

7

MINSTRELSY IN HOUSEHOLDS OUTSIDE COURT

Introduction

The accounts of the royal Wardrobe are, at their best, detailed enough to enable us to build up a fairly complete picture of minstrelsy at Court. These accounts are unfortunately exceptional, both in their comprehensive nature and in the number of them that have survived to the present day.

For other households the situation is quite different. Such account-books as survive from households outside Court do not include all transactions as most of the Wardrobe Books do. Those of the Howard household and the Scottish Court, for instance, do not normally record wages (which were evidently entered in a separate book); nor do their records of liveries appear always to be complete. Many other accounts searched for this thesis – such as the Beauchamp accounts at Warwick,¹ which are mainly concerned with good – give only summaries of the daily expenses.

Any detailed discussion of minstrelsy in a particular [194] household therefore needs to draw on several different sources, supplementing the information gained from account-books by reference to registers, household ordinances, and other documents (such as civic accounts) in which the relevant minstrels might be mentioned. Such a study would involve a long search of both published and manuscript material.

This work would take up a thesis in itself, and is outside the scope of the present work. The sections which follow here do not attempt to give a complete picture of minstrelsy in each household, but only to supplement the discussions of minstrelsy at Court in the previous two chapters. Each section could be expanded, and the material exists for the study of several more households which are not discussed here.

¹ The Beauchamp Household Book in the possession of Warwick Corporation contains the accounts of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, between 14 March, 1431, and 18 March 1432. For extracts, see Harvey/*GE*, Appendix 3, and Cronne/*Beauchamp*. The accounts mention the various minstrels who came to supper or dinner in the Beauchamp household, but the information was not detailed enough to warrant the inclusion of a calendar of the relevant entries in this thesis.

The Household of the Black Prince

During Prince Edward's childhood, the household of Edward III's eldest son was dependent on the king's household, and it cannot have been large. The minstrel who played to the prince when he was ill in about 11 Ed III was probably not his own minstrel, and may not then have been a royal minstrel at all.²

My present information is especially meagre for the first [195] few years of the prince's life.³ By about 13 Ed III his household certainly included at least two minstrels, as well as two *vigilatores* and a waferer; and although we do not hear of his two trumpeters until Edward was fourteen or fifteen years old, he probably employed trumpeters before that time.⁴ By 1352 the household was large enough to sustain servants "qui non sunt", and the prince was employing four pipers of the Count of Eu.⁵

The Black Prince's generosity in giving instruments to his minstrels has already been mentioned.⁶ He was equally generous in giving horses to his servants: on 19 April, 1352, he gave two horses to four French minstrels (probably those of the Count of Eu), three cart-horses to two German minstrels, two cart-horses to four minstrels *Burgilensibus*, and a cart-horse each to several servants, including Ralph, trumpeter, and Thomas, waferer;⁷ on 5 November of the same year he gave three saddles to minstrels;⁸ on 14 March, 1353, he made a gift of 40.0d to enable Ralph, [196] trumpeter, to buy himself a horse;⁹ and in 1358 he gave Zeulyn the piper 66.8d towards the purchase of a hackney.¹⁰

Other gifts made by the prince to his own minstrels were not frequent, but were of generous proportions,¹¹ ranging from 13.4d (gifts at the end of the scale

² See above, p. 123 and n. 141. The prince was born on 15 June, 1330 (i.e., 4 Ed III).

³ The sources for this section are such Wardrobe accounts for the prince's household as I have searched (calendared below, ii, pp. 96-109, *passim*) and the prince's register, which starts at 1346.

⁴ Rastall/*MERH*, p. 21; regnal years on this page refer to Wardrobe-book entries, other dates to *RegBP*. Thomas de Brotherton was just six years old when his trumpeters played at the Pentecost feast of 1306.

⁵ *RegBP.*, iv, p. 73.

⁶ See above, pp. 109 f.

⁷ *RegBP.*, iv, p. 71.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

¹¹ c.f. above, pp. 124 and 126. For the years for which *RegBP* includes the prince's instructions to the auditors of his accounts, the register presumably contains records of all the prince's gifts.

perhaps being for minstrelsy) to £26.13.4d given to two of the prince's pipers to help repay their debts.¹²

Gifts to visiting minstrels were comparably infrequent. In 1358 the prince gave £10.0.0d to Cremeryak and his nine companions (minstrels of Duke William), £6.13.4d to the minstrels of Queen Philippa, and £100.0.0d to the heralds and minstrels at the jousts at Windsor;¹³ and the following year he gave 60.0d to three pipers of the Duke of Lancaster.¹⁴

The Lancaster Household, 1372-1399

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was one of the most powerful [197] men of his time.¹⁵ His resources were such that the splendour of his court rivalled that of the king's: moreover, the son, uncle and father of kings had the position to emulate the king's household. We should therefore expect the Lancaster household to be more closely modelled on the king's than any other household could be.

The surviving registers of John of Gaunt,¹⁶ like those of his eldest brother, the Black Prince, do not give a complete picture of minstrelsy in the household: each register is probably only one of several covering the same dates. Fortunately, the Lancaster volumes are considerably more detailed than those of the Black Prince, and they provide some illuminating information.

One of the most interesting items records the terms of employment of John de Buckingham, clarioner,¹⁷ who was probably the minstrel of that name who had served Edward III: the entry dates from about 1379 or 1380. Buckingham was to serve the Duke as clarioner for life, both in peace and war, travelling with the Duke to whatever districts the Duke wished, and being well and suitably arrayed as a man-at-arms in war-time.¹⁸ In peace-time, he was to be present in the Duke's court during the four major feasts¹⁹ and at other [198] times if he was required to carry letters,²⁰ taking 7 1/2d per day while he was in court as wages for himself, his servants (*gentz*) and horses. He was to be head of the minstrels.²¹ He was to

¹²For gifts to the prince's minstrels, see *RegBP*, iii, p. 317; *ibid.*, iv, pp. 101, 158, 161, 163, 167 (two items), 283, 326, 388 f (three items), 402, 428, 475 and 486.

¹³*Ibid.*, iv, pp. 251 f.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁵See above, p. 4, n. 8.

¹⁶Transcribed in Armitage-Smith/*JGReg* (covering the years 1372-1376) and Lodge/*JGReg* (1379-1383)

¹⁷Lodge/*JGReg*, i, pp. 15 f.

¹⁸c.f. above, p. 93.

¹⁹These are not named: c.f. above, pp. 88 f and 93

²⁰c.f. above, pp. 145b f and 163.

²¹"Et comencera le dit Johan la table des ministrax le dit roy et duc". I have retained this article of the agreement in its original place between those concerning his wages, al-

take wages of 12d per day in peace-time when he was out of court on the Duke's business. For his fee during peace-time, Buckingham was to take 100.0d per year for life, in equal portions at Michaelmas and Easter, while in war-time his fee was to be £10.0.0d, together with such war-time wages as were taken by others of his position.

From this we can see the distinction between fees and wages, which was not entirely clear from our study of the royal minstrels.²² The fee of 100.0d per year remained the same for the minstrel's life (unless it was raised during war-time), and usually came from the issues of specific lands.²³ The wages, on the other hand, [199] were payable by the day, and the amount depended on circumstances – whether the minstrel was in or out of court, whether it was peace-time or war-time and so on.

The register does not record the wage of any other minstrel: nor does it record payment of wages, except for a few payments in arrears, including the payment of war-time wages to Henry Piper (£8.0.1d) and Roger Piper (£6.13.2d) for their service during the Duke's expedition to Gascony in 1372.²⁴ As in the case of John de Buckingham, allowance was made for the servants and horses of the Duke's minstrels: the terms of employment of Hans Gough, Smeltes, Henry Hultescrane and James Sauthe in 1373 allows each minstrel such livery for his horses as others of his estate took, and 1d per day as wages for his groom.²⁵

Records of liveries are also rare in the register: only one payment for a cloth-livery occurs, and the large sum of 10 marks [200] indicates that this was for a special occasion.²⁶ The other livery recorded is of great interest, however:

though it appears misplaced: it may be, however, that the additional wage of 4½d per day to a minstrel occupied in the Duke's business was due only to the head minstrel.

²²See above, pp. 128 ff. The Lancaster household became the king's household (under Gaunt's son, Henry IV) in the year that John of Gaunt died, so we can safely assume that the system of fees and wages in Gaunt's household was essentially that later found at the Courts of the Lancastrian kings.

²³John de Buckingham is the only minstrel recorded as taking his fee from the reciever-general (Lodge/*JGReg*, i, pp. 15 and 90). Fees for most minstrels came from the Honour of Leicester: Hans Gough, Smeltes, Henry Hultescrane and James Sauthe in 1373 (Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, pp. 1 and 219); Rollekyn, Petrekyn, Henry and Hankyn in 1379 (Lodge/*JGReg*, i, p. 33); John Cliff of Coventry in 1381 (*ibid.*, p. 197); Hankyn Frysh (whose fee was for some reason only 5 marks) in 1382 (*ibid.*, ii, pp. 255 and 311); and Claus, nakerer, in 1389 (retained in the king's service in 1399: *CPR*, Ric II, vol. 6 (1396–1399), p. 558). The Duke's trumpeters took their fees from the issues of Yorkshire: John Tyas from the Honour of Pickering in 1373 and 1374 (payment of his fees being stopped while he went abroad and continued – with payment of arrears – on his return: Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, pp. 153 and 244); Tyas and Peter Cook from the Honour of Pontefract in 1380 (Lodge/*JGReg*, i, p. 49).

²⁴Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 21.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1: c.f. above, pp. 98 and 111 f.

²⁶To John Guttere (gitterner?), squire, 1375: Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 298.

Et ... facez liverer a ... Johan Cliff de Coventre un eschucon dargent ovesque un coler pur un ministrall, et un peir de nakers ovesque deux colers et un ceyntoure et deux stykkes dargent faitz pur meismes les nakers.

This item is dated 4 December, 1381,²⁷ and the livery was probably made in time for the imminent Christmas celebrations. “Coler” probably means a chain.²⁸ How a chain “for a minstrel” differed from the chains of other servants – if indeed there is any significance in the phrase – we cannot at present tell. It would also be interesting to know if the scutcheon, nakers, special belt and silver sticks were for everyday use or only for the coming feast.²⁹

The register records a number of the Duke’s gifts, made on occasions which are familiar from the Wardrobe Books.³⁰ Minstrels [201] were rewarded for their minstrelsy before the Duke at the New Year, Candlemas and Epiphany; and gifts were also made to the heralds and minstrels at the jousts at Windsor on St George’s Day, and at jousts at Hertford and Chelmsford. A normal year’s expenditure on gifts to minstrels seems to have been about £20.0.0d,³¹ but this was raised considerably by special circumstances: in 1382, the gifts made to minstrels at the celebration of the queen’s marriage accounted for £23.3.4d, and the total expenditure for that year came to almost £60.0.0d. The Duke did not often make gifts for minstrelsy, but those that he did make were sometimes very generous: his reward to the minstrels of the Count of Flanders at Candlemas, 1375, for instance, cost him £16.13.4d, while a total of £13.6.8d was given to minstrels at the marriage of his own daughter Elizabeth in 1380.

It is not easy to be sure of the exact personnel of the Duke’s minstrels, although there appear to have been eight of them in 1380 and seven in 1381.³² The possibility of Gough, Smeltes, Hultescrane and Sauthe making a shawm-and-clarion band has already been mentioned.³³ The number of pipers rose to four by 1375,³⁴ [202] and the register does not mention James Sauthe after 1374: but as

²⁷Lodge/*JGReg*, i, p. 209.

²⁸*Colerium* (or *collarium*) has been mistranslated as “collar” in discussions of the badges of town waits: the word also means a necklace, however, and could no doubt be used for the chain from which a scutcheon hung. See above, p. 124, n. 144. In the case of nakers suspended from a belt (*ceyntoure*) some sort of fastening might seem more likely (as in the modern French “coller”, to adhere, cling to): however, I am inclined to believe that *colerium* could mean a chain even when it was not suspended from the neck (*col*), and that the nakers were fastened to the belt by means of two chains.

²⁹c.f. other expensive instruments, above, pp. 109 f.

³⁰See Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 299 (1375); Lodge/*JGReg*, I, pp. 113, 151 and 152 (1380); *Ibid.*, pp. 179 f (1381) and 230 (1382); *ibid.*, ii, pp. 239 (1382) and 259 (1383).

³¹The Duke gave £21.3.4d in 1380, £18.0.0d in 1381, and £20.0.0d in 1383: c.f. above, p. 126 and n. 154.

³²Lodge/*JGReg*, i, pp. 113 and 179.

³³See above, p. 179.

³⁴Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 298.

John de Buckingham was the Duke's clarioner and head of his minstrels by about 1379, the four-man band could certainly have continued. The Duke employed two trumpeters in 1380 (in addition to the clarioner) and a nakerer in 1381, so that the combination of two trumpets and nakers was also possible.³⁵ The only *bas* minstrel of the Duke appears to have been a gitterner.³⁶

Later information on the Lancaster minstrels comes from the accounts for the Earl of Derby's expeditions to Prussia in 1390–91 and 1392–93.³⁷ The Earl's household was probably quite independent of his father's, and none of Henry's minstrels on these expeditions seems to have come from the service of John of Gaunt. On his first expedition, Henry took with him John Brothir and Robert Krakill, trumpeters; William Bingeley, William de York and William Algood, pipers; and Master John, nakerer. The minstrels on the second expedition were John, Thomas Aleyn, Thomas and Robert Krakill, trumpeters; and John Algood, John Smith and John Aleyn, pipers: at the end of September, 1392, all except Thomas, trumpeter, returned to England. These minstrels ranked as valets, [203] taking 4d per day, except for the period from 18 August to 22 October, 1390, when they took 6d as war-time wages.³⁸

Henry therefore had no *bas* minstrelsy at his court, a lack which he made good with many gifts to local itinerant minstrels. Most items do not record the type of minstrelsy concerned, but on three occasions the Earl was entertained by fiddlers. Three fiddlers received 12.8d for making their minstrelsy before the Earl on Christmas Day, 1390; two fiddlers received three Prussian marks (£1.0.0d) for attending the Earl for six days in February, 1391; and Henry gave 13.4d to three fiddlers who entertained him during Lent in the same year.³⁹

The Earl's own minstrels were on horseback, having seven horses between the six of them in January, 1391.⁴⁰ The extra horse was no doubt used to pull the cart which carried the minstrels' baggage: on the second expedition, in August, 1392, the Earl bought a horse for this purpose and gave it to John Aleyn, who was presumably responsible for the minstrels' cart.⁴¹

The Derby accounts unfortunately give no details of the [204] minstrels' duties. From a payment of a ducat (3.3d) for a fringe for his banner made to Thomas, trumpeter, after his companions had returned to England, it would appear that a solo trumpeter was not too small a minstrel-force for ceremonial occa-

³⁵Lodge/*JGReg*, i, pp. 127 and 197: c.f. above, p. 149. John Cliff was presumably the nakerer: see above, p. 200.

³⁶See above, n. 26.

³⁷Transcribed in Smith/*Derby*.

³⁸The wage-lists are in Smith/*Derby*, pp. 132 f, 137, 141 f and 269 ff.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110 and 113: for fiddles in consort, c.f. above, p. 184.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 112 and 199.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 262.

sions.⁴² Nor do the accounts give information about the minstrels' instruments, although a payment of 60.0d made to the minstrels in 1391 for six fustian bags may refer to instrument-bags.⁴³

The Howard Household, 1462-1485

The surviving accounts of the Howard household rarely record wages or liveries, and certain other payments were detailed in a separate volume.⁴⁴ They seem to record most of Howard's gifts, however, and they probably give an accurate picture of the minstrelsy made in Howard's presence.

While he was still Sir John Howard, the future Duke of Norfolk employed a pair of trumpeters, a taboret and a harper.⁴⁵ Of these, the taboret appears most prominently in the accounts, and [205] the impression given is that Howard preferred to be attended by his taboret at all times rather than by a *bas* minstrel.

This impression is not altered after Howard's elevation to the rank of baron. Thomas the harper, who was a trusted servant of the household,⁴⁶ did not always accompany his master on his travels, and may have been primarily Lady Howard's minstrel.⁴⁷ Howard did take harpers on the expedition of 1481, however, in addition to five trumpeters and a total of eleven taborets.⁴⁸ How many of these were regular members of his household, it is impossible to tell: but even after his elevation to the Dukedom of Norfolk, Howard seems to have kept only one taboret.⁴⁹ Of the five trumpeters, Edmund Frente received lower payments and gifts than the other four, and he may have been a temporary war-time addition to Howard's household trumpeters.⁵⁰

A minstrel called James, mentioned in the accounts for 1482,⁵¹ may also have been a household minstrel. If so, he [206] probably played the lute, for the minstrels had to mend a lute in that year.⁵² Other payments for repairing instruments are for a cord for a tabor (1464), for the mending of a harp (1465), for parchment

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁴³"... *pro vj sackes de fostyon*": *ibid.*, p. 112; c.f. above, p. 108

⁴⁴This other account-book is mentioned in the accounts searched for the present study (see below, ii, Appendix C), but it has not, apparently, survived.

⁴⁵See below, ii, pp. 150-153, *passim*: the trumpeters are names as Robert Dunwich and Cole, and the taboret as John Symond.

⁴⁶A payment was made by his hand in 1481: *ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴⁷Thomas remained at Stoke while Howard was in London preparing for his expedition to Scotland in 1481: *ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 153 ff.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 160. A single taboret was, after all, quite sufficient for all but military purposes.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 156, under the dates 22 April and 28 July.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 158.

to repair a tabor (1481), and for the repairing of the chapel organ (1482).⁵³ A payment of 1d for the purchase of a pipe for the fool suggests that the instrument was greatly inferior to a minstrel's pipe.⁵⁴

Howard evidently enjoyed minstrelsy: often his rewards to minstrels were large sums, of the order of those given in the royal households, although many were only a matter of pence. If he spent Christmas at home, he rewarded certain local minstrels and players who came to entertain him,⁵⁵ and when he entered or left a city such as Lincoln, Colchester or London, the town waits often earned a reward from him.⁵⁶

The Scottish Royal Household, 1474–1505

The music-loving James IV of Scotland⁵⁷ made many gifts to [207] minstrels on his various journeys. In addition to the many itinerant or local minstrels who are not named, particular minstrels in certain places were rewarded regularly whenever the king visited that district: such are Lundoris, luter, the Rudman family, the shoemaker luter and the "crukit vicar" of Dumfries.⁵⁸ The civic pipers of Aberdeen and Wigtown were usually rewarded in the course of the king's pilgrimages to Tain and Whithorn respectively, and when James visited Dumbarton, Dumfries or Edinburgh he rewarded the pipers of those towns.⁵⁹ Many of these minstrels who were well-known to the king journeyed to his court for the major celebrations of Christmas and Easter; and when the king spent these feasts at Edinburgh, the pipers of that town added their minstrelsy to the festivities.

It is therefore very difficult to decide which of the minstrels mentioned in the accounts were the king's own servants, and [208] which were merely frequent visitors at his court. Records of wages in the accounts are rare, and the records of liveries are far from complete. Nevertheless, those items concerning wages and

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 151, 152, 155 and 158.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 157 and 159.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 150, 153, 156, 159 (two items) and 160; c.f. above, p. 127 and n. 156.

⁵⁷James played the lute and the clavichord: see Stevens/*M&P*, p. 269; also below, ii, pp. 169, 170 and 184. The pair of "tympanes" (nakers?) given to the king in 1503 were perhaps not for his personal use (*ibid.*, p. 180).

For other royal amateurs, see Stevens/*M&P*, pp. 275 ff. Henry V must have played the harp from an early age (Wylie/*Henry IV*, Appendix A, under dates 1395–96 and 1397–98; strings bought for young Henry's harp), and his father also played the harp (*ibid.*, under dates 1391–92 and 1392–93). For the harps of Henry V and Queen Katherine, see Devon/*Issues*, pp. 363 and 367; for the lutes of Princess Margaret (later Queen of Scots) and Princess Mary, see *PPE.H.VII* under dates 21 May, 1501, and 1 August, 1505: also Nicolas/*York*, p. 29; for Henry VII's clavichord, see *PPE.H.VII* under dates 7 January, 1502, and 6 January, 1504; for Queen Elizabeth's clavichord, see Nicolas/*York*, p. 41.

⁵⁸See below, ii, Appendix D, *passim*.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*: c.f. above, pp. 127 (and n. 156) and 206.

liveries which are included in the surviving accounts do give us some idea of who the royal minstrels were.

The king's luters are prominent in the accounts. James III's luter, John Brown, was sent abroad in September, 1473, to "lere his craft", while the king's little luter, "the boy", was sent to Bruges a year later, perhaps for the same purpose.⁶⁰ James IV's luter, Jacob, seems to have gone abroad in September, 1489.⁶¹ Judging by the size of liveries and gifts made to him, Jacob was James' chief minstrel: from 1501 onwards he was joined by another luter, the blind Adam Dickson, who appears to have been similarly favoured. Two luters received James' livery, but only for short periods - Alexander Wardlaw in 1503 and 1504, and Rankin, the Fleming, in 1503.

Of the many other luters, harpers, clarsach-players and fiddlers who appear in the accounts, only Pate Harper and his father of the same name (who was a clarsach-player) are known to have [209] received James's livery,⁶² apart from those of Princess Margaret's minstrels who remained at the Scottish Court after her marriage. The latter included Kennar, luter, Bountas, cornettist, and perhaps Cuddy Rig, luter.⁶³ Others who appear frequently in the accounts and may have been the king's minstrels are James Milson, harper, Alexander, harper, and Adam Boyd, fiddler.⁶⁴

All of the trumpeters named in the accounts were in James' regular employment. There were four of them, until their numbers were increased first to five and then to six by the addition of John Anderson in 1501 and Thomas Hopringill the younger in 1502. One of the latter two was probably the war-trumpeter. Other *haut* minstrels at James' court were the four Italian minstrels and the Moorish taborer, employed from 1503 and 1504 onwards respectively.⁶⁵ The king had already employed a taborer, Ansle, for several years.⁶⁶

Most of James' gifts were for *bas* minstrelsy, which he evidently preferred. On a pilgrimage to Whithorn in 1501 he took two luters with him (Dickson and, probably, Jacob), while Alexander the harper accompanied him to Tain in the same year.⁶⁷ At least [210] one trumpeter also attended on each journey, however, and the king probably took *haut* minstrels to make ceremonial music on all such

⁶⁰See below, ii, pp. 163 f. Edward III had helped three of his minstrels to go to the Lenten minstrel-school (*ibid.*, p. 92): the Scottish luters perhaps went as temporary members of some noble household, where they could exchange ideas and repertoire.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁶²They served the king from 1494 onwards and from 1501 onwards (?respectively).

⁶³Cuddy is not known to have received James's livery.

⁶⁴Also described as a taborer.

⁶⁵See above, p. 183 and n. 144.

⁶⁶From 1497 onwards.

⁶⁷See below, ii, pp. 173 f.

occasions. In 1504 two trumpeters accompanied him to Whithorn, and all four Italian minstrels and the Moorish taborer went to Tain.⁶⁸

The accounts give little information about instruments at the Scottish Court. A gift made to a luter for canvas in 1474 may be for an instrument-bag.⁶⁹ New instruments were apparently available in Edinburgh: if the tabor bought by Anslie in 1502 really cost 42.0d, it was a fine instrument;⁷⁰ a new shawm elicited a gift of only 28.0d in the following year.⁷¹

Like their English contemporaries, the minstrels of the King of Scots took part in the various revels at Court: indeed, the Scottish minstrels sometimes arranged some of the entertainments. At Epiphany, 1494, a dance was devised by John Pringill, who had been "King of Bene" two years earlier,⁷² and the Moorish taborer took on similar responsibilities in 1505.⁷³

[211]

The Northumberland Household of 1511

The ordinances of the household of the Earl of Northumberland⁷⁴ were drawn up at Michealmas, 1511. On certain subjects, such as the constitution of the Earl's chapel, they are very informative, occasionally they are remarkable for their silence. For instance, no mention is made of cloth-liveries: nor is there any information about the Earl's trumpeters.⁷⁵

The household minstrels were a taboret, a luter and a rebec-player. The latter two could probably supply all the *bas* minstrelsy that the Earl might require, while the taboret would play for dances and so on. Probably all three of them played together when they serenaded the Earl on New Year's Day. The taboret received four marks *per annum* for his wages, while the luter and rebec-player received 33.4d each.⁷⁶ The minstrels' status was not high, even amongst the household yomen, with whom they ranked, and at meals they made up a *meas* with the footman.⁷⁷

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 184.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 163: c.f. above, pp. 108 and 204.

⁷⁰See below, ii, p. 177: c.f. above, p. 200.

⁷¹See below, ii, p. 180.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁷⁴Transcribed in Percy/*Northumberland*.

⁷⁵It is possible that the trumpeters' wages are detailed with those of other servants of the same rank: but the ordinances do not state the rank of the trumpeters.

⁷⁶Percy/*Northumberland*, pp. 46 and 253. The first of these gives the taboret's wages as £4.0.0d, which must be a mistake: the Dean of the Chapel received £4.0.0d *per annum*, while 33.4d was the wage of a yoman.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 88.

[212] The Earl's gifts to minstrels, players and other entertainers were on the scale that we have already noted in other households. He was accustomed to give 3.4d to the minstrels of an earl if they came annually, and 6.8d if they came only every two or three years: a single minstrel of an earl who was a special friend or kinsman of the Earl of Northumberland received the same reward.⁷⁸ The trumpeters of an earl or duke received either 6.8d or 10.0d in the same circumstances if they came all six together. Three of the king's shawms who had been accustomed to come every year were given 10.0d.

The Earl also made regular gifts to his own servants.⁷⁹ The three household minstrels serenaded the whole Percy family on the morning of New Year's Day, receiving 20.0d for playing at the Earl's chamber door (13.4d from the Earl, and 6.8d from the Countess), 2.0d for playing at Lord Percy's door, and 8d for playing at the door of each of the two younger sons. The six trumpeters, similarly, played outside the Earl's door on the same occasion for which they received 20.0d.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 339, contains all the gifts to visiting minstrels. The sum given to the minstrel of a friend or kinsman coming yearly is left blank, but 3.4d was probably intended: 6.8d is laid down for such a minstrel coming once every two or three years.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 342.