladie soffolks plaiars — vj^{s} viij^{d}

...

1555/6

[fol. 56v]

...

Item paid to the players of walsoken in cristmas — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

---

[12] The reading of this word is obscured owing to damage of the folio.

[fol. 57v]

...

Item paid to the players that came first — ij^{s}

...

1556/7

[fol. 60]

...

Item paid to the players on the sonday in shrofttyde — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

1557/8

[fol. 61v]

...

Item paid to the players at Christmas — ij^{s} iij^{d}

...

[fol. 63v]

...

Item payde for twoo Barrell*es* of Bere agaynst Rogac*ion*e weke — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item payd for one stone & a halfe of chese than — iij^{s} ij^{d}
Item paid to will*ia*m danyell wyfe / for twoo doosyn of Brede & kakes than } — ij^{s}
Item payde to Thomas Durbag*es* wyfe for ij / gallons of Bere & for sex pennyworthe of Brede } — xx^{d}
Item payd to John Gonnell wyfe for spyce — x^{d}
Item payde to Henry Johnson and to will*ia*m Glepps / for Beareynge of the Crosse and the banner in Crosse weke } — x^{d}

...

[fol. 64v]

...

Item payd to the players upon saynt mathewe day — ij^{s}

...

1558/9

[fol. 69]

...

In primis payde to the wyfe of Wyll*ia*m Danyell / for twoo dosen of breade the somme of } — ij^{s}
Item paid to John Cline for twoo Barrell*es* / of bere in Rogac*ion*e weke the somme of } — ix^{s} iiij^{d}
Item payd for gese the same tyme — iij^{s}
Item payde to John Gonnell wyfe for spyce — x^{d}
Item payd for breade & beare the last counte day — viij^{d}
Item paid to Rycharde Hawe for bearynge / of the banner in Rogac*ion*e weke } — vj^{d}
Item payde to John ffreman for bearynge of ye crosse then — vj^{d}
Item payde to Thomas Stock*es* for the crosse foole — vj^{s} viij^{d}

...

1559/60

[fol. 72]

...

Item paid to Richard Holbun wyfe & Thomas Durbag / wyfe for fyve dussen of brede & kakes in Rogac*ion*e weke } — v^{s}

Item paid for spyce the same weke — xvj^{d}

...

[fol. 72v]

...

Item paid to the Ryngars of hallowmes nyght — ij^{s}

...

1560/1

[fol. 75][13]

...

Item paid to the players that came from bullyngbrooke — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

[fol. 75v]

...

Item payd to the dawncers of Spaldynge — v^{s}

...

1561/2

[fol. 77]

...

Item paid for breade & cakes in the dayes of p*er*ambulac*i*on — v^{s} viij^{d}
Item paide for beare then — viij^{s} vj^{d}
Item paid for Chese then — iiij^{s}
Item paid in spyce then — xviij^{d}
Item paid for pap*er* then — xviij^{d}
Item paid to ye players that played upon Trynytie sonday — vj^{s} viij^{d}

...

[fol. 77v]

...

Item paid to ye players in Cristmas — v^{d}

...

Item paid to ye players the fryday after Candelmes day — iij^{s}

...

1562/3

[fol. 80]

...

Item paide to the players of Twelft daye in ye church — iiij^{s}

...

[fol. 80v]

...

Item paide to Will*i*am Danyell*es* wyfe for fowre dossen / of breade in the weke of p*er*ambulac*i*on } — iiij^{s}

...

Item payde to the players of wisbich the Monday in easter weke — vj^{s}

...

1563/4

[fol. 82][14]

---

[13] After folio 75 the damage to the binding means that some following folios are loose and thus are occasionally misplaced. Great care has been taken to try to establish the date for individual folios and luckily the accounts of this period often give the year at the beginning of each section.

[14] Neither of the two payments to players on folio 82 are transcribed by the Malone Society

...
Item paid for iij barrel*es* of beare in roga*c*ion*e* weke — ix^{s}
...
Item payd to ye players — vj^{s}
...
Item paid to ye playars of ye hye countrey — vj^{s}
...
[fol. 83]
...
Item paid for breade & drynck on the Commpt daye — xv^{d}
Item paid to ye bayne of d*o*nnyngton — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item paid to Agnes Durbag for cakes beare then — xx^{d}
Item paid to the mawrice Danncers of Spalldynge — ij^{s}
Item paid to the mawrice Danncers of Whaplode — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item paid to a play of fowre boyes beynge straungers — v^{s}
...
Item paid to margaret Danyell ye wyfe of w*illia*m Danyell / for fower dosyn of breade in roga*c*ion*e* weke } — iiij^{s}
Item paid to the same margaret for iij dosyn of cakes than — iij^{s}
Item paid for spyce than — xx^{d}
Item paid to will*ia*m Crane for ij stones of chese than — iiij^{s}
...

1564/5

[fol. 85]
...
[ffyrst][15] paid for three barrell*es* of Beare in Roga*c*ion*e* weke — xj^{s}
Item paide to the bayne of Leake the som*m*e of — x^{s}
Item paid more for breade & drynck than — xiiij^{d}
Item paid to ye bayne of boston — x^{s}
Item paid more for breade & drynck than — xj^{d}
...
Item paid to my lorde riches players ov*er* & besydes y*a*t was gathered — xxij^{d}
...
[fol. 85v]
...
Item paid for breade in Roga*c*ion Weke to Margaret Danyell — x^{s}
Item paid for spyce then — xxij^{d}
Item paide more for Chese to Christian Gonnell & Issabell Aleyn — v^{s} viij^{d}
...
[fol. 86]
...
Item paid to the players of Bullynbrooke — v^{s}
...
Item paid to the players of Spalldynge — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item paid to the players of Ipswych ov*er* & besydes y*a*t was gathered — v^{s}
...

1565/6

[fol. 87]

---

[15] This word is emphasised as the first word of the list.

...
Item paid for spice in the dayes of p*er*ambulac*i*on — xxij^{d}
Item paid for Chese then — v^{s}
Item paid to Cocke of wisbich for bread then — x^{s}
...
Item paid to the bayne of kyrton — x^{s}
Item paid more for bread & drynck than — xviij^{d}
...
Item paid to the douches of Suffolck*es* players toward their paynes — ij^{s} ij^{d}
Item paid to the childeren of wisbich whan they played here — vj^{s} ij^{d}
...

[fol. 88]

...
Item paid to Thom*a*s Downam for iij barrell*es* ye beare agaynst rogac*i*on dayes — ix^{s}
...

[fol. 88v]

...
Item paid to M*aste*r Vicar for that that he laied out more then coulde / be gathered whan the lorde Rob*er*t*es* players did play here } — ij^{s}
...

1566/7

[fol. 90]

...
Item paid for spyce ageynst Rogac*i*on dayes — xxij^{d}
Item paid for Chese than — v^{s}
Item paid to Thomas Downam for beare then — viij^{s}
Item paid to Will*ia*m Byrde for makynge a / newe leddar to the pulpet } — ij^{s} vj^{d}
Item paid to Maister Whytelare for preachinge in Rogac*ion*e Weke — v^{s}
Item paid for a newe booke of ye secende toombe of homelyes — iij^{s} viij^{d}
Item paid to ye players of Gosbertowne ye xxix of June — vj^{s}
...
Item paid to Sir John Gaskens players ye xviij[^th] of november — v^{s}
...
Item paid to ye players of mowlton ye xviij of december — vj^{s} viij^{d}
...
Item paid to the players of Nottyngam ye xxiij of february — vj^{s} viij^{d}
...
paid to ^[the] Clock maker more then was gathered — vij^{s} x^{d}
...

[fol. 90v]

...
[ffyrst][16] paid for breade & cakes ageynst Rogac*i*on dayes — x^{s}
...
Item paid to the players of Bullynbrooke — vj^{s} viij^{d}
...
Item paid to the players upon moonday in Easter weke — vj^{s} viij^{d}
...

---

16 This word is emphasised as the first word of the list.

1570/1

[fol. 93v]

...

Item paid to Rose whyte for twoo dosyn and a halfe of / kakes in the dayes of perambulac*i*on } — ij^{s} vj^{d}

Item payd for three barrell*es* of beare than — viij^{s} vj^{d}

Item paid for twoo stones of chese than — iij^{s} x^{d}

Item payd for spyce than — xx^{d}

...

[fol. 94v][17]

...

Item paid for breade in the Rogacion weke — x^{s}

Item paid for drinke then — ix^{s}

Item paid for chesse — v^{s} iiij^{d}

Item paid for spice — ij^{s} iiij^{d}

...

Item to the players that came out of keston[18] — iiij^{s}

...

[fol. 95]

...

Item p*ay*d to certaine players the xx of November — x^{d}

...

Item paid to the players the xxij[ˆti] of January — xx^{d}

...

1571/2

[fol. 98]

...

Item paid for chesse against the / rogacion dayes } — vj^{s}

Item paid for a quare of pap*er* — iiij^{d}

Item paid to certayne players the / iiij[ˆth] daye of maye — xiiij^{d}

...

[fol. 98v]

...

Item paid ov*er* gevene to the man that / gathered for Crowland church to make up / his monye that the P*ar*issh gave hym vj^{s} viij^{d} } —xxj^{d}

...

1572/3

[fol. 104]

...

Item paid to certaine players / that came fro*m* Lincoln } — xviij^{d}

...

[fol. 104v]

...

Item paid for x do3en of Breade / agaynst the Rogac*i*on dayes } — x^{s}

Item p*ai*d for iij barrell*es* of beare then — viij^{s}

---

[17] Owing to the separation of folios the exact dating for folio 94v-96 is uncertain. I follow Kahrl in ascribing it to 1570/1, but there is a possibility that it belongs to 1562 and has been bound and foliated incorrectly.

[18] This refers to Kesteven, a district around Sleaford.

Item p*aid* for chese against the roga*c*ion weke — iiij^{s}
Item p*aid* for spice against then — ij^{s} vj^{d}
...
[fol. 106]
...
Item paid to the playeres w*hich* played / in the church upo*n* Mydlent Sonday } — xvj^{d}
...

1573/4
[fol. 109v]
...
[In p*r*imis][19] paid for breade against / the rogacion weeke } — x^{s}
Item paid for cheese then — [—iij^{s}—] v^{s} iij^{d}
...
Item paid to the players at the / request of p*ar*te of ye towne the / week before mydsom*er* } — xj^{d}
...
Item paid to certaine players upo*n* all sainct*es* day — ij^{s} iij^{d}
...
[fol. 111]
...
Item paid for iij barrell*es* of beare in ye / Roga*c*ion weeke } — viij^{s} vj^{d}
Item paid for spices in the same weeke — ij^{s} vj^{d}
Item paid to m*aster* Sampals men — v^{s}
Item paid to the children of Spaldinge — xx^{d}
...

Sutterton Churchwardens' Accounts
Bodleian Library: MS Rawl. D. 786 (1461-1535)[20]

1462/3
[fol. 4]
...
Item r*eceptum* de Joh*ann*e bellman p*ro* a*nn*o elapso & a*nn*o isto — xx^{d}
...

1463/4(?)[21]
[fol. 9v]
...
Item p*ro* l*umine* Matilde belma*n* — iiij^{d}
...

1485/6
[fol. 22]
...

---

[19] This word is emphasised as the beginning of the list.
[20] The accounts run from 1461 until 1535, this is because of an addition of 16 folios at the front which were bound in at a later date, hence there is a sudden jump in records from the 1460s to the 1480s. The accounts were generally made up at Easter. Some of the accounts give no indication as to their date.
[21] The dating of this folio is extremely uncertain, it is in the same hand as the earlier folios, and is bound between the 1462/3 accounts and those from 1480/1, but no date is given on surrounding folios to narrow this gap further.

Item payde for gyldyng of ye scepulker — xx^{s}

...

1489/90

[fol. 23]

...

Item rec*eived* of ye plowlythe — iij^{d}

...

1489-90

[fol. 24v]

...

Item payd p*ro* expens*es* of corpus *Christi* day — [x]iiij^{d} [22]

...

1506/7

[fol. 58]

...

Item payde for an lyne to the sac*er*ment — ij^{d}

...

1508/9

[fol. 60]

...

M*emoran*d*um* y*at* Will*a*m chaters [—& Adlard Jons—] hase Rec*eived* off ye plow lyght / xx^{s} [23]

...

1509/10

[fol. 64v]

...

M*emoran*d*um* y*at* John*anni* Bawyne & Joh*anni* Wylleymson be mayd ye / gaterars of ye plowghtt lyghtt — [*blank*]

Item ye forsayd m*ade* and resavyd of ye same lyghtt — viij^{s} j^{d}

Item Thomas gybon has Resavyd of ye same lyghtt viij^{s} iij^{d}

Item Wyllam chatars hase Resavyd of ye same lyghtt — xx^{s}

Item ye Well of ye kyrk he shall pay — ij^{s}

Item Adlard Josson has Resavyd of ye same lyghtt — xx^{s}

Item ye well of ye kyrke he shall pay — ij^{s}

Item Thomas gybon shall pay — viij^{d}

...

1510/1

[fol. 68]

...

Item m*emoran*d*um* y*at* Thomas gybon has Resavyd of ye plow lyght — viij^{s}

...

1511/12

[fol. 71]

...

M*emoran*d*um* y*at* Joh*annes* Wilkynson & Edm*u*nd dyson ar Mayde ye gaterars / off ye plowe lyghtt ye forsayd men have Resavyd xx^{s} iij^{d}

Also for legasy of thomas brandan — iiij^{d}

---

[22] The 'x' of this amount is damaged, but legible.

[23] The amount is superscripted over the next line's 'M*emoran*d*um*'.

Also for legasy of ye same thomas to ye hognys lyght — iiij^{d}
Also to ye [—the—] may lyght*es* — viij^{d}
Also to sent styne[24] lygh*tes* — ij^{d}
Also to play lyght — iiij^{d}
...

[fol. 71v][25]

...
M*emorandum* y*at* Edm*und* Passner & Rob*ert* Johnson be ye Sent of ye towne / are mayd ye gaterars of ye sepulcur lyght ye for sayd me*n* haffe Resavyd ij^{s} [^xx]viij^{li} waxe
M*emorandum* y*at* Will*iam* hobson & Will*iam* Benyt be ye Sent of ye towne be / mad ye gaterars of ye salmes lyghtt ye for sayd me*n* haff / Resavyd ij^{s} xl^{li} waxe
...

1512/13

[fol. 74v]

...
It*em* recevyd off ye plowlytte — vij^{s}
...

[fol. 76v]

...
It*em* Recevyd off ye plow lytte — vij^{s} iiij^{d}
...

1513/14 (?)[26]

[fol. 78v]

...
It*em* Recevyd off Robard Jons*o*un and Roger benytt off ye plowlyte mone — []
...

1514/15 (?)

[fol. 81v]

...
Item rec*evyd* of ye plow lythe — iiij^{s}
...

1517/18 (?)

[fol. 86]

...
It*em* Rec*evyd* off Edward bank*es* & Wyll*ia*m be*n*ytt ocupyars off ye plowlith — ix^{s} iiij^{d}
...

1518/19

[fol. 90]

...
It*em* rec*evyd* of Thomas Parsinar for ye may lyght of dowdichend — v^{s}
...
It*em* resavyd of ye blowlythe — iiij^{s} viij^{d}

---

[24] The reading of this word is uncertain.
[25] Similar records occur for Sepulchre and Alsawls (All Soul's) lights, but are generally transcribed.
[26] The dating of the undated accounts from folio 76v to 88v is uncertain, but has been based on yearly cycle of receipts, rents, expenses and debts, as well as mentions of the names of the 'kyrkmasters'.
[27] The amount is illegible owing to the binding.

...

Item to ye Plowe lyth & Al saules lyth Sepulcur lyth & hagnar ligth — viij[d]

...

1519/20

[fol. 93]

...

Memorandum yat wylliam benytt & John france ocupyars for ye may lythe / of dow dykhend and has recevyd <•••> In mone — iiij[s]

...

[fol. 93v]

...

In primis Resayd off the Maye lyght of dowdychend — vij[s]

...

Item of ye maye lyght of ffysmar hynde — xiiij[s] xj[dd] [28]

Item of master banbes & wylliam benytte for ye v plowye lyghtes — viij[s] vi[j[d]] [29]

...

Item of ye hogmanoes lyght — ij[s] iiij[d]

...

[fol. 96v]

...

Item for ye plaars rewarde of qwatlode — ix[d]

...

1520/1

[fol. 97]

...

[—Item off ye plowye lyght—]

Item off Edward Banbys & wylliam Reylle occupyars of ye plowye lyghte — iiij[s]

...

1521/2

[fol. 100v]

...

[—Memorandum—] It Thomas Ager & Thomas Gordlaye ocupyars of ye mayelygth in ffyssmayrhend / and hayf Resayd in mone iij[s] iiij[d]

...

Item Edward Bandye & Robert Hytton occupyares of ye [—b—] plowyelyght / and remanes ther handes — vj[s] viij[d]

Memorandum yer off our lord good xv[^C] xxij William Brandon & William Beylli / occupyares ffor the may lyght & ffyssmayrhend [^& haffe recevyd in money] — <•••••> [30]

...

Memorandum the yer off owr lord good xv[^C] xxij John [^ij[s]] Jonsson & William [^ij[s]] Sylvester / occupyares for the may lyght dowdyke end & haffe recvyd in money } — iiij[s]

...

Item the ye off our lorde xv[^C] xxij[^ti] Edward Banbes & Robert / Hultes

---

[28] There are two pence signs.

[29] Illegible because of binding.

[30] Illegible because of binding.

occupiars off the plow lyght and remanes i*n* y*er* hand*es* } — vj[s]

...[31]

1521/2

[fol. 104]

...

Item payd for makyng of ye [blars—][^—plars—] ^[plaaris] candellis — vj[d] [32]

...

[fol. 105v]

...

Item rec*evyd* by the hand*es* off S*ir* John off Thomas Alg*er* & Thomas Byrdlay / the may grayff*es* & ffeyssmeyrhend*es* } — iij[s] iiij[d]

Item rec*evyd* by the hands of S*ir* John off John Bed*e*ll & Edm*u*nd Brandon / the may grayff*es* & dowdek end } — v[d]

...

Item rec*evyd* by the hand*es* off S*ir* John off Edward Bank*es* & Rob*er*t Hultis / & other of ye towne off the plow lyght ffor trienet*es*

...

[fol. 106v]

Item p*aid* by the hand*es* of S*ir* John ffor makyng the towne Wax erga festu*m* assu*m*pc*ion*is b*ea*te marie — v[d]

Item p*aid* the same tyme ffor makyng the plaars candell*es* — vj[d]

...

1522/3

[fol. 110v]

Item p*aid* by the hand*es* off S*ir* John ffor makyng the towne lyght / & the plaer candell*es* } — xij[d]

...

[fol. 111]

...

M*emoran*d*um* the resaivytt*es* off John Alyne the Belman ffor lyght*es* by the hoylle / yeyr a ffoyr sayd

...

1523/4[33]

[fol. 112]

...

Item rec*evyd* by the hand*es* off Will*iam* Brandon o*n* the day off ascenc*ion* i*n* the / owr gederyng i*n* the [—do—] towne [^ & chyrch] ffor brede & ayll*e* ffor Sutterton & Wyygtoft } — vj[d]

...

Item Rec*evyd* by the hand*es* off S*ir* John off th*o*mas Hutton R*ober*t Hutton ^[Ric*hard* qwyttyngam] Will*iam* Hobs*on* / & Will*iam* Beyll w*ith* other dyv*ers* off the towne for i*n*cremett*es* ffor the / play playd i*n* the day off the assu*m*pc*ion* off owr ladey } — ix[s] vj[d]

---

31 There are two more receipts for money raised by the May light, the majority of which is now illegible.

32 'Blars' is struckout with a struckout 'plars' above, following this is an insertion mark and 'plaaris' directly above 'candellis'.

33 Some (but not all) amounts are also entered in the left hand margin, as if being used to total the summa on these folios.

...

[fol. 114]

...

Item p*aid* by the hand*es* off the sayd will*iam* Brandon ffor makyne co*mm*one lyght*es* / a nensse the ffest off the assu*mpc*ion off owr ladey } — iij^{d}

...

[fol. 114v]

...

Item p*aid* by the hand*es* off S*ir* John ffor makyn the co*mm*one lyght — viij^{d}

...

1524/5

[fol. 116]

...

Item payde for brede and drynck when we stroke the bell — vj^{d}

...

Item payd to the players of Swynshede for a Reward — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item s payde for Brede and [—drykk—] drynke at the same tyme — vij^{d}

...

Item payd to the playrers of Donygton for a Reward — xij^{d}

...

Item payd to ou*r* man for techeyng us the way ov*er* the nyght — ij^{d}

...

[fol. 116v]

...

Item payd for ix pownd [—was—] wax — iiij^{s} vj^{d}

Item for makyng the wax agayn*st* owr lady day — vj^{d}

Item for makyng of the Comoyn lyght Agayn*st* Est*er* — viij^{d}

...

1525/6

[fol. 119v][34]

...

Memorand*um*[35] that In the 3er of owr lorde god m*ille* CCCCC xxv[^ti] Alayn [^iij^{s} iiij^{d}] Wace and / Will*iam* [^iij^{s} iiij^{d}] Newelande Ocapiars of the may lyght of fyssemer end browght up ther account*es* and delyv*er*de to [—Robert Wace—] [^Rychard Benyt] and Will*iam* Helande Newe may gravys } — S*um*ma iiij^{s} viij^{d}

Memorand*um* that In the 3er of owr lorde god m*ille* CCCCC xxv[^ti] Thomas Sanderson and Edmunde / Berey Ocupyars of the may lyght of Dowedyke end Browght up ther Acoumpt*es* / And delyverde to Thomas [^ij^{s}] Gebon & John [^ij^{s}] fflede new may gravys } — S*um*ma iiij^{s}

And the delyverd to the Church Wardons in increment*es* — vij^{s} x^{d}

Memorand*um* that the 3er of owr lorde god m*ille* CCCCC xxv[^ti] Henry Percy [—John Josson—] [^John Watt*es*] & / [—John day—] Ocupyars for the hognars lyght and Remanys in ther hand*es* } — [—v^{s}—] viij^{s}

To Roger Busse and Edmund Marcheall Church wardons [in increm*entes*] — iij^{s} x^{d}

Memorand*um* that in the 3er of owr lorde god m*ille* CCCCC xxv[^ti] Will*iam*

---

[34] Similar expenses for the All Souls and sepulchre light follow these but are not transcribed.

[35] This initial word is of substantially larger size.

ffrysknay and Robert / Hutton Ocupyars for the Plowght lyght & Remanys in ther handys — vj^{s} viij^{d}

To Roger Busse and Edmunde marchaell Church Wardons } — v^{s} iij^{d}

...

1523/4

[fol. 121][36]

...

M*emorandum* the yeyr off owr lord good xv[^C] xxiij[^ti] [—ad—] Henry P*ercy* John Josson & Thomas Bowsse / Occupiars ffor the hognar Lyght & remanes in yer handes — v^{s} & to Sir John Wryght / the chyrche master } — xx^{d}

M*emorandum* the yeyr off owr lord good xv[^C] xxiij[^ti] master Edward Bankes & Robert Hutton / Occupiars ffor the plowe lyght & remayns in yer handes } — vj^{s} viij^{d}

And delyverd to Sir John Wryght on off the chyrche master / in incrementes — vij^{s} x^{d}

...[37]

M*emorandum* in the fudball lyght iij Candelles

M*emorandum* yat the yeyr of owr lord xv[^C] xxiiij[^ti] Edmund Marsthall & Thomas thomson occupiars / off the may lyghts in ffeyssmeyr end browght up yer cowntte*s* & delyverd to Robert / Wace [^xx^{d}] & william Newland [^xx^{d}] New may graffes — iij^{s} iiij^{d} to Sir John Wryght & William / Brandon chyrche masters in incrementtes — v^{s} v^{d} ob

M*emorandum* yat the yeyr off owr lord good xv[^C] xxiiij[^ti] Kawlyne Wace & William Wylson occupiares / off the may lyght in downdek end browght wp yer cauntte*s* & delyveryd to thomas [^ij^{s}] Sanderson & / [— Sanderson—] Edmund [^ ij^{s}] Berey New may graffes — iiij^{s} to Sir John Wryght & William Brandon / chyrche masters in incrementtes — xxiij^{d}

M*emorandum* ye yeyre off owr lorde xv[^C] xxiiij[^ti] Henry percey John Josson & Thomas Howsson / Occupiars ffor the hoggnars lyght & remains in yer handes — v^{s} & to William Brandon ye / chyrch master in incrementes } — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

M*emorandum* yat the yeyr off owr lorde xv[^C] xxiiij[^ti] Edward Bankes & Robert Hutton Occupiars / ffor the plow lyght delyveryd — vj^{s} viij^{d} & iiij^{s} x^{d} in incrementes delyveryd to William Brandon / [the chyrche master][38]

M*emorandum* yat William ffryssnay [^iij^{s} iiij^{d}] & Robert [^iij^{s} iiij^{d}] Hutton New plowe grayffes / and remane in yer handes } — vj^{s} viij^{d}

...

1525/6

[fol. 121v][39]

...

[40][— M*emorandum* that in the 3er of owr lord god m*ille* CCCCC xxv[^ti] Alyn Wace & Wylliam Newland / Occupiars ffor the may lyght of ffyssemer end browght up yer Acauntes & delyveryde to / Robert [^ij^{s} iiij^{d}] Wace &

---

36 These accounts, are kept in foliate order even though chronologically rearranged.

37 Omitting receipts for Sepulchre and All Soul's lights.

38 This phrase is right justified under the preceding line and a line boxes it off from the next receipt.

39 After this receipts for All Soul's, Hoggner's, May, Plough, and Sepulchre lights are only noted, these are not transcribed unless they provide additional information.

40 All three of these receipts are crossed out.

Wyll*iam* [^ij^s iiij^d^] Neland new may gravys } — ij^s^ iiij^d^
Memorandum that In ther the 3er of owr lord god m*ill*e CCCCC xxv[^ti] Thomas Sand*er*son & / Edmund Bery Occupiars for the may lyght of Dowdyke End browght up y*er* / accompt*es* & delyv*eryd* to Thomas [^ij^s] Gebon & John [^ij^s] ffelld*es* new may gravys } — S*um*ma — iiij^s^
m*emorandum* they delyv*eryd* to the church wardoyne in Incre*mentes*se — vij^s^ x^d^ —]

...

1526/7

[fol. 122]

[Receipts for All Soul's, Hoggner's, May, Plough, and Sepulchre Lights.]

1525/6

[fol. 122v]

...

Item Resavyd of Gateryng to the plays of fframton and kyr*k*ton — iij^s^ vj^d ob^

...

[fol. 123]

...

Item payd to Robert Heland for makyng [—C—] of the Comon / Lyght and ower ladys lyght — xij^d [41]

...

Item payd to the players of fframton and kyrkton — vj^s^ viij^d^
Item payd for x^li^ wax to the comon lyght — v^s^ v^d^
Item payd for ij^li^ wax to owr ladys lyght — xiij^d^
Item for makyng of the fore sayd wax — viij^d^

...

1527/8

[fol. 124]

[Receipts for May and Plough Lights.]

1528/9

[fol. 126]

[Receipts for Hoggner's, May and Plough Lights.]

1529/30

[fol. 127v]

[Receipts for Hoggner's and Plough Lights.]

1530/1

[fol. 129v][42]

[Receipts for Hoggner's and Plough Lights.]

[fol. 131]

...

Item payd to the playres of Whapplett When they Rode ther play — vij^d^
It*em* p*ayd* by ye hand*es* of S*ir* John for xj^li^ wax agayn*st* owr lady day — iij^s^
Item payd by the handys of Syr John Esthedayll*e* for makyng of / [— Item payd by...—][43] wax agayn*st* owr lady day assumpcyon } — xiij^d^

---

[41] It is uncertain why the Malone Society transcribes earlier references to such a light and not this one, given that it transcribes the other record concerning 'owr ladys lyght' from the same folio.

[42] Folio 129v contains an interesting historiated intial 'r' with drawings of faces which appear to belong to a bishop, king, and others.

[43] An additional entry has been erased/struckout at the beginning of this line to fit in the remainder of the record.

Item payd for fecheyng home the same wax — ij^{d}
Item payd by the handys of the same Sir John for ij 3erdys of Sylk lace to strynge the purse that the Sacramentt ys borne in } — iij^{d}
...
[fol. 131v]
[Receipts for All Soul's, Hoggner's, Plough, and Sepulchre Lights.]

1531/2

[fol. 132][44]
...
Item Resavyd in encres of the may lyght of fyschemer end — v^{s} ix^{d}
Resavyd of John Wellys for land rentt — iiij^{s}
Item Resavyd of the hoggeners — v^{s} iiij^{d}
Item Resavyd of the plowght men — viij^{s} vj^{d}
Item Resavyd of the counte of the players — ij^{s} x^{d} ob
...
[fol. 133v][45]
[Receipts for All Soul's, Hoggner's and Plough Lights.]

1532/3

[fol. 135][46]
...
Item payd for ij mercement*es* — ij^{s} x^{d}
...
[fol. 135v]
[Receipts for All Soul's, Hoggner's, Plough, and Sepulchre Lights.]

1533/4

[fol. 136]
[Receipts for All Soul's, Hoggner's, Plough, and Sepulchre Lights.]
[fol. 137]
[Receipts for Our Lady's and Town's Lights.]
[fol. 137v]
[Receipts for All Soul's and Sepulchre Lights.]

1534/5

[fol. 138]
...
Item resavyd of the gatryng for bred and ale at medys Crosse — xix^{d}
...
[fol. 139]
...
Item p*ayd* for bred & ale at medys Crosse — ij^{s}
...
[fol. 140]

---

[44] These receipts are edited to show the context of the last one, and are grouped together as a block, the folio contains a note above it concerning the executing of the last will and testament of one Thomas Robertson, this note records a bill of the seventh of January, and leads the Malone Society to erroneously provide the note '(*January*)' next to the final receipt below, erroneous since it could have been incurred at any time.
[45] The Malone Society transcribes expense for wax towards 'owr laydys day' but not for similar expenses for Easter, Christmas or unspecified times.
[46] This payment is transcribed for comparison with the one from 141v, which the Malone Society mistakenly transcribes as 'merrymentt' instead of 'mercymentt'.

[Receipts for All Soul's and Sepulchre Lights.]

1535/6

[fol. 140v]

[Receipt for Plough Light]

[fol. 141v][47]

...

Item p*ayd* ffor the mercymentt in quatryng — ij^{d}

...

[Receipts for All Soul's, Hoggner's, May, Plough, and Sepulchre Lights.]

47 The Malone Society mistranscribes this as 'merrymentt'.

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Appendix One — Extracts from King's Lynn Documents (King's Lynn Borough Archive):

KL/C/6/2 Civic Hall Rolls (1399/1400-1403/4)[2]

KL/C/7/ Corporation Hall Books[3]:

KL/C/7/2 (1422/3-1430/1)

KL/C/7/3 (1431/2-1450/1)

KL/C/7/4 (1453/4-1497/8)

KL/C/7/5: (1497/8-1544/3)

KL/C/10/2 fol. 26v The Book of William Asshebourne (4 July 1412)

KL/C/38 Guild of Holy Trinity Accounts[4]:

KL/C/38/11 (1421/3)

KL/C/38/12 (1422/3)

KL/C/39 Civic Chamberlains' Accounts[5]:

KL/C/39/3 (1331/2) to KL/C/39/56 (1447/8)

KL/C/39/91(1414/15 onwards) [6]

KL/GD/1-33 Treasurers' Account Rolls for the Guild of Corpus Christi[7]:

KL/GD/1 (1388/9) to KL/GD/33 (1492/3 - 1501/2)

KL/GD/33A — Indenture (Wednesday, 12 March, 1449)

KL/GD/37 The Accounts of the Guild of Saints Giles and Julian (1392/3-1445/6)[8]

Appendix Two — Extracts from the Snettisham Churchwardens' Accounts (Norfolk Record Office):

NRO: PD 24/1 (1467/8 to 1581/2)[9]

Appendix Three — Extracts from the Lestrange Household Accounts (Norfolk Record Office):

NRO: Lestrange P/1 (1518-27)

NRO: Lestrange P/2 (1527-34)

NRO: Lestrange P/3 (1533-9)

NRO: Lestrange P/4 (1527-50)

Appendix Four — Extracts from the Tilney All Saints Churchwardens' Accounts

WFM: M/R 99/M (1443/4-1589/90)[10]

Appendix Five —Extracts from the Leverton, Long Sutton and Sutterton Churchwardens' Accounts

Lincs. Archive: Leverton — Leverton 7/1 (1492/3-1550/1)[11]

Lincs. Archive: Long Sutton (Sutton St Mary) —Par 7 MF 1/68 (1543/4-73/4)[12]

Bodleian Library: Sutterton — MS Rawl. D. 786 (1461/2-1535/6)[13]

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[1] The division between primary and secondary sources is based on the notion that primary sources are those which are in themselves pre-seventeenth century original manuscripts or whose prime intent is to provide either full or extracted transcriptions, a facsimile of a manuscript, a catalogue of manuscripts, a calendar of their contents or a basic list of information extracted solely from these manuscripts (such as freeman's rolls).vf

[2] The Hall Rolls record a year from Michaelmas-Michaelmas.

[3] The Hall Books record a year from Michaelmas-Michaelmas.

[4] The Guild Holy Trinity Accounts run from Trinity Sunday-Trinity Sunday.

[5] The chamberlains' accounts record a year from Michaelmas-Michaelmas.

[6] This paper draft spans several years from 1414/15 onwards.

[7] The accounts for the Guild of Corpus Christi were generally rendered on Corpus Christi.

[8] The accounts of the Guild of Saints Giles and Julian were generally rendered on 1 September.

[9] The Snettisham churchwardens' accounts generally run from Lady Day-Lady Day.

[10] The Tilney All Saints churchwardens' accounts run from Good Friday-Good Friday.

[11] The accounts for Leverton continue up to 1662, but transcriptions are provided only up to 1550. The accounts generally run from the third Sunday in Advent.

[12] The accounts for Long Sutton were usually rendered on 21 April.

[13] The accounts for Sutterton run generally from Easter-Easter.

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