

## INTRODUCTION

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

In these words<sup>1</sup> secular music is dismissed from the authoritative work on music in medieval Britain. Nobody who has worked on the subject will fail to sympathise with this attitude, for the surviving examples of medieval secular music are not only few in number, but so enigmatic that the precise problems elude us when we come to consider them. In these circumstances it is not surprising if the answers elude us also.<sup>2</sup>

The history of English music during the Middle Ages<sup>3</sup> therefore remains the history of liturgical and devotional music. Secular music certainly flourished, as the numerous musical instruments depicted in illuminated manuscripts can prove. Some musical [xviii] historians, too – notably Burney, Hawkins and Chappell – built up a picture of English minstrelsy from entries in Wardrobe accounts, Issue Rolls and other sources. This picture, however, was not detailed enough to impinge on the musicologist's sphere of activity.

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

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<sup>1</sup> Harrison/*MMB*, pp. xiii–xiv.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 62 ff and 67–73, *passim*.

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

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

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

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

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<sup>5</sup> An exception is made in the case of the Scottish royal household.

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

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

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

The main body of material for the study of the royal minstrels is contained in the Wardrobe accounts:<sup>9</sup> this information has been supplemented by entries from the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*,<sup>10</sup> transcripts of the entries relating to musicians in the Lord Chamberlain's records<sup>11</sup> and Rymer's *Foedera*. Between them, these records provide information on the royal minstrels throughout the period covered by this thesis. Sources of material for other households are noted in the relevant section of Chapter V.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>12</sup> Except, of course, for dependent royal households: see below, p. 89.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>15</sup> See below, p. 151.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>17</sup> See Stevens/CCS, p. 56.

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

<sup>18a</sup> Such a survey might well start with the large collection of vernacular references in Carter/*Dictionary*.

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

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

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

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

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

3 The fluidity of space and time in medieval art.

4 The *horror vacui*.

5 The symbolism of Paradise on Earth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>25</sup> See above, p. xxvii.

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

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

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

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

The first category concerns illustrations in which the symbolic significance of a musical instrument is divorced from its musical function. The use of nakers to symbolise adoration, for instance, is unlikely to have a real-life parallel, and indeed is rare in iconography.<sup>28</sup> Illustrations to allegories such as the *Roman de la Rose* are a case in which it would be hard to over-estimate the importance of the symbolic structure on which the whole work is based: when we see a courtly dance accompanied by harp, shawm and pipe-and-tabor<sup>29</sup> in the *Roman* we can

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

<sup>27</sup> See below, pp. 49 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>31</sup> See below, pp. 168 ff.

<sup>32</sup> See below, p. 146.

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

<sup>34</sup> See below, pp. 252–57, *passim*, and ii, pp. 194 f.

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

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

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

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<sup>35</sup> Robert Foole, *bourdour* of Edward III.