

THE STATUS AND FUNCTION
OF MINSTRELS IN ENGLAND
BETWEEN 1350 AND 1400

by

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C O N T E N T S

Synopsis

Introduction.....	1
Economic References to Minstrels.....	40
Literary References to Minstrels.....	59
Medieval Metrical Romance: its relation to minstrelsy.....	71
Appendices.....	87
A (Economic references).....	88
B (Literary references).....	100
C (Tutbury Minstrels' Court).....	113
D (Musical Instruments).....	143
E (Heralds and Minstrels).....	165
Index to Appendix F	
F (Metrical Romances).....	173
Select Bibliography.....	299

SYNOPSIS

Scholarly interest in minstrels and their literature began in the eighteenth century. I have studied the most important works on this subject from that period up to the present day, and have concluded that although much material has been collected, it needs more discriminating classification and reconsideration within a fairly strict limit of time and place. I have therefore concentrated upon minstrels in England in the years between 1350 and 1400.

The progress of scholarship has made available a number of records such as Household Accounts which contain many references to minstrels but which have not yet been systematically drawn on for evidence. I have confined my work to printed records, and have studied three account books in order to gather as much information as possible about the payment, functions, and status of minstrels in England in the second half of the fourteenth century.

I have also examined the principal literary texts of this period for what authors say about minstrels.

The fourteenth century metrical romances form

an indigenous literary group which has been thought to possess a special relationship to minstrels. In an attempt to clarify this relationship, I have studied twenty representative romances for indications of audience level, authorship, and method of delivery.

Other work relating to minstrels has been presented in Appendices. These include an appendix on the Tutbury Minstrels' Court and Bull-running, the relationship between heralds and minstrels, the musical instruments connected with minstrelsy, and a series of passages from the metrical romances indicating techniques relating to oral delivery.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Scholarly interest in minstrels and their literature effectively begins with Dr. Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, which first appeared in 1765. Into the century of Addison, Swift and Pope, Dr. Percy introduced his volumes of "Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and other pieces of our earlier Poets". Gray had of course prepared the way, and there was "the slow, sure invasion" of the "new stage and temper" (1) of Romanticism, but even so, Percy was an uncertain and apologetic protagonist. He was acutely conscious of the sharp contrast between the wit and polish of the eighteenth century and the rough-hewn nature of the items in his collection, calling them derogatively "A parcel of old ballads" (p.xvi), and explaining that "In a polished age, like the present, I am sensible that many of these reliques of antiquity will require great allowances to be made for them" (p.xii).

Percy's concept of a minstrel, as set out in the "Essay on the Ancient English Minstrels" in the Reliques, is strongly tinged with eighteenth-century sophistication. He sentimentalizes and refines the minstrel, either distorting or omitting anything that would discredit him. For example, he

(1) O. Elton. A Survey of English Literature. 1730-1780, II London, 1928, p.116.

represents the episode in the reign of King John, in which the Earl of Chester was besieged in his castle by the Welsh, as being "much to their (i.e. the minstrels') credit" (p.xxxi). The distressed Earl sent for help to the constable of Chester, who rallied the crowd which had gathered for the fair, and hastened towards the castle. The Welsh, seeing the approaching multitude, raised the siege and fled. (1) Percy attributes the rallying of the crowd to "the MINSTRELS then assembled at Chester fair: These men, like so many Tyrtæus's, by their Music and their Songs so allured and inspirited the multitudes of loose and lawless persons then brought together, that they resolutely marched against the Welsh" (p.xxxi - xxxii). In his account of the activities of the minstrels at Tutbury in the fourteenth century, Percy omits the unsavoury report of Bull-running in which the minstrels indulged, presumably because this would have reflected badly upon the minstrel character.

According to Percy, the English minstrel inherited not only his profession from the Danish Scalds and British Bards, but also the attendant honour and privileges, and much of his evidence is produced to show that minstrels were often respected and their performances well received. He says, for example, that

(1) D. Powell, History of Cambria, 1584, p.296.

Richard I was a "distinguished patron of Poets and Minstrels" (p.xxviii), and that there was a multitude of minstrels at the knighting of Edward I's son (p.xxxiii). He states that by the reign of Henry VIII, many noble families kept minstrels as part of the household, and that at that time, it was "a common entertainment to hear verses recited, or moral speeches learned for that purpose, by a set of men who got their livelihood by repeating them, and who intruded without ceremony into all companies; not only in taverns, but in the houses of the nobility themselves" (p.xxxiv).

The minstrels were not popular, however, amongst the clergy, who, particularly in Anglo-Saxon times, condemned their activities. Percy explains that "the Pagan origin of their art would excite in the monks an insuperable prejudice against it" (p.liv), and that often the monks adopted this attitude because they seemed "to grudge every act of munificence that was not applied to the benefit of themselves and their convents" (p.xlviii, note F). After the Norman Conquest, however, the situation improved, and Percy states that "there is even room to think, that they (i.e. the monks) admitted them here to some of the inferior honours of the clerical character; as the Tonsure for instance" (p.lv). But he does not substantiate this statement with any evidence. (It is not impossible, however, that many minstrels were in minor

orders; to be able to write would be a sufficient qualification).

Percy does not describe any hierarchical distinctions within minstrelsy. Indeed, although stating that "men of very different arts and talents were included under the common name of Minstrels" (p.lxxii, note Aa), he considers that "they had all of them doubtless the same privileges" (ibid). Therefore the minstrel who composed verses, and the one who danced, mimed, and told bawdy tales shared, in Percy's view, the same high standing in society. He does not admit that any of the members of the profession were degenerate until the reign of Elizabeth, "in whose time", he states, "they had lost much of their dignity, and were sinking into contempt and neglect" (p.xxxiv). This deterioration continued until the end of the sixteenth century, when they "had lost all credit" (p.xxxvii).

Percy defines the minstrels as
an order of men in the middle ages, who united the arts
of poetry and music, and sung verses to the harp of their
own composing. They also appear to have accompanied their
songs with mimicry and action; and to have practised such
various means of diverting as were much admired in those
rude times, and supplied the want of more refined
entertainments (p.xix).

The evidence brought forward by Percy to support this definition is only partly convincing. It is clear from some of his illustrations that minstrels sang and played, but his suggestion that they employed additional "means of diverting" appears to rest largely upon the significance of the vocabulary of "our old monkish historians", who, when referring to minstrels, used words implying gesture, such as Mimus, Histrio or Jocolator (p.xlii, note B).

Percy avers that although "old writers" applied the word "minstrel" to "every species of men, whose business it was to entertain or divert" (note Aa, p.lxxi), its "exact and proper meaning" (ibid, p.lxxii) was a singer to the harp or some other instrument. The use of the word "minstrel" as a generic term gradually declined, because as music was "the leading idea", the word "minstrel" was "at last confined to the Musician only" (p.xliii, note B).

The composition of the pieces which were delivered by the minstrels was, according to Percy, shared between the minstrel and, (surprisingly, in view of his earlier statements), the monk. He supposes that "many of the most popular rhimes (sic) were composed amidst the leisure and retirement of monasteries" (p.xx - xxi). He suggests that some of the longer pieces, such as

metrical romances, were written by "monks or others", whereas the "smaller narratives" were composed by "the Minstrels who sung them" (p.xxi). In general, however, he is of the opinion that the minstrel himself wrote the majority of the pieces which he delivered. Percy refers to "the artless productions of these old rhapsodists", and "the old strolling Minstrells (sic), who composed their rhimes to be sung to their harps" (p.xii). He is certain that "most of the old heroic Ballads in this collection were composed by this order of men" (p.xxi). All these remarks, however, are conjectures; he produces no evidence to support them.

Throughout, Percy stresses the oral nature of the minstrel poetry. He refers to the variations found in different copies of the same poem, and concludes that "it is evident they made no scruple to alter each others productions; and the reciter added or omitted whole stanzas according to his own fancy or convenience" (p.xxi). The difference between the ballads of the minstrels and those of the later ballad-writers is that "so long as the Minstrels subsisted, they seem never to have designed their rhimes for literary publication, and probably never committed them to writing themselves", whereas the "new race of Ballad-writers" wrote "narrative songs merely for the press" (p.xxxviii).

The oral nature of the minstrel material is reflected in characteristics such as the "very remarkable licence of varying the accent of words at pleasure", and the appropriation of "many phrases and idioms" by the minstrels for their exclusive use. It is seen, too, in the old ballads which are described by Percy as abounding "with antique words and phrases", being "extremely incorrect", and running into "the utmost licence of metre" (p.xxxix).

When assessing the value of the minstrel pieces, Percy's touchstone is eighteenth-century refinement, and he calls them "rude Songs" and "the barbarous productions of unpolished ages" (p.viii). He stresses, however, that they must not be regarded as products of artistic creation, but rather as "effusions of nature, shewing the first efforts of ancient genius" (ibid). If looked at in this way, they are seen to contain some value, which consists of "a pleasing simplicity, and many artless graces" which "have been thought to compensate for the want of higher beauties, and if they do not dazzle the imagination, are frequently found to interest the heart" (p.xii).

In much of the evidence he presents, Percy does not sufficiently discriminate between England and France. The Essay concerns the "Ancient English Minstrels", and yet he describes

the development of both the French and the English. Further, he uses French evidence to "prove" statements about English minstrels. He states, for example, that "minstrels" was a general term used of many types of entertainers, and produces evidence to prove this. The evidence consists of an extract from the Suppl. to Ducange, and a poem by "an old French Rhymer" (p.lxxii, note Aa).

Percy is vague about dates throughout his Essay. The most definite indication is often no more than the reign of a particular monarch. The words "old", "early", and "ancient" are used where a more precise date would be desirable. He describes minstrels as existing in the Middle Ages ("an order of men in the middle ages" p.xix), and yet he draws more evidence from the Old English and the Elizabethan periods than from the Middle Ages.

Percy's method of transcribing the poems and ballads in his folio manuscript does not accord with modern views of the duty of an editor, and in the course of his treatment of minstrels he muddled his evidence and drew some wrong conclusions. His work is chiefly valuable in that it drew attention to the minstrels and their poetry at a time when the intellectual climate was not conducive to such a venture.

Thomas Warton, who, in the course of his long History of English Poetry (first published 1774-81) touched several times upon the minstrel profession, was the the next scholar who dealt seriously with this subject. His interest was predominantly literary, and he made no effort to describe comprehensively the functions and attributes of a minstrel. His approach and that of Percy are complementary; Warton's interest lies mainly in what he thought of as minstrel literature, and Percy's in the man behind the literature.

Some idea of Warton's concept of the status of a minstrel can, however, be gleaned from the History. Unlike Percy, he makes no mention of ecclesiastical objections to minstrels; indeed, he emphasizes the links between the monk and the minstrel: "the monks often wrote for the minstrels" (I, p.91); "The monks.... were fond of admitting the minstrels to their festivals" (I, p.92); "Nor is it improbable, that some of our greater monasteries kept minstrels of their own in regular pay" (I, p.95). This, coupled with his statement that poetry such as the Lives of the Saints and legendary religious tales was "sung to the harp by the minstrels on Sundays" (I, p.20), out of respect for the day, suggests that Warton regards the minstrel as possessing both respectability and high status. He does, however, attempt to define an hierarchical

distinction within minstrelsy. From a study of the account rolls of Maxtoke Priory, he concludes that the "minstrels of the nobility" often received "better gratuities" for their performances than the itinerant minstrels. (I, p.93). However, his remarks on the status of minstrels are few.

Warton is vague about the functions of a minstrel. When dealing with the prior's accounts mentioned above, he explains that he has not distinguished between *Mimi*, *Joculatores*, *Lusores*, and *Citharistae*, "who all seem alternately, and at different times, to have exercised the same arts of popular entertainment" (I, p.94). The only distinction which he draws is that between a minstrel and a juggler. He quotes from three medieval poems (1) and concludes that "the minstrels and juglers (sic) were distinct characters....But they are often confounded or made the same" (II, p.58n.). He provides no definite way out of the uncertainty, for he does not describe exactly what a minstrel proper did, and the reader is left wondering what constituted the "arts of popular entertainment" to which he refers. A process of reasonable inference, however, suggests that in Warton's opinion, the minstrels sang and played, and perhaps told stories: he states that religious poetry was "sung to the

(1) *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 5990 f. Chaucer, *Rom. Rose*, V,
Robert de Brunne, *Ord. Gart*, I, p.304 1. 764

harp by the minstrels on Sundays" (I, p.20, and see above, p.9) and that, because heralds were connected with minstrels at public festivals, they (i.e. the heralds) "thence acquired a facility of reciting adventures" (II, p.168).

Throughout, Warton assumes that the minstrels also composed much of what they delivered. He states that one of the reasons for the change in the character of English poetry after the reign of Edward I was that "fictitious adventures were substituted by the minstrels in the place of historical and traditionary facts" (I, p.111). He quotes extensively from Robert of Brunne, who complained about the phraseology and verse-forms then used by the minstrels, and who deplored their distortion and alteration of the facts of stories. (I, pp.118-19).

Using these quotations, Warton shows that the minstrels used affected language and foreign terms, and employed special verse-forms "which were then fashionable" among them, "and have been long since unknown" (I, p.77). He attributes these characteristics to the influence of "pieces of the French minstrels", which were circulated in England during the thirteenth century. He asserts that they were translated into English, and, "containing much of the French idiom, together with a sort of poetical

phraseology before unknown", produced the above innovations. (I, p.118).

The evidence produced by Warton to support these statements is very slight. He adduces some slight proof for the fact that French poems existed in England in this period, but produces none to support his statement, (however correct it might be), that English translations of them were made and circulated.

The minstrels, however, were not the sole composers of the poems which they delivered, for in Warton's view, they shared this function with the monks. He postulates that the leisure of monastic life would have been conducive to the composition of poetry. Because their life was so "retired and confined", the monks would have sought all possible chances of amusement, and hence would have admitted minstrels, thus becoming familiar with their poetry! (I, pp.92-3).

These suggested reasons for the composition of poetry by the monks are, of course, entirely conjectural. However, Warton produces five pieces of evidence to prove that the monks wrote for the minstrels. He gives the names of three English ecclesiastics who either wrote in French or translated into French.

Two of their works are concerned with strictly religious material: Herbert Boscam's Latin Life of Thomas Becket, and Rosarium de Nativitate, Passione, Ascenscione, Jhesu Christi. Further, he states that the romance of Guy, Earl of Warwick, is said "on good authority" (1) to have been written by a friar. His most convincing piece of evidence is Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, in which the author implies that he designed his work to be sung to the harp at public entertainments.

As well as making many statements which prove on examination to be mere conjecture, Warton, like Percy, mixes French and English evidence. Although supposedly tracing the history of English poetry, he includes much information about the poetry of France, and even that of Arabia, Italy and Spain. For example, at one point (I, pp. 150-53) he discusses at some length the poetry of the French troubadours and its influence upon Italian literature.

Warton does not attempt to trace the development of the minstrel profession, and his concept of what a minstrel was and did does not change during the course of this work. This is no doubt due to the fact that, unlike Percy, his primary

(1) R. Carew, Survey of Cornwall, 1602

sources of reference are literary, and hence reveal little about the changing character or status of the minstrels.

Although the History was published in the same decade as Percy's Reliques, it contains no apologetic overtones. After a brief description of "the romantic poems" of "nameless minstrels", Warton strongly avers that "the antiquaries of former times overlooked or rejected these valuable remains, which they despised as false and frivolous; and employed their industry in reviving obscure fragments of un instructive morality or uninteresting history. But in the present age we are beginning to make ample amends: in which the curiosity of the antiquarian is connected with taste and genius, and his researches tend to display the progress of human manners, and to illustrate the history of society" (II, pp.41-2). Thus Percy's hesitant statement of the value of the study of early popular poetry and its composers found immediate support from Warton, and was a decisive step in antiquarian research.

In spite of the value of the work of these two critics, they did not escape the censure of one of their

contemporaries, Joseph Ritson. A critic of acute observation, painstaking research, and a somewhat choleric disposition, he waged several strongly-worded attacks upon the opinions and scholarship of Percy and Warton, with the result that he came to be regarded as the supreme authority in the realms of romance and minstrelsy.

His attacks upon Warton were not specifically connected with minstrelsy, and so do not concern the present study. Some of his works, however, are almost entirely devoted to a criticism of Percy's remarks on minstrelsy as set out in the Reliques. One of his earliest publications, Ancient Songs and Ballads from the reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution (first published 1790), reveals the scholarship, accuracy, and care which constituted his virtues as a critic. It also reveals his intense annoyance with the "ingenious" (p.xv) Bishop Percy.

Ritson regards the minstrel as a degenerate vagabond, and pours scorn upon Percy's exalted opinion of him. He refers to Percy's account of the rescue of the Earl of Chester, and strongly implies that he has given the story a fictitious colouring of respectability. Ritson refers to

four accounts of the incident (1), three of which do not present the minstrels as dishonourable. Although stating that Powell's History of Cambria is "where the story seems to have originally appeared" (p.vii.n.), he prefers to take Leycester as his authority, as in his account the minstrels are described as "debauched persons" (p.141). Ritson depicts the minstrels of Chester as "an appendage or appurtenance to the whores and letchers (sic)" for whose entertainment they "were most miserably twanging and scraping in the booths of Chester fair" (p.viii). He comments on the fact that Percy, not wishing to reveal any chinks in the minstrels' armour of virtue, "judiciously omitted" (p.xi) a description of the Tutbury Bull-running, in which the minstrels indulged in "the most shocking and brutal barbarity, which it would be disgusting to repeat, and which a fidler (sic) or ballad-singer of the present times (low as the profession may be now sunk) would scorn to countenance" (p.xi).

Other remarks which he makes about the nature and status of minstrels do not leave the reader in any doubt as

- (1) T. Blount, Ancient Tenures, 1679, pp.68-9.
W. Dugdale, Baronage, I, 1675-6, p.101.
P. Leycester, Historical Antiquities, 1673, p.141.
D. Powell, History of Cambria, 1584, p.296.

to his opinion of them. He refers to Percy's statement that by Elizabeth's reign, the minstrels "had lost much of their dignity" (Reliques, p.xxxiv), and comments "As to dignity, it is pretty clear that they never had any to lose; and if we find them treated with contempt and neglect, it is because we are now become better acquainted with them, and do not view them through the medium of Ducange or Fontenelle" (p.xii). He asserts that "the Minstrels should not seem to have had much reason to complain" about the language of the Elizabethan statute which included minstrels among "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars", because "vagabond was a title to which the profession had been long accustomed" (p.xiv).

Another issue raised by Ritson concerns Percy's definition of the functions of the English minstrels (i.e. they "united the arts of poetry and music, and sung verses to the harp of their own composing" Reliques, p.xix). He states that Percy produces no authority which conclusively proves his theory that the English minstrels composed and sang, and he is convinced that there is no "such authority to be found" (pp.xiv-xv). He asserts that the English

minstrels were not necessarily or even usually poets, and that the word "minstrel" ordinarily meant an instrumentalist. As evidence, he quotes the names of several "glossarists" who explained the word "minstrel" by reference to various kinds of instrumentalists (p.xv). He also refers to the accounts of various royal households, in which the minstrels of the household were given the name of the instrument on which they performed (p.xvi). Again, he produces extracts from twelve poems, dating mainly from the sixteenth century, in which minstrels are described as playing on their instruments, sometimes at feasts, or for dancing, but in which there are no references to them singing or composing (p.xviiiff).

In spite of this assertion, however, Ritson admits that "there were individuals formerly, who made ^{it} their business to wander up and down the country chanting romances, and singing songs and ballads to the harp, fiddle, or other....instrument" (p.xxi). Percy had confidently stated that this was the main and proper function of a minstrel, but Ritson retorts that although "these men were in all probability comprehended within the general term of

Minstrels" (p.xxi), their art was not the sum total of the scope of minstrelsy, but only constituted a small branch of the profession. Thus the basic dichotomy of opinion between the two critics lies in the fact that Percy regards the minstrel's proper function to be that of singing verses of his own composition to the harp, whereas in Ritson's view, the minstrel may have been able, on occasion, to compose or to deliver songs, but he was more often than not a pure instrumentalist.

Although denying that the composition of poetry was a regular occupation of the minstrels, Ritson produces eight ballads which he declares to have been written by them, and comments on their nature and value. He complains that they had a "wild and licentious metre", and for that reason "were incapable of any certain melody or air". He compares them somewhat unfavourably with the later, more polished productions of the ballad-writers, stating that "the people at large" preferred the ballads to the minstrel songs, "and in some respects, at least, not without justice" (p.xxix). He admits, however, that "the minstrel songs, under the circumstances in which they were produced, are certainly both curious and valuable compositions" (p.xxxiii).

Percy comes under fire from Ritson for producing evidence about French minstrels in order to corroborate his definition of those in England. Ritson states that "all the facts, anecdotes and other circumstances which have been collected relative to the Provencal Troubadours or Norman Minstrels, however numerous or authentic, are totally foreign to the subject, and do not even prove the mere existence of the character supposed" (p.iii). He complains, too, of the disregard for dating in Percy's Essay. He states that Percy's anecdotes concerning Anglo-Saxon minstrels are irrelevant, and "by no means affect the question proposed to be here considered, which is, whether at any time, since the Norman Conquest", there has existed an order of English minstrels as defined by Percy. (p.iii).

As much of Ritson's "Observations on the Ancient English Minstrels" in this work is a critique of Percy's essay in the Reliques, he does not produce much evidence of his own. What he does produce, however, is valid and specific both in place and date.

In spite of his scathing criticisms of Percy, Ritson owes him a great debt in that his theories and ideas on minstrelsy are largely further developments of thought springing from Percy's essay. Ritson's "Observations"

could almost be described as an amplification of Percy's sketch in the Reliques.

In the short Preface to Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry, which first appeared in 1791, only a year after Ancient Songs and Ballads, Ritson's remarks are in a somewhat different strain. He rather off-handedly attributes the composition of the early popular poetry to the minstrels, conjecturing that "these fugitive productions....were written (or, more accurately speaking, perhaps, imagined and committed to memory) by men, who made it their profession to chant or rehearse them, up and down the country" (pp. ix-x). He stresses the essentially oral nature of such poetry, and the resultant loss of much of it. The difference in tone between this Preface and the earlier "Observations" is further marked by the fact that he refers the curious reader to Percy's essay, describing it as "very ingenious and elegant" (p.x).

However, in the "Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy" which appeared in Ancient English Metrical Romances in 1802, the attack is resumed. It takes much the same form as in Ancient Songs and Ballads, and seems to be, to some extent, based upon that essay.

Ritson again reveals his low opinion of the minstrel profession. He refers once more to Percy's account of the minstrels at Chester fair, complaining that he "has worked it up with his usual eloquence and ingenuity, into a fine minstrel story" (p. 95), and he scorns the "delicacy and respect" (p. 100) with which Percy treats the Tutbury minstrels who engaged in the bull-running. He quotes some unsavoury passages from Piers Plowman which reveal minstrels in anything but a complimentary light (pp. 107-8), and refers appreciatively to Stubs' Anatomie of Abuses, which describes minstrels as "a parcel of drunken sockets and bawdy (sic) parasites" (p. 169). He disagrees with Percy over the connotation of the word "lordings". Percy argues (p.ciii) that because many of the old metrical romances begin "Listen lordings", this indicates that they were addressed to persons of high rank. Ritson retorts that the word "by no means implies nobility, and is merely equivalent to sirs or masters", and he refers to the use of it by Chaucer's pardoner to prove his point.

He does not again engage in arguments to prove that the minstrel was mainly an instrumentalist, but refers throughout to the variety of the minstrel repertory. He

enumerates at some length the various "professors of minstrelsy", ranging from singers and harpers to jugglers and dancers. He suggests that the numerous appellations may only have been preserved within the profession, and that "in later times", one man often possessed most of the minstrel arts, "and the whole system sunk into insignificance and contempt" (p. 81). He quotes, from Piers Plowman, Haukyn's description of a minstrel, which portrays the "true character...or peculiar accomplishments" of a fourteenth-century minstrel.

However, he firmly omits from the minstrel repertory the art of composing. He has so low an opinion of the English minstrels' "genius and invention" (p. 38), that he suggests that many of their pieces were directly borrowed and translated from the French. He asserts that the English minstrels were incapable of composing or even of translating the pieces which they delivered; they were "too ignorant and too vulgar" to do so. (p. 57). He asserts that there is not "one single metrical romance in English known to exist, which appears to have been written by a minstrel" (p.57). He refers to a line in one of the poems in Percy's folio manuscript, "Then is it time for Hec to carpe", but stands his ground, stating that it "by no means proves

that the man who sung it had himself composed the words; it is sufficient that it had been originally intended to be sung by some minstrel, peradventure by many, or even by the whole body" (p. 57). Although denying that the minstrels had the ability to compose or translate, Ritson gives no real clue as to who, in his opinion, performed these literary functions, merely indicating that "writers at their desk" might have done so. (p. 57).

Although in Ancient Songs and Ballads Ritson was concerned only with the English minstrels, in this dissertation he leaves vague their nationality, and freely mixes evidence from France and England. He enumerates the musical instruments used by French minstrels, discusses the way in which the French metrical romances were sung, and describes in some detail the different names given to the various branches of minstrelsy in France as well as in England. He sometimes misuses his evidence, although he had earlier castigated Percy for doing so. For example, he applies to the English minstrels the evidence of a thirteenth-century French fabliau which describes the activities of the French entertainers.

Although Ritson's ideas are modified in each successive book, his attack on Percy's exalted view of the minstrels does not weaken. While it must be admitted that Percy's view is an exaggerated one, it must also be stressed that Ritson, in going to the other extreme, is also in error. Neither Percy's honoured musician nor Ritson's rough vagabond present a realistic image of a minstrel. The profession most probably contained both types, but neither critic would admit that he was describing only a facet of the truth.

It is clear that Joseph Strutt had read both Percy and Ritson, for in his Sports and Pastimes of the People of England (1801), there are several passages which bear close resemblances to parts of their works. (1) His opinion of the status and nature of minstrels is a fairly equal mixture of the views of his two predecessors. Although, like Percy, he denounces as grudging and selfish the monks who severely censured the minstrels, he adds that "on the

(1) For example, cf. Strutt, p.147: "These selfish...their monasteries" and Percy, p.xlviii, note F. Also, cf. Strutt, p.139 and Ritson, Anc. Eng. Met. Roms., p.78; Strutt, pp. 144-45 and Ritson, op. cit., p.85, where the same illustrations are quoted.

other hand, the minstrels appear to have been ready enough to give them ample occasion for censure; and, indeed, I apprehend that their own immorality and insolence contributed more to their downfall, than all the defamatory declarations of their opponents" (p.148). Again, although stating that some minstrels in the middle ages were respected men of property, he qualifies this by adding that, in spite of this, "it must be owned, their general character does not bear the marks of prudence..." (p.150). While fully realizing and describing the popularity of the minstrels, their automatic right of entry into castles and rich monasteries, and the handsome rewards they received, Strutt yet points out that they "accommodated their narrations to the general taste of the times, regardless of the mischiefs they occasioned, by vitiating the morals of their hearers" (p.158), and that in the process of time they lost their privileges, and sank to the level of vagabonds.

As Strutt's subject is the entertainment of the English people, his primary concern, when dealing with the minstrels, is their function, and he describes the great variety of arts within the minstrel profession. He suggests

that as early as Anglo-Saxon times the profession had many branches, and included, besides singing and playing, mimicry, dancing, tumbling, and training animals; these arts also being practised by the minstrels who were the descendents of the Saxon gleemen (p.155). He enumerates the names given to the various types of minstrels, but stresses that "all of them were included under the general name of minstrel" (p.155). He states that "the name of minstrels was frequently applied to instrumental performers, who did not profess any other branch of the minstrelsy" (p.151), and suggests that the "joculator", although "frequently included under the collective appellation of minstrel" (p.152), gradually became separated from the instrumentalist, and practised the many secondary pursuits within the profession.

Strutt includes the composition of poetry amongst the minstrels' talents, stating that one of the artifices which they used in order to excite liberality in their patrons was "to make the heroes of their poems exceedingly bountiful to the minstrels, who appear to have been introduced for that purpose" (p.148). He does not pursue this matter much further, however, merely stating that poets were included under the generic term "minstrel" (p.155), and that in later

times, the minstrel "dwindled into a mere singer of ballads, which sometimes he composed himself" (p.215).

In spite of the title of his book, Strutt falls prey to the seemingly irresistible attraction of the French minstrels, and discusses at some length the minute functional distinctions between them. He cites evidence from French literature and applies it to the English minstrels, and at one point he quotes a fabliau written by "an ancient French poet", describing the diversified talents of the minstrels in France, and concludes that it is small wonder that our English "moral and religious writers" outcried against the minstrels. (p.139). Although containing discrepancies such as this, Strutt's work has a distinct place in the history of the study of minstrelsy because of his assertion and description of the heterogeneous nature of the profession.

One of the most influential writers on minstrelsy was Sir Walter Scott. His Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, although very largely an historical description of the conditions of life on the border, contains also his assertion of the essential unity of poetry and music: "Verse is naturally connected with music; and, among a rude people, the union is seldom broken" (p.cx). He raises the question

as to whether the border songs were "originally the composition of minstrels, professing the joint arts of poetry and music" (pp. cxx-cxxi), but he makes no attempt to answer it. He emphasizes the corruption of the popular poetry because of its oral nature, stating that the rhyme word was often, "by the ignorance of the reciters, transposed, or thrown into the middle of the line" (p. cxxiv), and that "the reciter, making it a uniform principle to proceed at all hazards, is very often, when his memory fails him, apt to substitute large portions from some other tale, altogether distinct from that which he has commenced" (pp. cxxiii-iv).

This book was supplemented by the Border Minstrelsy. In this work, Scott's remarks on the status and functions of minstrels largely arise out of his evaluation of the views of Percy and Ritson, whose dispute he describes in some detail. After discussing their opposed ideas as to the status of minstrels, Scott puts his own view of the subject, "which seems to explain clearly how contradictory evidence should exist in it, and why instances of great personal respect to individual minstrels, and a high esteem of the art, are quite reconcilable with much contempt thrown on the order at large" (pp.56-7). This, he

suggests, is due to the very nature of the entertainment profession, where the talented members are highly honoured, but where those "who lag in the rear", because of the comparative inadequacy of their performances, "are proportionally poorer and more degraded than those who are the lowest of a useful trade or profession" (p.59).

His views on the functions of minstrels are also stated in relation to the views of Percy and Ritson. He makes no mention of any other arts besides those of composing and singing verses, and of playing an instrument. He unreservedly accepts Percy's definition of a minstrel's functions, as qualified in the fourth edition of his Essay, where it is stated that the minstrels sang verses "composed by themselves or others." Scott accepts this as a tenable position, "for, as on the one hand it seems too broad an averment to say that all minstrels were by profession poets, so on the other, it is extravagant to affirm that men who were constantly in the habit of reciting verse, should not frequently have acquired that of composing it". (p.51)

Scott's interest lies rather in the poetry than in the men who composed and delivered it. He describes the poor quality of the old ballads as they now exist, and suggests

that there are three reasons for their flatness and insipidity. Firstly, the early poets were satisfied with a "rude and careless expression of their sentiments" (p.16). Secondly, many rhymes and stanzas formed a joint stock for the common use of the profession, and gave "an appearance of sameness and crudity to the whole series of popular poetry" (p.16). Lastly, and most important of all, there was "the ignorance and errors of the reciters or transcribers" (p.18), who were the vehicles of transmission. The compositions could not retain their original sense or diction when subjected to the mutilation of "impertinent interpolations from the conceit of one rehearser, unintelligible blunders from the stupidity of another, and omissions equally to be regretted, from the want of memory in a third" (p.19). In this way, through undergoing a gradual process of alteration and recomposition, "our popular and oral minstrelsy has lost, in a great measure, its original appearance" (p.22).

As a critic, Scott is unimpeachable. The evidence he produces, (which is drawn largely from the literature under discussion), is valid and unmingled, and the inferences he draws from it are reasonable. The value of his work lies firstly in the fact that he was the first to emphasize the essentially

varying nature of the popular ballad, and secondly in his conviction that the imperfect remains of traditional poetry did not do justice to "the rugged sense and spirit of the antique minstrel" (p.22).

E.K. Chambers, in The Medieval Stage (1903), has probably contributed more to the study of minstrelsy than any other critic in this century. He has an intense interest in the person of the minstrel, and his sympathy leads him to delineate the condition of an itinerant entertainer in characteristically Romantic terms: "To tramp long miles in wind and rain, to stand wet to the skin and hungry and footsore, making the slow bourgeois laugh while the heart was bitter within.....And at the end to die like a dog in a ditch, under the ban of the Church and with the prospect of eternal damnation before the soul" (I, p.48).

Chambers traces the minstrels' descent from the honoured Teutonic "scôp" and the despised Roman "mimus", and asserts that the profession was divided into classes roughly corresponding to these traditions. There was an antithesis between the minstrels who were established as members of a noble household or municipal corporation, and who when they

travelled, took with them "a letter of recommendation from their lord, which ensured them the hospitality of his friends" (I,p.55), and those who did not have the protection of a great man's name, but who were footless and itinerant.

Partly identical with this is another distinction, which is made on ethical grounds. This involves an antithesis between those minstrels who sang saintly legends or heroic gests, and those who sang bawdy love songs, and who frequented taverns, willing to perform anything that would please and entertain. Chambers warns, however, against pursuing this antithesis too far; "after all, the minstrels were entertainers, and therefore their business was to entertain" (I,p.66), and if a gest or saintly legend did not please, then something less sophisticated was called for.

Chambers makes continual reference to ecclesiastical opposition to the minstrels, and produces evidence of its existence. He comments upon the discrepancy between the Church's theory and her practice, and suggests that this was because of the wide variety of talents and performances within minstrelsy. Although much of what the minstrels did was frowned upon, there were those minstrels whose performances pleased even the most rigid ecclesiastics, so that although

the formularies confounded all minstrels under "ioculatores", the Church found it necessary in practice to draw distinctions between them (I, p.58).

Throughout, Chambers emphasizes this wide diversity of talents within the profession, calling medieval minstrelsy "a heterogeneous welter" (I,p.77). He devotes a chapter to "The Minstrel Repertory", and in it describes in some detail the many types of minstrels, including tumblers, contortionists, jugglers, puppeteers, animal trainers, and those who imitated the noises and actions of animals, as well as those who sang and played. Unlike Ritson, he does not consider that some minstrels were purely instrumentalists, for although stating that "the minstrels who aspired to be musicians ~~were~~ habitually distinguished by the name of the musical instrument on which they played" (I,p.73), he asserts that the function of the instrument was to assist the voice of the minstrel, and that before the end of the thirteenth century, "the use of music otherwise than to accompany the voice does not seem to have gone much beyond the signals, flourishes and fanfares required for wars, triumphs and processions" (I,p.75).

In spite of this, however, the prodigious amount of material which he has collected relative to the subject, and his painstaking and enthusiastic treatment of it, establish him as an important authority in this field.

One of the most recent contributions to the study of minstrelsy is that of R.L. Greene, in his introduction to A Selection of English Carols (1962), in which he makes a series of assertive and controversial statements about the functions of the medieval minstrel. He states that during the later Middle Ages "the evidence that by 'minstrel' was then understood an instrumental musician playing for pay of one kind or another is simply overwhelming, as Ritson realized.....in the midst of his annoyance with Bishop Percy" (p.18). He neglects to mention, however, Ritson's remark that "there were individuals formerly, who made it their business to wander up and down the country chanting romances, and singing songs and ballads to the harp....." (Anc. Songs and Ballads, p.xxi).

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To support his opinion, he adduces some references in which "the key verb is regularly 'play' not 'sing'" (p.18).

his evidence, however, almost exclusively concerns minstrels belonging to noble or royal households to whom the connotation "instrumental musicians" was far more applicable than to the itinerant minstrels, whom he does not mention.

He further asserts that "the references in the works of Chaucer and in the metrical romances likewise make it plain that minstrels were instrumentalists and minstrelsy instrumental music" (p.19). He does not, however, make mention of Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose, l.76>ff:

There myghtist thou see these flowtours,
Mynstrales, and eke jogelours,
That wel to synge dide her peyne.
Somme songe songes of Loreyne.....,

nor of the metrical romance of Emaré, l.519:

As y have herd menstrelles syng yn sawe.⁽¹⁾

His remark about the metrical romances is also invalidated
his
in the course of introduction, when he quotes from
Sir Cleges a stanza describing "dyvers mynstrelsé", and

(1) See also: Kyng Alisaunder, l.5981; Thomas of Erceldoune, ll.515,687; Sir Cleges, l.484; Octavian, l.196ff.

including "syngyng". (1)

Greene advises those who would put ecclesiastics and "popular merry song" into separate worlds to study the account rolls of abbeys and priories, which record payments for "entertainments" (p.29). These payments, however, (at least in the Durham Account Rolls, which he mentions) are all made to "Istrionibus" or "Ministrallis". He has therefore unwittingly associated minstrels with "popular merry song".

It is clear that, during the course of the last two centuries, a great deal of material has been collected relating to this subject. However, many statements have been made which prove, on examination, to be unevdenced; some wrong conclusions have been drawn; and much of the evidence is mixed, having been drawn from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries in both England and France. There is, therefore, a need for a more discriminating classification and reconsideration of the material

(1) ll. 98-106 Sore syz thyng, he hard a sovne
Of dyvers mynstrelse:
Of trompus, pypus, and claraneris,
Of harpis, luttis, and getarnys,
A sitole and sawtre,
Many carellys and gret davn^ssyng,
On every syde he harde syngyng,
In every place, trewly.

within a fairly strict limit of time and place, in order to reveal its full significance.

E C O N O M I C R E F E R E N C E S
T O M I N S T R E L S

Economic References to Minstrels

This survey is limited to printed accounts.

A representative selection of account books dealing with the years between 1350 and 1400 have been studied, and the references are presented in Appendix A.

1. Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham.

There is no rigid scale of payment in these account rolls. The amount paid to one minstrel varies between 18d and 6s 8d. It is difficult to make any general estimation of the amount paid to more than two minstrels at a time, because many of the entries refer simply to "aliis istrionibus" or "diversis ministrallis", and give no indication of the numbers involved.

There is, however, a marked difference in the amount paid to minstrels belonging to or travelling with dukes, counts, lords and bishops, and to those who are not attached to a great household. The minimum payment to one household minstrel is 3s 4d, which is the maximum that is paid to one itinerant minstrel. Minstrels belonging to the king are particularly well paid, a single minstrel receiving from 5s to 6s8d.

Thus these accounts reveal the familiar pattern noted by Chambers⁽¹⁾ of the social distinction between

(1) E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, I, 1903, pp. 62-66, and see above, pp. 32-33.

itinerant minstrels and those who travelled under the patronage of the king or a noble.

There are three payments which differ from the usual simple payment in money to the minstrels concerned. In the first (1356-7) the Prior pays for the burial of Thomas the fool ("Thome fatui"), indicating that this jester had some special connection with the Priory (or with the Prior). The other two payments appear to be records of the Prior's subsidy of the food and clothing of two minstrels, again pointing to some special connection or favouritism. In the first instance (1360), a minstrel is given a quarter of barley, and in the second (1362) another is given a tunic.

Thirteen minstrels are mentioned by name, indicating that they were known to the monks, probably either because they were regular visitors at the abbey (five of them are mentioned twice), or because they were familiar characters in the locality. They do not seem to have been treated with any favouritism, however, because there is no difference in the payment given to them from that given to the others, except in the case of "Ioh'i Momford", who was a minstrel belonging to the king, and hence received a large amount (6s 8d).

There are three references⁽¹⁾ to minstrels performing before the Prior in his private quarters. In two out of the three cases, the minstrels belong to nobles, and this shows that such minstrels were received with special favour.

The minstrels performed at eight different religious festivals during the period under consideration. They performed twice at Easter, and once each at the feasts of the Ascension, St. Oswald, St. Matthew, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and at Advent. They performed eleven times at feasts in memory of St. Cuthbert. One reason for this special observation was probably because St. Cuthbert was a local Northumbrian saint, whose body was buried at Durham in 998. There are four references to minstrels performing at the feast of the Translation of St. Cuthbert on September 4th⁽²⁾. St. Cuthbert's death on March 20th was also commemorated, and there are four references to minstrels performing "in festo Sci. Cuthberti in Marcio"⁽³⁾. Chambers⁽⁴⁾ states that "the fourteenth century accounts of the great Priory of Durham

(1) 1375-6 (two refs.); 1381-2.

(2) 1350-51; 1355-56; 1362; 1375-76.

(3) 1355-56; 1375-76; (two refs.); 1394-95.

(4) E.K. Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages, 1945, p. 100.

suggest that it then largely depended for Christmas entertainment on the services of minstrels." However, as minstrels performed at only seven Christmases between 1350 and 1403, this hardly seems enough to justify Chambers' statement.

The variety of the minstrels' functions as presented in ~~these~~ accounts is considerable. The minstrels who were musicians were sometimes named after the instrument upon which they played, and there are eight references to harpers, including a "Welsharpour" (1360-61) and a "Blyndharpour" (1357: two refs.), three references to trumpeters, and one reference each to a piper, a rotour, and a crouder. In 1361-62, there is the record of a payment to an unusual "double act"; a man played the lute while his wife sang. This is unusual in two ways. Firstly, it is the only mention in these account rolls of a woman performing the functions of a minstrel, and secondly, it clearly includes singing amongst the repertory of the minstrels. The only other reference in these rolls which associates minstrels with singing occurs in 1363-64, where there is the entry: "It. cantoribus ... cum histrionibus ibidem ex dono Prioris ...".

There are four references to minstrels who were

not specifically musicians. The fool "Thome" has already been mentioned (see p.42 above). In 1381-82 a tumbler ("uno saltante") performed before the Prior in his quarters; the hostiller's accounts for the years between 1370 and 1379 record a payment to a wrestler ("luctatori"); and at Christmas 1362 a minstrel known as "Jestour Jawdewyne" is mentioned. This character "probably enacted the part of a 'Jaudewyne', who seems to have been a sort of wrangler or quarrelsome fellow"⁽¹⁾. It is possible that he specialised in some sort of comic verbal abuse, comparable with the "flyting" practised especially by such Northern poets as Dunbar. The Oxford English Dictionary defines "jaudewin" as "a term of reproach", and hence the performance given by this minstrel was probably not in any sense sophisticated. The tumbler, wrestler and jester reflect a taste which one would not normally associate with the traditional image of the ecclesiastic, but their presence bears out some of the complaints and satire of the Reformers.

In these account rolls there are two generic terms for minstrel. Until 1366-68, with one exception⁽²⁾, the term used is Istrio. Under the years 1366-68 is the

(1) "Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham", ed. Fowler, Surtees Society, 1898, p. 926.

(2) 1356-57.

entry "Ministrallis, Istrionibus", and after this date, istrio is only used again twice⁽¹⁾, ministr becoming the usual term. The reason for this sudden change of term is not clear. The minstrels who are included under istrio perform the same functions as the ministr, and there is no difference in the sort of pay they receive. There is a slight difference in the numbers of "household" minstrels which are included under the two terms. Fourteen of the ministralli are connected with nobles, while there are only nine of the histrioni. This might indicate that the term ministr was more readily applied to minstrels possessing a higher social status, but the difference between the numbers is so slight that it is not very significant. Perhaps the most probable explanation of the change of term is simply that a new scribe took over the duty of making out the accounts. Histrion is the more ecclesiastical and learned word, descending from Roman times, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that a less learned scribe took over the job, and used the more popular and less bookish word "ministr".

Thus the Durham Account Rolls present a picture of a variety of entertainers from different branches of minstrelsy who were regular visitors at the Priory. They were varied not only in function, but also socially,

(1) 1377-78; 1378-79.

ranging from nameless itinerant minstrels to the highly paid and highly favoured King's minstrels. Their presence was especially relied upon at the many religious feasts and festivals observed at the Priory, particularly at Christmas and at the two feasts of St. Cuthbert.

2. Register of Edward the Black Prince.

This Register clearly shows the favoured position and high status of minstrels belonging to a royal household. As all but three⁽¹⁾ of the money payments are given "as a gift" from the prince, it is possible that the entries in the register refer to payments which were given in addition to a basic wage, of which no mention is made. The sums of money given to the prince's minstrels are considerable. The smallest amount given to a single minstrel is 13s 4d, and the remaining payments range from £1 to £5, although on three occasions, sums of over £11, £13 and £16 at a time are paid out.

Out of the 36 payments to minstrels recorded in the Register during a period of eleven years (1352-63), only 22 are money payments. There are also six gifts of instruments⁽²⁾, four gifts of horses⁽³⁾, and single

(1) 1359; 1361 (two refs.).

(2) 1352 (4 refs.); 1355 (2 refs.).

(3) 1352 (4 refs.)

gifts of saddles⁽¹⁾, habergeons⁽²⁾, material for making clothes⁽³⁾, and a "ketilhat"⁽⁴⁾. The reason for a minstrel requiring a piece of armour is impossible to guess, unless it was to assist in some performance which he gave.⁽⁵⁾ These gifts in kind emphasize the personal favour with which the prince treated minstrels.

Twelve payments are made to minstrels not belonging to the prince. Seven of these payments are made to minstrels who are on the same social level as the prince's minstrels; there are four payments to minstrels belonging to English lords, one to the minstrels in the service of Queen Philippa, and two references to minstrels which are sent by the French Count of Eu. The remaining five payments are to minstrels who were probably itinerant; two payments are made to unattached English minstrels who are present at jousts and a tournament, and on three occasions in 1352 the prince rewards minstrels who are described simply as being "from the parts of France", "of Almain", and "Burgilensibus".

Eight of the prince's minstrels are referred

(1) 1352.

(2) 1352.

(3) 1352.

(4) 1358.

(5) But see p. 63

to by name. Hanz, Soz, John, Countz and John Cokard are each mentioned once in the years between 1352 and 1363 (although "John" may well be the same as "John Cokard"), Hankyn is referred to twice, Ulyn four times, and Jakelyn ten times. There is also a reference to a woman called Dolle, who is described as Jakelyn's "companion". Jakelyn is clearly the prince's favourite, as he receives much larger and more frequent sums of money than the other minstrels, and on two occasions⁽¹⁾, the prince settles his debts for him. He was in the prince's service for at least ten years, as he is mentioned regularly between 1353 and 1363. The other minstrel who appears to have been a favourite is Ulyn, but he does not seem to have been employed by the prince until 1361, as there is no mention of him before that date.

In 1353 a gift of 40s was given to a minstrel of the Duke of Lancaster called "Master Reymond". The title "Master" almost always referred to "Master of Arts", and was applied to university men. However, I have not been able to trace his name in early university bibliographies. But even if he was not actually qualified to be called "Master", to be given such a title

(1) 1353; 1361.

indicates that he must have been highly educated. The other possibility is that here, "Master" is used in the sense of an official of the Duke's household, in which case this minstrel could have been the conductor or leader of the Duke's band of minstrels. However, this use of the word is not recorded until 1423, and it did not become common until the sixteenth century. The academic emphasis, therefore, is more likely to be correct.

From the evidence of this account book, the Black Prince's minstrels were instrumentalists. They are given gifts of drums, bagpipes, cornemuses, and pipes, and four of them (Hankyn, Countz, Jakelyn and Ulyn) are referred to as pipers, but apart from this there is no evidence of the type of performance they gave, except for the uncertain evidence of the "ketilhat", which may have had nothing to do with their profession in any case. The references to minstrels who were in the service of others add nothing, as they are always referred to simply as minstrels, and are given money, except on one occasion in 1355 when four pipes are given to four minstrels belonging to the Count of Eu.

This Register presents the conditions of life of minstrels in the upper half of the minstrel hierarchy. To be retained as a minstrel in a royal household clearly

meant financial security and favoured treatment. The functional emphasis is upon the minstrels' ability to play in instrumental ensembles, mainly of wind instruments. The payments to foreign minstrels indicate a communication between English and continental minstrelsy at this period.

John of Gaunt's Register.

Unlike those in the Black Prince's Register, the payments to John of Gaunt's own minstrels refer with only three exceptions⁽¹⁾ to their basic annual wage. Incidental payments to minstrels on specific occasions are, apart from the three exceptions above, given either to minstrels who were unattached, or to those who were in the service of other nobles, including three French lords, and two foreign kings⁽²⁾.

The register contains some evidence of the regularity and amount of the payments to the minstrels belonging to John of Gaunt. The amount of the basic wage of three minstrels is specified: in two cases it is 100s annually⁽³⁾, and in the other, 5 marks⁽⁴⁾. The duke's minstrels were paid twice a year, as these three

(1) January 2nd, 1380 (2 refs.); March 6th, 1381.

(2) Robert II & Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia.

(3) 1379; August 1st, 1381.

(4) December 14th, 1382.

records state that the minstrels are to receive their wages in equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas, and there are two other references⁽¹⁾ which order that certain minstrels should be paid the annuities owing to them from the last Michaelmas term. A valuable entry in 1579 is the indenture of a minstrel called John of Buckingham. The indenture contains details of his payment, duties and privileges as a minstrel belonging to the duke. In peacetime he is given the basic annual wage of 100s. When he is at court, he is allowed an extra 7d per day for himself, his men, and his horses, and when he is out of court on the duke's business he is allowed an extra 12d per day. In wartime, his basic wage rises to £10 a year. His extra war allowance is unfortunately unspecified, being merely "come autres de sa condition", and although he clearly has a right to the spoils of war, the extent of such gains is again unspecified. This indenture shows that a minstrel belonging to the duke was a considerable person; his wages plus allowances provided him with a comfortable income, and that he possessed horses and a retinue ("ses gentz") suggests a rather high social position.

(1)

November 6th, 1379; January 3rd, 1380.

The payments to a single minstrel belonging to another noble vary from 6s 8d to 40s. No significant comparison can be made between the amount paid to "household" minstrels and that paid to those who were unattached. In only one case⁽¹⁾ is it possible to tell how much was given to a single unattached minstrel, since most of the entries do not specify the numbers involved, but refer simply to "diverses ministrals". If we are to judge by the evidence of the one specific payment, however, it seems likely that itinerant minstrels were paid much less than the others, as the minstrel in question received only 3s 4d, which is the lowest payment to a minstrel recorded in the register.

There are no obvious favourites among the duke's minstrels, apart perhaps from Hankyn Fryssh, who in 1382 is granted 5 marks a year because of the "good services he has done and will do", and to whom there are four references⁽²⁾.

Under the years 1373 and 1374 are two entries illustrating how much the minstrels depended for their livelihood upon the duke's personal favour. On May 20th 1373 John of Gaunt orders that "Pour acunes certaines causes" no more money is to be given to Johan Tyas,

(1) January 2nd, 1380.

(2) November 6th, 1379; January 2nd, 1380 (2 refs.);
December 14th, 1382.

one of his minstrels. The disagreement between Johan and the duke appears to have lasted for about sixteen months, for not until September 16th, 1374 is the minstrel restored to favour and to financial security, when John of Gaunt orders that his wages plus "les arrerages" are to be paid to "nostre bien ame Johan Tyas".

There are only seven named occasions at which minstrels performed. There are the two religious feasts of Candlemas⁽¹⁾ and Epiphany⁽²⁾, the two secular festivals of St. George's Day and May Day, on which jousts were held⁽³⁾, the marriages of John of Gaunt's daughter in 1380 and of Richard II in 1382, and jousts held in 1382. The minstrels receiving payment from John of Gaunt on these occasions are, with only one exception⁽⁴⁾, unattached. This suggests that the "household" minstrels belonging to John of Gaunt or to other lords more often performed privately within the household to which they belonged, leaving the opportunities for performance at public occasions largely to itinerant minstrels of lower social grades. This point is borne out by the Black Prince's register, where the only two

(1) January 20th, 1375.

(2) March 6th, 1381.

(3) May 6th, 1383.

(4) January 20th, 1375.

payments given on public occasions (a tournament⁽¹⁾ and a joust⁽²⁾) are to minstrels who are unattached.

The functions of the minstrels receiving payment from John of Gaunt are varied. Six references are very general, merely describing the minstrels as "fesantz leur ministralcie"⁽³⁾, and providing no evidence of the functions they performed. However, other evidence suggests that the duke's own minstrels were instrumentalists, including at least three trumpeters⁽⁴⁾, a "clarioner"⁽⁵⁾, a piper⁽⁶⁾, and a minstrel who played the nakers⁽⁷⁾. This last entry appears to be a reference to a "wait" of Coventry who is in the pay of John of Gaunt. He is given the annual fee of 100s, also "un eschucon dargent" and a pair of nakers with their trappings. Chambers⁽⁸⁾ states

(1)

1352

(2)

1358

(3)

November 6th, 1372; June 24th, 1380 (2 refs.);
August 22nd, 1380 (2 refs.); March 6th, 1382.

(4)

February 27th, 1375; January 3rd, 1380.

(5)

1379.

(6)

January 2nd, 1380.

(7)

December 4th, 1381.

(8)

E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, I, 1903, p. 51.

that "from the beginning of the fifteenth century" there were waits who "received fixed fees" and wore a "badge of a silver scutcheon". This entry in 1381 puts the emergence of the "waits" at an even earlier date.

If the indenture of John of Buckingham is to be taken as a typical example of the duties of a minstrel belonging to John of Gaunt, it is clear that his household minstrels were definitely bound and limited to his service and command. If John of Buckingham left the duke's court, it was to go to war under his command, to take messages "a bouche de court", or to go on the duke's business.

There are two entries which differ from those discussed above. On November 6th, 1372 there is an entry concerning William of Brompton and his wife, who, if they fulfil their (unspecified) obligations to the duke, are allowed to collect a traditional toll of 4d from each minstrel going to Newcastle-under-Lyme at the Feast of St. Giles. This is quite a considerable toll, and must have caused some inconvenience to minstrels who were itinerant and therefore not likely to have much money.

The other entry is a reference to the minstrels of the honour of Tutbury and the extent of the jurisdiction of their "roy". The Tutbury minstrels are

discussed at length in Appendix C.

John of Gaunt's register indicates the same high payment to minstrels and the same personal relationships existing between them and their benefactor as in the Black Prince's court. In John of Gaunt's household, the minstrels were clearly regular servants, receiving their wages at fixed times, and restricted by their terms of service to the duke's person, court, and business. They were primarily instrumentalists as far as their musical profession was concerned, but also performed the duties of general servants in carrying messages and doing other business for the duke. The connection between English and continental minstrelsy is again suggested by the number of references to minstrels belonging to foreign nobles.

These three account books indicate the hierarchical distinction existing between "household" and itinerant minstrels. They suggest that itinerant minstrels depended largely upon public occasions and festivities for their income, and that their repertory was of necessity wider than that of the household minstrels, as they had to cater for all tastes.

It must be remembered, however, that the account

books deal mainly with payments to household minstrels, as even at Durham Priory, almost half the payments are made to minstrels travelling with or under the auspices of a noble or the king. The conditions of life of household minstrels are clearly presented: as long as they retained the personal favour of their lord, their finances were secure, and their extra allowances and gifts substantial. Their repertory appears to have been mainly limited to playing the various instruments connected with minstrelsy. At this social level, at least, there was some sort of connection and exchange between English and French minstrels.

L I T E R A R Y R E F E R E N C E S
T O M I N S T R E L S

Literary References to Minstrels

References to minstrels from a selection of the literature of the latter half of the fourteenth century are presented in Appendix B.

It is difficult to tell whether many of the references to payments to minstrels refer to household or to itinerant minstrels. The only definite reference to household minstrels that I have noticed is in Piers Plowman⁽¹⁾, where "lordes mynstralles" are mentioned. The remaining references give few indications of the status of the minstrels they are describing. In three cases⁽²⁾, minstrels are included in lists of recipients of gifts from a noble or king, and this indicates that they were itinerant. In Sir Eglamour of Artois⁽³⁾ there is a reference to "mynstrels that were of ferre londe", but this reveals nothing about their status, as they could equally well be either itinerant, or in the service of foreign lords. In the remaining cases it seems most likely

(1) B. XIII. 229.

(2) Richard Coeur de Lion, 3774-81; Kyng Alisaunder, 832-36; Sir Launfal, 421-32.

(3) *l.* 1327.

that the references are to itinerant minstrels, if only because they are not described as being permanent members of the household.

Whether this distinction between household and itinerant minstrels is correct or not, there is no difference in the payments given to each sort of minstrel, as the gifts are consistently lavish throughout. This is no doubt due in part to the fact that most of the references to minstrel payments (see Appendix B, section 1) are drawn from the romances, which were likely to have been recited particularly by itinerant minstrels, as household minstrels seem to have been mainly instrumentalists (see p.58). It would therefore have been to their advantage to include descriptions of liberality to itinerant minstrels comparable to that shown to minstrels who belonged to great households. This lavishness is probably due also to the "idealization of ordinary life" in the romances noted by Everett⁽¹⁾, whereby the author, using the details of ordinary life as a basis, weaves upon them "every splendour his imagination could conjure up"⁽²⁾. Hence it is likely that gifts similar to the horses, robes, jewels and money

(1) D. Everett, Essays on Middle English Literature, 1955, p. 8, and see pp.73-74 below.

(2) ibid.

referred to in the romances were given to minstrels in the Middle Ages, but that they were not quite so extravagant. This is borne out by the evidence of the account books, in which generous gifts of horses, clothes, and money are given to minstrels, particularly to those who were permanent members of a household.

The evidence of the account books also in part corroborates that of the literature regarding the occasions upon which minstrels performed. The economic references show that minstrels performed at weddings, and on feast days and other public occasions. The evidence from literature contains nine references to minstrels performing at weddings, and four to their presence on public occasions such as royal arrivals and a tournament. Twelve literary references describe minstrels performing at feasts in the halls of nobles. Their presence at feasts is taken for granted by the authors of the romances and by Chaucer (whose references to professional minstrels are surprisingly few). As the author of Sir Launfal states in a description of a feast, "þey hadde menstrales of moch honours ... and elles hyt were vnryzt". (ll. 667, 669).

According to the literary evidence, the only other occasion upon which minstrels performed was at

the commencement of or during a battle. This was presumably to encourage and cheer the spirits of the combatants. The instruments used on these occasions are recognisably martial: tabours⁽¹⁾, trumpets⁽²⁾, bugles⁽³⁾, "bemes"⁽⁴⁾, and, more surprisingly, "belles"⁽⁵⁾. In this connexion one may remember the pieces or suits of armour occasionally given to minstrels as noted in the account books (p.48).

As stated above (p. 37), Greene⁽⁶⁾ has recently asserted that "minstrels were instrumentalists and minstrelsy instrumental music". The references in Appendix B, section 3(b), however, make it plain that minstrels were not merely instrumentalists. In the

(1) Kyng Alisaunder, 3421, William of Palerne, 3813.

(2) Kyng Alisaunder, 3422, William of Palerne, 3813.

(3) William of Palerne, 1154.

(4) William of Palerne, 1154.

(5) Kyng Alisaunder, 4305.

(6) R.L. Greene, A Selection of English Carols, 1962, p. 19.

literature that has been studied, there are twenty-one references to minstrels performing vocally. The words sing or song appear in twelve instances⁽¹⁾; speke is used once⁽²⁾; and telle twice⁽³⁾. There are five references to harpers delivering lays⁽⁴⁾, and four to minstrels delivering gests⁽⁵⁾. The author of Thomas of Erceldoune leaves us in no doubt as to his opinion of the relative importance of vocal and instrumental performance, for he writes twice⁽⁶⁾ that "tonge es chefe of mynstralsye".

There are numerous references to minstrels performing upon musical instruments, and it is clear that this was one of the most important parts of their profession. For a full discussion of the range of

(1)

Sir Cleges, 104, 484; K. Alisaunder, 5248, 5981; Squire of Low Degree, 1074; Octavian, 197; Emaré, 319; Maundeville's Travels, XX, 220; Lerne say wel, 17. 83; P. Plowman, B. XIII, 233; Leg. Good Women, 2616; R. Rose, 765.

(2)

Emaré, 17.

(3)

P. Plowman, B. XIII, 230; Maund. Trav. XX. 220.

(4)

Kyng Alisaunder, 2839-40; Sir Tristrem, A. LI. 1, C. LXIII, LXV; King Horn, 1477; Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild, 157.

(5)

Sir Cleges, 484; K. Alisaunder, 1152; Maund. Trav. XX, 220
P. Plowman, B. XIII, 230.

(6)

ll. 316, 688.

instruments associated with minstrelsy, see Appendix D

Apart from evidence suggesting that minstrels played musical instruments and sang lays, gests and songs, there are not many more indications of what their performances consisted of. There is a reference to "daunces disgisi"⁽¹⁾, which probably refers to some sort of mumming, and one to "Ribaudes" who "festeþ ... wiþ tripe"⁽²⁾, suggesting a performance which was unsophisticated in the extreme. The most comprehensive account of the repertory of a fourteenth century minstrel is contained in Piers Plowman⁽³⁾, where Hankyn (activa vita) explains that because he cannot perform the various functions of a minstrel, he therefore receives "none gode gyftes of thise grete lordes" (l. 234). These functions consist of playing upon the tabour, trumpet, harp, pipe, and giterne; singing, telling gests, japing, juggling, dancing, tumbling, and breaking wind. Hankyn is itinerant, with the secondary occupation of a waferer, and this would therefore indicate

(1) William of Palerne, 1620.

(2) Kyng Alysander, 1573.

(3) B. XIII. 228-34.

that this repertory is that of an itinerant minstrel. He does say, however, that if he could do these things he could win gifts "amonges lordes mynstralles" (l. 229), but this may mean "in competition with", or "as well as" household minstrels.

According to the poets, minstrels had other functions besides those directly connected with entertainment. Great ceremony seems to have been attached to bringing the dinner into hall, and minstrels walked in before the course, playing on their instruments⁽¹⁾. There are seven references to this custom in the romances, including one which states that "In kinges court ... it is lawe" for this to be observed⁽²⁾.

Other functions appear to have included employment as spies or messengers. A passage in The Avowing of Arthur (ll. 704-747) describes how a king's minstrel is sent on a spying mission by the king. This parallels the 'indenture' of Gaunt's "clarioner" (see pp. 94-5), in which the minstrel's duties include leaving the court on the duke's business and at his

(1) See T. Wright, A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages, 1862, pp. 152f.

(2) Amis and Amiloun, 1397.

command. In the romance, the minstrel poses as an itinerant minstrel trying to gain access to a hall: the porter, who could refuse him entrance, and the threats that he was likely to receive. ?

The only other function performed by minstrels which is referred to in this literature is in Chaucer's Sir Thopas (ll. 134-39), where minstrels are mentioned in connection with the arming of the hero, a practice "which was in accord with the customs of the time". (1)

Thus far the literary evidence is clearly in favour of minstrels, describing their payment, functions, etc., sometimes in complimentary and for the most part at least in non-condemnatory terms. There are, however, some works of fourteenth-century literature which strongly denounce the minstrel profession.

"Jacob's Well" (2) is a moralistic treatise of the early fifteenth century, but it has been included in this survey because sermon material had little tendency towards innovation, and relied heavily upon earlier homiletic works, borrowing wholesale

(1) C.C. Olson, "Chaucer and the Music of the Fourteenth Century", Speculum, XVI, 1941, p. 81.

(2) ed. A. Brandeis, E.E.T.S., 1900.

"their phrases, their maxims, their arguments, even their illustrations"⁽¹⁾. This tract is therefore likely to represent the thought of the period under consideration. The author states that it is a "synne of dede" (p. 295) to give rewards to minstrels, and that they "getyn here lyvyng wyth wrong" (p. 134). In another place he condemns minstrels outright unless they are driven into the profession by desperate circumstances (p. 136), in which case, they are "nozt in dedly synne", but whether or not they are in some other sort of sin he leaves as an open question.

Chaucer's Parson in his Tale re-iterates the same argument. He states that "it is a synne" (445) to become too enamoured of minstrelsy, which leads a man away from Christ, and that he who gives to minstrels so that they proclaim his "renoun", "he hath synne thereof, and noon almesse" (813).

In Piers Plowman the author's attitude to the minstrel profession presents a problem, because it varies both between the three texts of the poem and within them. Donaldson⁽²⁾ has dealt with this problem in some detail. He concludes that in the A-text, there is the conception

(1) G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Mediaeval England, 1961, p.2.

(2) E. Talbot Donaldson, Piers Plowman - The C-Text and It's Poet, 1949, pp. 121-155.

of "good" and "bad" minstrels - the good being "the pious entertainer who can tell of Tobit and the Apostles" (p. 139), and the bad those who are "iapers and ianglers"⁽¹⁾. The B-Text follows the same pattern, but shows an increasing hostility towards minstrels, and the C-Text shows the same denouncement of minstrelsy. The B- and C-Texts reserve only a fraction of the minstrel profession as morally acceptable, and phrase the highly limited function of this most pious sort of minstrelsy "in a term borrowed remotely from St. Francis" (p. 147) - "God's minstrels". Langland realized, however, that these pious entertainers were "unlike the majority of fourteenth-century minstrels" (p. 147).

The economic references corroborate the evidence of the literature as regards payments, occasions at which minstrels were present, and some of the functions which they performed, and this emphasizes that the relationship between mediaeval "fiction" and "reality" was that of exaggeration rather than distortion. In the literary evidence, the description of the state

(1) Piers Plowman, A. Prol. 35.

of minstrelsy depends upon the author. In the romances, with their strong minstrel associations and their idealization of the life of the aristocracy, minstrels are regarded as honourable and necessary appendages to any feast or great occasion. To the moralists and the critics of church and state, however, minstrels were manifestations of the excessive luxury of the nobility; they were parasites who attached themselves to those rich enough and foolish enough to reward them for their inanities. Chaucer does not appear to have a specific or consistent attitude towards minstrels. His attitude varies with his personae. For example, in The Squire's Tale, minstrels are rightly present at a feast, whereas in The Parson's Tale, they are condemned.

M E D I E V A L M E T R I C A L R O M A N C E :
I T S R E L A T I O N T O M I N S T R E L S

Medieval Metrical Romance: its relation to minstrels

Although the metrical romances are not capable of an exact definition, they can be described so that their nature is made relatively clear. They were often based upon French models, either being translated or more loosely adapted from the original tongue. They are mainly stories of adventure, the heroes being knights or kings, who are most often activated by love, religious faith, or desire for adventure. Generally, their literary manner, although simple, is not artless. Their literary worth varies a great deal, however, as does their length, which may be anything from a few hundred lines (Sir Cleges) to tens of thousands (Guy of Warwick).

I have read twenty representative romances⁽¹⁾, and made a collection of passages which illustrate something of their technical literary art. (See Appendix F) Although some of this material is more than is needed for a strict consideration of the relationship between minstrels and the romances, it is included because of the light it throws upon the nature of the construction of the romances, and for its possible usefulness to other research workers.

One of the main problems facing those who attempt to use the evidence contained in the fictional narrative of a romance is the uncertainty as to how far the picture of life presented there accorded

(1) They are the romances mentioned by Chaucer, who obviously expected his audience to be familiar with them.

with actual experience, or "reality". There are two possible answers to this question. Firstly, the balance between "reality" and fiction varies with individual romances; in The Squire of Low Degree, for example, there are "descriptions rich in details concerning lovely fabrics and armour, the stately course of mediaeval banquets"⁽¹⁾, and the sports and pastimes of the gentry, while Libeaus Desconus, with its giants, magicians, sorceress and magic hall, is largely removed from the sphere of normal daily life. But this does not fully answer the question, for although many of the romances have elements of the marvellous and remote in them, and would therefore seem to be simply "unrealistic", the marvellous elements are inextricably mixed up with the thorough medievalization which characterizes the romances; and it is the validity of this medievalization which is uncertain. Several critics have commented upon this point. Ker⁽²⁾ states that "The longer romances are really modern novels - studies of contemporary life, characters and emotions, mixed up with adventures more or less surprising." Raleigh⁽³⁾ asserts that "The note of this Romance literature is that it was actual, modern, realistic; at a time when classical literature had become a remote convention of bookish culture." Everett⁽⁴⁾ describes the technique in the romances as an "idealization of ordinary life". She suggests that the clothes,

(1) L. A. Hibbard, Mediaeval Romance in England, 1960, p.264.

(2) W. P. Ker, English Literature: Medieval, 1912, p. 112.

(3) Sir W. Raleigh, Romance: Two Lectures, 1916, p.25.

(4) Dorothy Everett, Essays on Middle English Literature, 1955, p.8.

feasts, and hunts described in the romances were "cut to the pattern of things known, but on those patterns the romancer embroidered every splendour his imagination could conjure up."

Thus, apart from the obviously marvellous, the details of ordinary life presented in the romances can be regarded as basically realistic, although they are exaggerated to a greater or lesser degree. With this caution in mind, let us examine the evidence contained in the romances.

1. Type of audience

The following estimation of the type of audience to which the romances were delivered is based upon the evidence of the narrator's direct addresses to the audience.

In the twenty romances, the audience is addressed as "lordings" 19 times, as "hende" 6 times, as "frende" once, and as "lef" once. Epithets which are applied to the audience are "leve" (twice), "dere" (twice), "fre" (twice), and "gentyll" (once).

As "lordings" is the most common form of address, it is necessary to establish what class of person it signified, and whether it was used by a superior to an inferior, or vice versa.

Within the romances themselves the word is used in addressing earls, barons, and other lords of high rank 52 times; knights in

battle 37 times; townspeople 3 times; disguised outlaws twice; and seamen once. Ladies are included under the term "lordings" 5 times. In 42 out of the 50 cases in which it is employed in dialogue it is used by a superior to address his inferior; it is used twice by an inferior to a superior; and 6 times between equals.

At face value, the evidence of the words "hende", "gentyll", "fre", etc. indicates an audience of high rank. Two points must be remembered, however. Firstly, they are conventional epithets - part of the stock-in-trade of the medieval romance. Secondly, the position of the medieval entertainer is an ingratiating one - he must coax his hearers to give him their attention, and this he does partly by complimenting them. Both these points are exemplified by the performer on "Workers' Playtime", who habitually addresses his audience as "Ladies and Gentlemen", although they are obviously not so.

The more commonly used term "lordings", although often used to refer to people of high rank, is not exclusively so used, and is, in the large majority of cases (84%), used by a superior to address an inferior. This suggests that the narrator of the romances was not addressing a specifically aristocratic or courtly

audience, and that "lordings" might be thought of as being equivalent to "ladies and gentlemen" or "sirs", according to context.

There are two references which provide direct clues as to the nature of the audience. In the Lincoln's Inn MS. of Kyng Alisaunder, the narrator says to his hearers "Listenip now sire and dame" (1.1233), thus proving the presence of women at his recital. In the prologue to Sir Isumbras, the narrator addresses the audience as "hende in haulle" (1.4). This indication of the place where the romance was being delivered is strengthened by the description of the hero a few lines later:

He luffede glewmene wele in haulle,
He gafe thame robis riche of palle,
Bothe golde and also fee.

(11. 19 - 21).

Here, "in haulle" seems to be a direct reference to the location of his hearers, and thus a plea for liberality on their part.

The above evidence affords no definite conclusions about the nature of the audience, but it suggests an audience which was neither the higher aristocracy, nor peasants and the frequenters of taverns, but the middling gentry who occupied their own hall, and which comprised both women and men. Terms such as "hende" or

"gentyll", whether taken at face value or not, would apply to all present, and "lordings" would be a suitable form of address in such a company. At the same time, one must remember that Chaucer, who certainly addressed a courtly audience, could assume that they would all recognise references to the romances. Clearly the audience would vary from the lower gentry (including well-to-do townsfolk) up to the higher aristocracy.⁽¹⁾

2. Authorship

The romances under consideration afford no evidence of specific authorship. They must have been translated or invented by literate people, and there is no evidence that clerics did not write them. Indeed, in one or two of the romances, particularly the longer ones, there are a few passages which suggest clerical authorship. The first 28 lines of Richard Couer de Lion, for example, contain a list of the names of romance heroes and the comment that the story of Richard is written in French, and "Lewede men cune Ffrench non" (l. 23). Kyng Alisaunder has a number of passages indicating a scholarly author. The prologue contains the regret that men would rather listen to "a ribaudye" (l.21)

(1) For example, whoever commissioned, or even bought, the Auchinleck MS. was clearly a rich man. Robert Thornton, who compiled the famous MS. that is usually known by his name, was Lord of the Manor of East Newton in Yorkshire. cf. D. S. Brewer, Chaucer in his Time, 1963, pp. 130 - 1.

and drink ale than hear of God or St. Mary. At one point the author describes his technique:

Dis bataile distincted is
Jn þe Freinsshe, wel jwys.
þerefore j habbe hit to coloure
Borowed of Latyn a nature

(ll. 2195 - 8).

In another place, the author quotes his authorities, the "gode clerkes" (l. 4766) whose books have "ben my shewer" (l. 4786).

But the situation is far from simple, and even in these romances containing signs of clerical activity, there are strong indications that they were designed for oral delivery, and may also have been on some occasions transmitted orally. Both Richard Couer de Lion and Kyng Alisaunder contain numerous addresses to the audience. The Lincoln's Inn MS. of Kyng Alisaunder may provide some evidence of oral transmission, as it contains errors which are clearly auditory, and which may therefore have been the result of some form of misheard but remembered oral version.⁽¹⁾

(1) eg. (a) Laud MS. l. 1325: Alisaunder is in his londe,

And haþ sone a newe sonde

Lincoln's Inn MS. l. 1321: Alisaunder is in his lond

And haþ songyn aneowe song

(b) Laud MS. l. 2054: At large zift þe hungry lourep

Lincoln's Inn MS. l. 2045: þeo large zeueþ þe nyþyng lourip

(c) Laud MS. l. 4109: He doop þoo þre in soop treupe

Lincoln's Inn MS. l. 4080: He dop þeo þreo wip oute reupe

There are no definite proofs that minstrels composed any of these romances. As Baugh⁽¹⁾ has stated, "the minstrel authorship of any English romance is only a matter of inference." But although no claim can be made for direct minstrel authorship, it is possible to produce evidence indicating that the romances, if not actually written by minstrels, at some point passed through their hands and were influenced by them. The other possibility suggested by such evidence of minstrel influence is that the romances were composed by writers who were not themselves minstrels but who wrote for minstrels. One must not dismiss too lightly "the ability of the clerical or lay author who was not a minstrel to realize that his poem would be recited by minstrels and to imagine himself before an audience in the character of the oral purveyor." (2)

One clear indication of modification for delivery by minstrels is that in some of the romances passages occur which exhort the audience to make merry and to "fyllle the cuppe" before listening to the next part of the story. Three out of the twenty romances contain such passages - Guy of Warwick and Sir Eglamour contain three each, and Beues of Hamtoun contains one. In Beues of

(1) A. C. Baugh, "The Authorship of the Middle English Romances", Annual Bulletin of the Modern Humanities Research Association, XXII, 1950, p. 16.

(2) A. C. Baugh, *ibid.*, p. 27.

Hamtoun the passage is omitted in three out of the nine MSS., and in Sir Eglamour the passages are omitted in the Lincoln MS. This means either that the passages were originally part of the romances, but were sometimes left out, or that they were added to the original versions. The latter is the most likely explanation, as there would seem to be no good reason for omitting such passages in a romance which was intended for oral delivery. In Guy of Warwick the passages are definitely additions, as they do not appear in the French original.

Another indication that a romance was written for a minstrel or has been added to by a minstrel is where there is a description of minstrels receiving lavish gifts. Often these passages add nothing to the narrative, and this increases the suspicion that they have been included or added for the purpose of exciting liberality in the minstrels' audience. Five of the romances⁽¹⁾ contain such passages. In Richard Couer de Lion there occurs an interesting variant on this theme. A minstrel is turned away by Richard and his companions, and because of this betrays them to the enemy, because

(1) Libeaus Desconus, ll. 2218 - 20; Ipomydon, l. 547; ll. 2269 - 70; Sir Cleges, ll. 46 - 8; Sir Isumbras, ll. 19 - 21; Sir Eglamour, ll. 1327 - 9; 1336 - 8.

gentyll men scholde bede
To mynstrall *pat* abouten *zede*
Off here mete, wyn, and ale:
Ffor los ryses off mynstrale.

(ll. 673 - 6)

Other evidence which strongly suggests the entertainer on his feet in front of the audience, and in close rapport with it, is the large number of direct addresses by the narrator to his hearers. These occur in fourteen out of the twenty romances, and vary from "as i yow say" and "as ye may here" to "lysten to me" and "sitte now stille". Although some of these appeals are undoubtedly conventional, their abundance, particularly in romances which contain other indications of delivery by minstrels⁽¹⁾, suggests that they were not solely used to fill out a line.

Baugh⁽²⁾ considers that transitions such as

Leue we here of this squyer wight,
And speake we of that lady bryght

(Squire of Low Degree, ll. 669 - 70).

which are woven into the fabric of the narrative, and are therefore unlikely to be later additions, are indicative of actual minstrel authorship, as "we seem to hear the author as well as the reciter

(1) e.g. Eglamour, Beues of Hamtoun, Ipomydon, Guy of Warwick, Richard Couer de Lion.

(2) ibid., p. 16.

speaking." Although this view is highly speculative, these transitions do seem to indicate oral delivery, as they would clarify the progress of the narrative to a listening audience. Twelve of the romances contain such transitions.

In another place,⁽¹⁾ Baugh has attempted to show that the stereotyped diction with its recurring cliches and banalities suggests improvisation by the minstrel who, when reciting, "is under the immediate necessity of completing a verse, a couplet, or a rime." This may be a reasonable assumption, and indeed most of the stereotyped words and phrases in the romances under discussion are used to fill out a line or complete a rhyme.⁽²⁾ But stereotyped diction need not necessarily imply improvisation in any given piece of writing - only that the type of writing descends from an earlier oral and possibly improvising tradition. After all, no one accuses Chaucer of improvising, yet he uses stereotyped diction. Such diction is quite as much demanded by an audience hearing a poem as by the inadequacies or idleness of the poet. The Iliad is formed of stereotyped diction.

Most of these romances show at least some signs of oral

(1)A. C. Baugh, "Improvisation in the Middle English Romance", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, CIII, 1959, p. 440.

(2)See Appendix **F**, under section 6.

delivery. There are eight romances⁽¹⁾ which contain only a few appeals to the audience and only one or two characteristic transitions. Four romances⁽²⁾ contain a few more appeals and transitions, and the remaining eight romances⁽³⁾ show even clearer indications of minstrel delivery, because as well as containing many more "minstrel" transitions and addresses to the audience, they contain descriptions of gifts being given to minstrels, and the exhortations to the audience to "fill the cup". It seems reasonable to suppose that the last eight romances were written certainly for minstrel delivery, and possibly therefore (with the probable exception of Kyng Alisaunder and Richard Couer de Lion - see pp. 77-8 above), by minstrels. Of the others it is impossible to be sure. They may well have been intended for more aristocratic audiences.

3. Method of delivery

In the romances, the verbs regularly used by the narrator to describe his method of delivery are speak, talk, tell, and say.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Sir Cleges, Perceval of Galles, Degare, Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild, King Horn, Squire of Low Degree, Sir Tristrem, Thomas of Erceldoune.

(2) Seven Sages of Rome, Octavian, Kyng of Tars, Amis and Amiloun.

(3) Eglamour, Isumbras, Beues of Hamtoun, Guy of Warwick, Libeaus Desconus, Ipomydon, Kyng Alisaunder, Richard Couer de Lion.

(4) See Appendix F, under sections 29-4.

Rede is used several times⁽¹⁾, and there are some references to the narrator talkyng.⁽²⁾

There are two exceptions to this general rule. In Beues of Hamtoun and King Horn the narrator uses the verb sing.⁽³⁾

The first three lines of Beues of Hamtoun are

Lordinges, herkneþ to me tale!
Is merier þan þe niztingale,
þat y schel singe;

Here, however, singe might be seen as a natural extension of the nightingale simile, particularly as sing is not used again, the key verbs being speak and say. In King Horn, however, sing is key verb, and it is made clear that King Horn is regarded as a song:

Alle beon he bliþe
þat to my song lyþe:
A sang ihc schal þou singe
Of Murry þe kinge

(ll. 1 - 4)

Make we vs glade eure among,
For þus him endeþ hornes song.

(ll. 1527 - 8)

Thus, judging by the internal evidence, the majority of the romances appear to have been spoken, while King Horn (and less probably Beues of Hamtoun) was clearly sung. This evidence, however,

(1) Guy of Warwick, l. 10232; Libeaus Desconus, l. 12, l. 1197;
Sir Tristrem, l. 3; Richard Couer de Lion, ll. 29, 1594, 5248, 5319

(2) Amis and Amiloun, ll. 39, 484; Octavian, l.2.

is not conclusive, for phrases such as "as i yow saye" are largely conventional, their main function being to provide a rhyme or fill out a line. Also, the verb tell could be equally well used in relation either to singing or to speaking.

Other evidence in the romances regarding the method of delivery consists of references, within the context of the narrative, to the way in which minstrels performed lays and gests. Although this evidence is more indirect, it is not likely to be untrue⁽¹⁾.

There are five references to harpers singing lays⁽²⁾, which indicate that the harp was used to accompany the voice of the narrator. In Sir Cleges there is the line

An harpor sange a gest be mowth

(1. 484)

indicating that the instrumentalist sang and accompanied himself.

There is a reference in The Squire of Low Degree to minstrels

performing songs accompanied by the "sytolphe" and the "sautry" (1. 1074)

Other allusions within the romances⁽³⁾ to minstrels performing are noteworthy in that the verb used is sing as opposed to speak⁽⁴⁾

(1) See p.74 above.

(2) Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild, l. 157; King Horn, l. 1474; Sir Tristrem, A, LI, 1; B, LXIII - LXV; Kyng Alisaunder, ll. 2839-40.

(3) Kyng Alisaunder, ll. 5980 - 1; 5247 - 8.

(4) References from literature other than the twenty romances in question corroborate this point: Emaré, l. 319: As y haue herd menstrelles syng yn sawe; Lerne say wel, 17-82: mynstrallis syng in isong; Piers Plowman, XVI, l.208: singe with the giterne. See pp.105-108 below.

Although the above evidence is not conclusive, it shows that minstrels performed what are now called "romances". It suggests that their renderings were sometimes accompanied by a musical instrument, particularly the harp. The words sing, speak, tell, etc., are open to interpretation, and perhaps the word which would most satisfactorily sum up all their shades of meaning is chant.

Thus the medieval metrical romances may generally be thought of as being chanted or spoken by a minstrel to an upper-class but not usually courtly audience. They were often (but not necessarily) accompanied by one of the instruments associated with minstrelsy.⁽¹⁾

(1) In the above evidence, the harp, citole, psaltery, and giterne are mentioned, but many more were used for accompanying the human voice. See Appendix D .

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A.

1. "Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham",
ed. Fowler, Surtees Society, 1898.
- 1350-51. Istrionibus ad Natale; ad S. Cuthb. in Sept.
- 1355-6. Will'o Pyper et aliis istrionibus ad Natale, 6s.
Item duobus istrionibus d'ni Ep'i et duobus
istrionibus comitis de Norhamton in festo Sci.
Cuthberti in Marcio, 6s.8d.
It. istrionibus d'ni Ep'i ad festum Pasche, 3s.4d.
It. istrionibus in festo Sci. Cuthb. in Sept., 6s.8d.
- 1356-7. Et in sepultura Thome fatui et necessariis expensis
circa corpus ejusdem, per manus d'ni Prioris, 2s.7d.
Diversis ministrallis, 5s.4d.
1357. Et Will'o Blyndharpour ad Natale, 2s.
Et Ioh'i Harpour d'ni Ioh'is de Streuelyn et Will'o
Blyndharpour de Novo Castro, 3s.4d.
Et duobus Trompours Comitibus de Norhamton apud
Wyuestow, 4s.
Et cuidam Harpour vocato Rygeaway, 3s.4d.
Istrionibus d'ni Ep'i.
1360. Petro Crouder apud Pityngton, per Capellanum, 3s.4d.
Item eidem Petro pro uno quarterio ordii sibi dato
per Priorem, 4s.6d.
Duobus Istrionibus Episcopi in festo Assens. D'ni, 4s.
Et cuidam Istrioni Maioris ville Novi Castri per
Capellanum, 2s.
- 1360-61. Will'o Pyper et aliis istrionibus ad Natale per manus
Joh'is del Scyles, 8s.4d.
Cuidam Welsharpour d'ni Will'i de Dalton, 3s.4d.
- 1361-2. in uno viro ludenti in uno loyt et uxori ejus cantanti
apud Bewrpayr, 2s.

1362. Item cuidam histrioni harper episcopi Norwychie in festo Transl. Sci. Cuthb., 5s.
Cuidam Istrioni Jestour Jawdewyne in festo Natalis D'ni, 3s.4d.
Will'o [harpour - erased] y^e kakeharpour ad idem festum, 2s.
Et Barry similem sibi ad id. fest., 2s.
Et cuidam ystrioni ceco franco cum uno puero fratre suo, 2s.
Barry harper ex precepto Prioris in una tunica emp., 3s.4d.
- 1363-4. It. cantoribus in Adventu D'ni cum histrionibus ibidem ex dono Prioris, 13s.4d.
It. cuidam histrioni die Dominica Quasimodo geniti 2s.
- 1366-8. Ministrallis, Istrionibus.
- 1368-9. Rob'o Trompour et Will'o Fergos ministrallo in die Sci. Cuthberti, 5s.
- 1370-9. Bartholomeo Wright, luctatori, ex curialitate hostellar in festo Sci. Oswaldi, 3s.4d.
- 1373-4. Duobus Ministrallis cum uno Weyng, 3s.4d.
1374. In sol facta 12 ministrallis in festo Sci. Cuthb. ex precepto Prioris, 20s.8d.
- 1375-6. Ministrall. in die S. Cuthb. in Mar., 13s.4d.
Cuidam ministrallo ludenti coram d'no Priore in camera sua, 18d.
Item tribus ministrallis Comitibus del Marchie ludentibus coram d'no Priore, 6s.8d.
Item cuidam ministrallo d'ni Regis venienti cum d'no de Neuill, 5s.
Item 12 ministrallis in festo Sci. Cuthb. in Sept., 20s.
Item 4 ministrallis d'ni Principis in festo exaltacionis Sce. Crucis, 13s.4d.

Cuidam ministrallo in festo Sci. Mathei, 20d.

Item ministrallis in festo Sci. Cuthb. in Marcio
anno D'ni, etc. lxxv^{to}, 13s.4d.

Item duobus ministrallis in die Pasche, 2s.

1376-7. Item Will'o Fergos et R^oq^oero Harpour ceco ad Natale
D'ni, ex precepto d'ni Prioris, 4s.6d.

Item aliis ministrallis d'ni de Percy in eadem sept.
ex precepto ejusdem, 6s.8d.

1377-8. Haraldis, histrionibus et nunciis, ut patet per
cedulam, 30s.4d.

1378-9. Joh'i Harald, histrionibus, et nunciis d'nor. Regis,
Ducis, et aliorum d'nor, 28s.

1380-1. It. Ioh'i Momford ministrallo d'ni Regis ex dono apud
Pittyngton, 6s.8d.

1381-2. Item ministrall. d'ni de Neuill apud Beaurepaire cum
d'na de Lomly, 3s.4d.

Ministrallo d'ni Ducis cum uno saltante in camera
d'ni Prioris, 6s.8d.

1384-5. Ministrall. d'ni Regis, 26s.8d.

1394-5. Ministrall. in f. S. Cuthb., Henrici Percy, d'ni
Ducis Lancastr., d'ni de Neuill, Ducis Ebor., de
Scocia, comitis cancie, ad Nat. D'ni, de Hilton, Ric.
Brome ministrallo, in f. S. Cuthb. in Marc. Uni Trompet
d'ni Regis, 6s.8d.

Uni Rotour de Scocia, 6s.8d.

1399-1400. Ministrallis.

1402-3. Item diversis ministrallis cum Wafirs, 3ls.

2. "Register of Edward the Black Prince", ed. M.C.B. Dawes,
H.M. Stationery Office, 1933.

1352. A destrier called Morel de Burgherssh; to a minstrel at

a tournament at Bury St. Edmunds.

Two horses bought the same day, one white, called Blaunchard de Bersword, and the other called Morel Better; to four minstrels from the parts of France.

Three cart-horses, bought the same day; to two minstrels of Almain.

Two cart-horses, bought the same day; to four minstrels Burgilensibus.

Three quarters of a rayed cloth, bought on 11 May; to Hans and Soz, the prince's minstrels, for making robes for themselves.

Two habergeons, bought on 25 July; to the same minstrels.

A drum, bought on 12 August; to John, the prince's minstrel.

Three saddles, bought the same day; to three of the prince's minstrels.

Two pouches, bought on 13 November; delivered to two minstrels to put their pipes in.

Four pipes, silver-gilt and enamelled, made for the minstrels sent by the count of Ewe from the parts of France, and bought the same day; to four of the prince's minstrels as a gift.

A bagpipe, a cornemuse, and a drum, bought the same day; delivered to the minstrels as a gift.

1353. To two minstrels of Sir Bartholomew de Burgherssh, the son, as a gift from the prince; 40s.

Delivered to the prince in his chamber to be given to Jakelyn the minstrel to settle his debts in London on 18 May; 72s.10d.

Delivered to the same to be given to Tolle of Almain, a minstrel, to settle a like debt; 56s.

In moneys paid by the same [Sir John de Wengefeld] to Master Reymond, minstrel of the duke of Lancaster, as a like gift [i.e. from the prince]; 40s.

In moneys paid by the same to Jakelyn and Dolle, his

companion, as a like gift; 26s.8d. (1)

In moneys paid by Sir John to Hankyn Pipere as a gift from the prince; 20s.

1355. ...four pipes, silver-gilt and enamelled, which the prince has given to the four minstrels sent to him by the count of Eu, and of a cornemuse, a pipe and a tabor, silver-gilt and enamelled, which the prince has given to his minstrels. Paid to Hankyn le Pipere as a gift from the prince...; 13s.4d. Delivered to Jakelyn le Pipere on the same day, as a gift from the prince; 100s. Delivered on the same day to two of the prince's minstrels, 40s. each as a gift from the prince, by testimony of Sir John de Wengefeld; 4ℓ.
1358. To Jakelot Piper a "ketilhat." to Cremeryak and his nine companions, minstrels of duke William, 10ℓ. to the minstrels of queen Philippa who were in her company with the prince at Waltham, 6ℓ.13s.4d. ..and to the heralds and minstrels at the jousts of Wyndesore, 100ℓ.
1359. 60s. to three pipers of the duke of Lancastre. Order to Sir Henry de Blakebourne, the prince's clerk and treasurer of the household, to deliver 20s. to John Cokard, the prince's minstrel, as a gift from the prince towards the costs of his sojourn in London. To Jakelyn the Piper, 66s.8d.
1361. to Jakelyn the Piper, 16ℓ.13s.4d. To Willyn the piper 11ℓ.13s.4d. to seven of the prince's minstrels 9ℓ.6s.8d. as a gift. To Jakelyn and Ulyn, pipers, as a gift from the prince to clear their debts for a time; 26ℓ.13s.4d.
1362. To Ulyn and Jakelyn, as a gift from the prince; 66s.8d. To Jakelyn the piper, Yevelyn the piper, and Countz the piper, (1) This may well be Hankyn (cf. Activa Vita in Piers Plowman), as n and u are

as a gift from the prince on the same day; 6^l.13s.4d.

1363. 10 marks to Jevelyn, the prince's piper, as a gift from the prince.

"John of Gaunt's Register, 1372-1376", ed. S. Armitage-Smith, Camden Third Series, XX, XXI, 1911;

"John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-1383", ed. E.C.Lodge and R. Somerville, Camden Third Series, LVI, LVII, 1937.

1372. November 26th. Johan par la grace etc. a nostre bien ame monsire Godefrey Foljaumbe nostre seneschal de la ville de Noef Chastel souz Lyme ou a son lieutenant illoeques saluz. Pource que trove est par enquest pris devant vous de nostre mandement et retourne en nostre chauncellerie que William de Brompton burgeys de nostre dit ville et Margerie sa femme et touz les auncestres du dit Margerie soleient et devoient avoir de temps dont memoire ne court de chescun ministr al venant a la dite ville en la feste de Saint Gile l'abbe pur faire leur ministralcie iiiij. d. ob., et de chescun ours venant a meisme la ville pur estre chace un cours, voulons et vous mandons que, pris de les [dits] William et Margerie seurtee de faire a nous tant a nostre chastel come al seinte esglise deinz la dite ville ce q'ad este et soleit estre fait en celle cas devant ces heures, leur faites livree de les choses et liberteez avantditz, et ycelles les soeffrez avoir et enjoier pesiblement sanz empeschement.

1373. May 20th. Johan par la grace de Dieu Roy etc. a nostre bien ame Robert de Morton nostre receyvoir deinz le counte d'Everwik ou a son lieutenant illoeques saluz. Pour acunes certaines causes nous meuvantez voulons et vous mandons que vous ne paieez nul fee ne denier a Johan Tyas un de noz ministr alx tanque vous aurez autre mandement de nous.

1374. September 16th. Johan etc. a nostre bien ame Robert de Morton nostre receyvour deinz l'onour de Pykeryng ou a son lieutenant illoeques saluz. Come nous avant nostre passage ore derreinement a la meer vous envoiasmes que vous ne deussiez paier a nostre bien ame Johan Tyas nulles fees; voullons et vous mandons que vous faces paier au dit Johan ou a son certain attourne les fees avantditz doresenavant ensemblement ovesque les arrerages si nulles ly soient a derrier.
1375. January 20th. item as diverses minstralles de nostre tres cher cosyn le count de Flandres de nostre doun le jour de Chaundelure xvj. li. xiiij. s. iiiij. d.
item as diverses heroudes minstralles officers nostre tres redoute seignur et piere le Roy a Eltham et autres esquiers et vadlets de diverses seignurs et dames apportants a nous nouvelles douns de nostre doun lxxv. li.
- February 27th. item a Trumpet minustralle en plein paiement de sa bille de ses gages deinz court du temps le dit sire Johan x. s. viij. d.
1379. November 6th. Order to William de Chuselden, clerk, receiver of Leicester and elsewhere, to pay, from the issues of his receipt, annuities due for last Michaelmas term to Rollekyn, Petrekyn, Henri and Hankyn the duke's minstrels, and also the fees due to all servants and officers in his district, receiving letters of acquittance under the seal of the four men.
(Undated). Ceste endenture faite parentre Johan Roy, etc., dune part et Johan de Bokyngham clarioner dautre part tesmoigne que le dit Johan est demurez et retenuz devers le dit roy et duc pur pees et pur guerre a terme de sa vie en manere qensuet: cestassavoir que le dit Johan serra tenuz a servir le dit roy et duc come clarioner a terme de sa vie tant en temps de pees come de guerre, et pur travailler ovesque lui as queles parties que plerra au dit roy et duc, bien et convenablement arraiez

come homme darmes pur la guerre. Et serra le dit Johan en temps de pees, cestassavoir a les quatre grantz festes de lan, et auxint quant il serra envoiees par lettres de meisme le roy et duc, a bouche de court, et prendra vij. d.ob. le jour pur ses gages deinz court pur lui, ses gentz et chivaux. Et comencera le dit Johan la table des ministrax le dit roy et duc. Et prendra auxint en temps de pees xij. d. le jour pur ses gages quant il serra hors de court en les busoignes du dit roy et duc et de son mandement. Et prendra le dit Johan pur son fee en temps de pees cent souldz par an a terme de sa vie par les mains del receivour general de meisme celui roy et duc qi pur le temps serra, as termes de Pasques et de Seint Michel par oveles porcions. Et en temps de guerre le dit Johan prendra pur son fee de guerre dys livres par an et tieles gages pur la guerre come autres de sa condicion prendront par les mains del tresorer du dit roy et duc pur la guerre qi pur le temps serra. Et en droit des prisoners et autres profitz de guerre par lui ou nulles de ses gentz pris ou gaignez, ensemblement et de leskippeson pur lui, ses gentz, chivaux et autres leurs hernoys le dit roy et duc ferra a lui come il ferra as autres de sa condicion.

1380. January 2nd. Et a Hankyn piper et sept ses compaignons noz ministrax et quatre ministrax nostre trescher frere le conte de Cantebrig a chescun de eux de nostre doun meisme le jour a Kenilleworth vj.s. viiij.d., quatre livres; Et as ditz Hanekyn et unsze ministrax de doun nostre trescher consin le conte de Notyngham a Kenilleworth meisme le jour vynt soldz; Et a troys ministrax monsire Baudewyn Freville de nostre doun meisme le jour vynt soldz; Et a un estrange ministralle

esteant sanz compaignon de nostre doun meisme le jour a Kenileworth troys soldz et quatre deniers.

January 3rd. Order to Robert Morton, esquire, receiver of Pontefract, to pay arrears of annuities due from Michaelmas to John Tyes and Piers Cook, "noz trumpours," receiving letters of acquittance under their seals, letters to the contrary notwithstanding.

January 3rd. Order to William de Bughbrigg, clerk, receiver general, to pay 100s. annually to John de Bukyngeham, "clarioner," who has engaged to serve the duke for life in peace and war, as is shown by indenture, receiving letters of acquittance under his seal.

June 24th. Et as ministrals monsire Robert Beaumaner de Bretagne fesantz leur ministralcies devant nous a Sauvoye le xx. jour de Feverer darrein [passe] de nostre doun meisme le jour trente et trois [soldz] et quatre deniers.

Et as diverses ministrals fesantz leur ministralcies le dit jour [his daughter Elizabeth's wedding] de nostre doun tresze livres sys soldz et oyt deniers.

August 22nd. Sachez nous avoir ordenez, constitut et assignez nostre bien ame le roy des ministrals deinz nostre honour de Tuttebury, qore est ou qi pur le temps serra, pur prendre et arester touz les ministrals deinz meisme nostre honour et franchises queles refusent de faire leur service et ministralcie a eux appartenantz affaire dauncien temps a Tuttebury susdit annuellement les jours del Assumpcion Nostre Dame, donant et grantant au dit roy des ministrals pur le temps esteant plein poair et mandement de les faire resonablement justifier et constreigner de faire leurs services et ministralcies en manere come appent et come illeques ad este use et

dauncien temps acoustume.

1381. March 6th. Et a vj. noz ministrax et a Johan Gybeson le vij.^{me} de nostre doun meisme le jour sept marcs; Et a un pursuant darmes le conte de Douglas, et a un autre ministrax le soen le second jour de Januaire a Leycestre, quarrante soldz.

Et as diverses heraudes esteantes en nostre presence le jour del Ehiphanie, de nostre doun cent soldz; Et as diverses ministrax nostre tresame frer de Cantebrugg esteant ove nous meisme le jour cynk marcs.

Et a dys ministrax nostre seignur le roy esteantz illeoges meisme le jour, de nostre doun dys marcs; Et a quatre ministrax nostre tresame frer de Cantebrug esteantz illeoges meisme le jour, deux marcs.

August 1st. Order to William de Chesulden, clerk, receiver of Leicester and elsewhere, to pay to John Clyff of Coventree the annual fee of 100s. from the seignory of Leicester, in equal portions at Michaelmas and Easter, as paid to the duke's other minstrels of his rank and condition, receiving letters of acquittance under his seal.

December 4th. Et auxint facez liverer a nostre bien ame ministralle Johan Cliff de Coventre un eschucon dargent ovesque un coler pur un ministrax, et un peir de nakers ovesque deux colers et un ceyntoure et deux stykkes dargent faitz pur meismes les nakers.

1382. March 6th. Et as diverses heraudes esteantz a Westmoustre le jour del mariage susdite, ^[Richard II & Anne of Bohemia] de nostre doun vynt livres. Et as diverses ministralles esteantes

illeoques meisme le jour de nostre doun vynt marcs. Et as diverses heraudes esteantz a Smethefeld le jour des joustes illeoques de nostre doun vynt marcs. Et as diverses ministralsx esteantz en Smethefeld meisme le jour, de nostr doun dys livres.

Et a un ministralle le roy d'Escoce fesant son ministralcie en nostre presence a Londres, de nostre doun le xij. jour de Feverer quarrante soldz.

Et as diverses ministralles le roy de Rome esteantz ove nous a Londres le mois de Feverer, de nostre doun vynt livres. Et a troys ministralles le roy d'Escoce esteantz ove nous meisme le temps, de nostre doun sessante soldz.

December 14th. Order to William de Chesulden, clerk, receiver of Leicester, to pay from the issues of his receipt 5 marks yearly to Hankyn Fryssh, the duke's minstrel ["Piper" in marginal heading], a sum which the duke has granted him from the seignory of Leicester, to be paid in equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas, and to receive letters of acquitance under his seal.

December 14th. Grant by the duke to his minstrel Hankyn Frysh, for good services he has done and will do, of 5 marks a year from the seignory of Leicester, in equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas so long as he shall be the duke's minstrel.

1383. May 6th. Et as diverses heroudes a Wyndesore le jour de Seint George de nostre doun dys livres. Et as diverses ministrals illeoques de nostre doun x. marcs.

Et a diverses heraudes esteantz ovesque nous a Hertford le jour de May le temps de noz joustes illeoques de nostre doun x. marcs. Et a diverses ministrals illeoques de nostre doun x. marcs.

Et as diverses heraudes esteantes a meismes les joustes, de nostre doun x. marcs. Et as diverses ministralles

esteantz illeques de nostre doun x. marcs.

APPENDIX B

Literary References to Minstrels.

1. Payment.

Sir Eglamour of Artois, 1327: at a wedding:
The mynstrels that were of ferre londe,
They had mony robys, y undurstonde,
And mony a ryche gyfte.*

1336: at a wedding:
Mynstrels that there were in that stounde,
Ther gyftys were worthe iij. c. pounde,
The bettar myght they spende.*

The Lyfe of Ipomydon, 547: at a tournament:

Mynstrellys had yiftes of golde;
And fourty days thys fest was holde.*

2269: Ipomydon gaff, in that stound,
To mynstrellys v.c. pound,
And othyr yiftes of grete noblay
He yaff to other men that day.

Sir Cleges, 49.

Mynsstrellys, whan þe ffest was done,
Wythoutton yeftis schuld not gon,
And þat bothe rech and good;
Hors, robis, and rech ryngis,
Gold, siluer, and othyr thyngis,
To mend wyth her modde.*

Richard Coeur de Lion, 3774.

Afftyr mete, þoo þey were glad,
Rychard gaff gyfftes, gret wones,
Gold, and syluyr, and precyouse stones;
To herawdes, and to dysours,
To tabourrers, and to trumpours
Hors and robes to bere his los;
Þorwz here cry his renoun ros,
Hou he was curteys and ffree.

Sir Isumbras, 19.

He luffede glewmene wele in haulle,
He gaf thame robis riche of palle,
Bothe golde and also fee.

Libeaus Desconus, 2218: at a bridal feast:

Der wonne þey riche 3iftes.
Ech menstrual aristes
And þey, þat were unwrest.*

Kyng Alisaunder, 832: after a feast:

Sum to knizttes of heize seruise,
Sum mareschales, and botlers,
To zoman, page, and joglers.
Alle þoo þat fongen wolde
Ynouz hadden of rede golde.*

Sir Launfal, 421-432.

Launfal helde ryche festes,
Fyfty fedde pouere gestes,
þat yn myschef were;
Fyfty bouzte stronge stedes;
Fyfty yaf ryche wedes
To knyptes and squyere,

Fyfty rewardede relygyouns;;
Fyfty delyuerede pouere prysouns,
And made ham gnyt and schere;
Fyfty clodede gestours; -
To many men þe dede honours,
In countreys fere and nere.*

William of Palerne, 5071.

Whan bordes were born adoun & burnes hade waschen,
Men miht haue seie to menstrales moche godzif,
Sterne stedes & stef & ful stoute robes,
Gret garisun of gold & greiþli gode iuweles.

Piers Plowman, B. xiii. 228.

Couthe I lye to do men laughe thanne lacchen I schulde
Other mantel or money amonges lordes mynstralles.

2. Occasions.

(a) Feasts, marriages and public occasions.

See references marked * above.

Richard Coeur de Lion, 147: arrival of the King's
daughter:

þe messengers by ylke a syde,
And menstralles wiþ mekyt pryde.

Kyng Alisaunder, 155.

In þis tyme faire and jolyf,
Olympyas, þat faire wijf,
Wolde make a riche fest
Of knizttes and lefdyes honest,
Of burgeys and of jugelers,
And of men of vche mesters.

Sir Tristrem, C. LI.

So it bifel acas,
In Seyn Matheus toun,
That a fair fest was,
Of lordes of renoun:
A baroun that hight Bonifas,
Spoused a leuedi of Lyoun;
Ther was miche solas,
Of all maner soun,
And gle;
Of ministrals up and down,
Bifor the folk so fre.

Horn Childe & Maiden Rimnild, 964: at a feast:

þe trompes blewe, þe glewemen pleyd,
þe bischopes had þe grace y seyde,
As miri men of molde.

The Seven Sages of Rome, 3688: at a marriage ceremony:

And als tite als þe mes was done,
þan was þare made grete menestrelsy.

Amis and Amiloun, 103: at a feast:

þer was mirþe & melodye
& al maner of menstracie
Her craftes for to kiþe.

Sir Launfal, 667: at a feast:

þey hadde menstrales of moch honours -
Fydelters, sytolys, and trompours -
And elles hyt were vnryt.

Emaré, 385.

Syr Kadore lette make a feste
That was fayr and honeste,
Wyth hys lorde, þe kyng.
Ther was myche menstralse,
Trompus, tabours, and sawtré,
Bothe harpe and fydylllyng.

466.

Ther was all maner þyng
That fell to a kyngus weddyng,
And mony a ryche menstrall.

Ywain and Gawain, 1393: arrival of a King:

Þare was grete ioy, i þow bihete,
With clothes spred in ilka strete,
And damygels danceand ful wele
With trompes, pipes, and with fristele.
Þe castel and þe ceté rang
With mynstralsi and nobil sang.

Guy of Warwick, 7101: at a wedding:

There were mynstrels on all manere:
Moche yoye there men myght here.

William of Palerne, 5010.

to munge of menstracie it miȝt nouȝt be aymed,
so many maner minstracie at þat mariage were,
þat whan þei made here menstracie eche man wende
þat heuen hastili & erþe schuld hurtel to-gader,
So desgeli it denede þat al þerþe quakede.

1619: festivities in Rome:

& alle maner menstracie maked him a-ȝens;
and also daunces disgisi redi diȝt were,
& selcouth songes to solas here hertes.

1951: at a wedding:

Alle maner of menstracye maked was sone,
& alle real reueles rinkes rif bi-gunne.

Chaucer, Squire's Tale, 76.

And so bifel that after the thridde cours,
Whil that this king sit thus in his nobleye,
Herknyng his mynstralles hir thynges pleye
Biforn hym at the bord deliciously.

Chaucer, House of Fame, 1214.

Tho saugh I stonden hem behynde,
Afer fro hem, al be hemselve,
Many thousand tymes twelve,
That maden lowde mynstralcies
In cornemuse and shalemyes,
And many other maner pipe,
Bothe in doucet and in rede,
That ben at festes with the brede.

King Alisaunder, 1039. See under 3 (c) below.

(b) In battle.

Kyng Alisaunder, 3419: an army:

þe erþe quaked hem alle vnder,
Ne shulde man haue herd þe þonder
For þe noyse and þe tabours,
And þe trumpes and jugelours.

4303.

þe knaues graiþen her hors and shrubben,
And þe knizttes her bodyes dubben;
þe waites blowen, þe belles rynges.

William of Palerne, 1152.

þanne busked þei here batayles on þe best wise,
& whanne þe renkes were arayed redly as þei wold,
bugles & bemes men gun blowe fast.

3812: in battle:

& alle maner menstracie maked was sone
of tabours & trumpes non mizt þe number telle.

3. Functions.

(a) Preceding courses at meals.

Amis and Amiloun, 1897.

In kinges court, as it is lawe,
Trumpes in halle to mete gan blawe,
To benchewent þo bold.

Sir Eglamour of Artois, 1096.

Grete lordys were at the assent;
Waytys blewe, to mete they wente
Wyth a fulle ryalle chere.

The Lyfe of Ipomydon, 2253.

~~Trumpes to~~ mete gan blow tho,
Claryons and other menstraillis mo.

2257.

Whan they were seruyd, all the route,
Menstrellys blew than all aboute:
Tille they were seruyd, with pryde,
Of the fryst cours that fyde.

Richard Coeur de Lion, 3441: at a meal:
At noon "a lauer" þe waytes blewe.

King Alisaunder, 7762.
Doþe table was ydrawe
De wayte gan 'A choger!' blawe.

Ema^é, 865.
Then þe lordes þat were grete
Wyshe and wente to here mete;
Menstrelles browzt yn þe kowrs.

(b) Singing or performing vocally.

Sir Cleges, 484.
An harpor sange a gest be mowth
Of a knyzt there be sowth

King Alisaunder, 1151.
Þere was agonne newe fest,
And of glev-men many gest.

2839.
Tofore þe kyng com on harpoure,
And made a lay of gret sauoure

5247.
De glevmen vseden her tunge -
De wode aqueizte, so hij sunge.

5980.
Mery it is in halle to here þe harpe;
De mynstrales synge, þe jogelours carpe.

Sir Tristrem, A. LI, i.
An harpour made a lay,
That Tristrem aresound he

C. LXIII & LXV.
Fram Irlond to the king,
An harpour cam bitven,
An harp he gan forth bring,
Swiche no hadde thai never sen,
With sight;
Himself withouten wen,
Bar it day and night.

Marke seyð - "Lat me se,
Harpi hou thou can,

And what thou askest me,
Gif y schal the than." -
"Blethely," - seyde he;
A miri lay he bigan,
- "Sir king, of yiftes fre,
Her with Ysonde Y wan,
Bidene,
Y prove the for fals man,
Or Y schal have thi quen."

The Squire of Low Degree, 1073.

Wyth other mynstrelles them amonge,
With sytolphe and with sautry songe

King Horn, 1475: re. hero disguised as harper:

He sette him on þe benche
His harpe for to clenche.
He makede Hymenhilde lay,
& heo makede walaway.

Horn Childe & Maiden Rimnild, 157.

He bad þe harpour leuen his lay

Octavian, 193.

Kyngys dwellyd then alle in same;
There was yoye and moche game,
At that grete mangery;
Wyth gode metys them amonge,
Harpe, pype, and mery songe,
Bothe lewte and sawtré.
When the vij. nyght was alle goon,
Wyth alle-kyn welthe in that won,
And mery mynstralsy.

Thomas of Exceldoune, 313.

'To harpe or carpe, whareso þou gonge,
Thomas, þou sall hafe þe chose, sothely.'
He saide: 'harpyngge kepe i none,
For tonge es chefe of mynstralsye.'

685.

I sall the kenne, where ever thou gaa,
To bere þe pryce of curtaysye.
Tunge es wele, and tunge es waa,
And ~~tunge~~ es chefe of mynstrallsye.

Emaré, 13.

Menstrelles þat walken fer and wyde
Her and þer in euery a syde,
In mony a dynesse londe,
Sholde, at her bygynnyng,
Speke of þat ryghtwes kyng
That made bothe see and sonde.

319.

As y haue herd menstrelles syngefyn sawe

Maundeville, Travels, (1839). XX, 220.

But noman is so hardy to speke a word but
þif the Emperour speke to him, But þif it be
Mynstrelles that syngen songes & tellen
gestes or oþer desportes to solace with the
Emperour.

Lorne say wel, 17, 82.

Thouþ prestes prechyng hem avyse,
Or mynstrallis synge in isong now,
A glosere wole a lord askuse.

Sir Cleges, 97.

And as he walkyd ypp and down
Sore syþthyng, he hard a sovne
Of dyvers mynstrelse:
Of trompus, pypus, and claraneris,
Of harpis, luttis, and getarnys,
A sitole and sawtré,
Many carellys and gret davnsyng;
On euery syde he harde syngyng,
In euery place, trewly.

Piers Plowman, B. XIII, 230.

Ac for I can noither tabre ne trompe ne telle
none gestes,
Farten, ne fythelen at festes, ne harpen,
Iape ne Iogly ne gentlych pype,
Ne noyther sailly ne saute ne synge with the gyterne.

Chaucer, Legend of Good Women, 2615.

Ful is the place of soun of minstralsye,
Of songes amorous of maryage

Chaucer, Romaunt of the Rose, 763.

There myghtist thou see these flowtours,
Mynstrales, and eke jogelours,
That wel to synge dide her peyne.
Somme songe songes of Loreyne;

(c) Other functions.

The Kyng of Tars, 484.

Wher hee weore bi north or southe
Nas minstral non with harpe ne crouthe
That ones mihte chaunge hire thought.

Libeaus Desconus, 1873.

Libeaus inner gan passe,
To behelde ech place,
 Þe hales in *Þe* halle.
Of maine more ne lasse
Ne siȝ he body ne face,
 But menstrales cloþed in palle;
Wiȝ harpe, fiȝele and rote
And wiȝ organes note
 Greet gle *Þey* maden alle,
Wiȝ citole and sautrie;
So moche menstralsie
 was never wiȝ inne walle.

Kyng Alisaunder, 1573.

Noyse is gret wiȝ tabour and pype,
Damoysels playen wiȝ peren ripe.
Ribaudes festep also wiȝ tripe;
Þe gestour wil oft his mouȝe wype.

2567.

Mery is *Þe* blast of the styuoune;
Mery is *Þe* touchyng of *Þe* harpour.

Avowing of Arthur, 704-747.

Þenne *Þe* King cald his mynstrelle
And told him holly his wille:
Bede him layne atte hit were stille:
 Þat he schuld furth fare
To Baudewins of Bretan:
"I cummawunde *Þe*, or *Þou* cum agayne,
Faurty days, o payne,
 Loke *Þat* *Þou* duelle *Þere*,
And wete me preuely to say
If any mon go meteles away;
For *Þi* wareson for ay,
 Do *Þou* me neuymore."

þen þe mynstrall weyndus on his way
Als fast as he may;
Be none of þe thryd day,
 He funde þaym atte þe mete,
þe lady and hur mené
And g~~est~~us grete plenté;
Butte porter none funde he
 To werne him þe zate,
Butte rayket in to þe halle
Emunge þe grete and þe smalle,
And loket aboute him aure-all;
 He herd of no threte,
Butte riall seruys and fyne:
In bollus birlutte þay þe wyne,
And cocus in þe kechine
 Squytheli can squette.

þen þe ladi conne he loute,
And þe buirdes all aboute;
Bothe withinne and withoute,
 No faute he þer fonde.
Knyzte, squyer, zoman, ne knaue,
Hom lacket nozte þat þey schuld haue;
þay nedut notte aftur hit to craue:
 Hit come to hot honde.
þenne he wente to þe dece,
Before þe pruddust in prece;
þat lady was curtase,
 And bede him stille stonde.
He sayd he was knoun and couthe,
 And was comun fro bi southe,
And he had myrth of his mouthe
 To here his tithand.

Sege of Troy, (H). 12591

Thanne be-gynnyth nowe playe,
An hundrid mynstrelles in a rewe,
Diuerse melodye for to shewe
Of trumpis, tabours, and nakeres,
Pypers, sarsynners, and symbaleris.

Piers Plowman, XXIII, 93.

Thenne mette these men er mynstrales
 myghte pipe,
And er heraudes of armes hadden discriued
 lordes.

Chaucer, Sir Thopas, 134.

"Do come," he seyde, "my mynstrales,
And geestours for to tellen tales,
Anon in myn armynge,
Of romances that been roiales,
Of popes and of cardinales,
And eek of love-likynge."

D. References uncomplimentary to minstrels.

(a) Sinful to give to minstrels.

Piers Plowman, B. IX. 90.

He is worse than Judas that ȝuieth a ȝaper siluer,
And biddeth the beggar go for his broke clothes

C. x. 128.

And alle manere mynstrales men wot wel the sothe,
To vnder-fonge hem faire by-falleth for the ryche,
For the lordes loue and ladies that thei with
lengen.

Men suffren al that suche seyn and in solas taken,
And ȝut more to suche men doth er thei passe,
Gyuen hem gyftes and gold for grete lordes sake.
Ryght so, ȝe riche rather ȝe sholde, for sothe,
Welcomen and worsshepen and with ȝoure goode
helpen

Godes mynstrales and hus messagers and hus
murye bordiours

C. VIII. 97.

Clerkus and knyȝtes welcometh kynges mynstrales,
And for loue of here lordes lithen hem at festes;
Muche more, me thenketh riche men auhte
Haue beggers by-fore hem whiche beth godes
mynstrales

B. X. 31.

Harlotes for her harlotrye may haue of her godis,
And ȝaperes and ȝogeloures and ȝangelers of gestes.

Jacob's Well, (E.E.T.S.) p.295.

ȝe synne of dede arn ȝise ... to ȝeue
iogulours & mynstrallys for iapys &
veyn-talys ...

Chaucer, Parson's Tale, 445.

And eek in to greet preciousnesse of vessel
and curiositee of mynstralcie, by whiche a man is
stired the moore to delices of luxurie, if so be
that he sette his herte the lasse upon oure Lord
Jhesu Crist, certeyn it is a synne;

813.

Soothly, what thyng that he yeveth for veyne
glorie, as to mynstrals and to folk, for to beren
his renoun in the world, he hath synne therof,
and noon almesse.

(b) Moral condemnation of minstrels.

Piers Plowman, X, 32-44.

Ac he that hath holy writte ay in his mouth,
And can telle of Tobye and of the twelue apostles,
Or prechen of the penaunce that Pilat wroust
To Jesu the gentil that Jewes to-drowe: -
Litel is he loued that suche a lessoun scheweth,
Or daunted or drawe forth I do it on god hym-self!

But tho that feynen^{hem} folis and with faityng libbeth,
Azein the lawe of owre lorde and lyen on hem-selue,
Spitten and spewen and speke foule wordes,
Drynken and dryuelen and do men for to gape,
Lickne men and lye on hem that leneth hem no ziftes,
Thei conne namore mynstralcyne ne musyke, men to glade,
Than Munde the mylnere of multa fecit deus!

A. III. 126: re. "Meed":

Heo is tikel of hire tayl talewys of hire tonge,
As comyn as the cart-wei to knaues and to alle;
To preostes, to minstrals to mesels in hegges.

B. X. 48.

Ac murthe and mynstralcyne amonges men is nouthe
Leccherye, losengerye and loseles tales;
Glotonye and grete othes this murthe thei louieth.

Jacob's Well, (E.E.T.S.), p. 136.

3if þou be a menstrall, a bourdour, & schewyst
bourdefull woordys & many iapys for wynnynge, so honeste
be sauð, it is venyall synne. but 3if þou do it for
delyzt of dyssolucyoun, þanne it is dedly synne, & þi
getyng þer-by also. but 3if þou do it for nede, to
have þi sustenaunce þerby, be-cause þou canst do non
oper craft to lyvyn by, & þerfore þou vsyst suche
bourdys & iapys, sauynge; alwey honeste, þou art nozt in
dedly synne.

p. 134. jugoulours ... getyn here good wyth
false iapys & lesynges, & getyn here
lyvyng wyth wrong.

E. Other References.

Piers Plowman, A. XI. 110.

Gladdore then the gleo-mon is of his
grete 3iftes

Chaucer, Squire's Tale, 266.

Whan that this Tartre kyng, this Cambyuskan
Roos fro his bord, ther as he sat ful hye.
Toforn hym gooth the loude mynstralcye,
Til he cam to his chambre of parementz,
Ther as they sownen diverse instrumentz,
That it is lyk an hevene for to heere.

Sir Beues of Hamtoun, 3905.

While Josian was in Ermonie,
3he hadde lerned of minstralcie,
Vpon a fi3ele for to play
Staumpes, notes, garibles gay;
3o 3he kou3e no beter red,
Boute in to 3e bour3 anon 3he 3ed
And bouzte a fi3ele, so saif 3e tale,
For fourti panes, of one menstrale;

APPENDIX C

The Tutbury Minstrels' Court and Bull-running

The evidence for the existence and organisation of the Tutbury Minstrels' Court and Bull-running is as follows:

Document 1

In John of Gaunt's Register, ed. Lodge and Somerville, Camden Society, Third Series, lvii, 1937, p.341, under the year 1380, there is the following charter, setting forth the duties of the "King of the Minstrels":

"Sachez nous avoir ordenez, constitut et assignez nostre bien ame le roy des ministrax deinz nostre honour de Tuttebury, qore est ou qi pur le temps serra, pur prendre et arester touz les ministrax deinz meisme nostre honour et franchises queles refusent de faire leur service et ministralcie a eux appartenantz affaire dauncien temps a Tuttebury susdit annuellement les jours del Assumpcion Nostre Dame, donant et grantant au dit roy des ministrax pur le temps esteant plein poair et mandement de les faire resonablement justifier et constreigner de faire leurs services et ministralcies en manere come appent et come illecoques ad este use et dauncien temps ~~ad~~usture."

Document 2 (1)

Mosley, (2) Plot, (3) and Hackwood (4) state that because the fines and punishments inflicted upon defaulters by the King and his officers were often unjustly severe, a court was instituted to hear complaints, and to determine controversies between the minstrels. The following account is quoted from Mosley, who states in a footnote that he obtained his information "from MSS, in the Duchy Office" (op.cit., p.78):

"It was held before the steward of the honour, on the morrow after the Assumption; and the jury, who consisted of musicians, elected four stewards, one of whom was to be king for the ensuing year. These officers when elected had full power and authority, to levy and distrain for all such fines and amerçiements as were inflicted by the jury of the said court upon any minstrels for the infraction of such orders as were there made for the government of that society; and the amount of such fines was returned at every audit by the stewards, one moiety of which went to the Duke of Lancaster, and the other to the stewards for their trouble."

- (1) As documents 2,3,4,5,and 6 are outside the period under consideration (1350-1400), no attempt has been made to trace and to quote from the original sources.
- (2) O.Mosley, History of the Castle, Priory, and Town of Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, 1832,pp.77-78,
- (3) R.Plot, The Natural History of Staffordshire, 1686, 670
- (4) F.W. Hackwood, Staffordshire Customs, 1924, p.41.

Document 3

The charter of 1380 (see document 1 above) was confirmed by an Inspeximus of Henry VI in 1443:

"Henricus Sexti, Dei gracia Rex Angliae et Franciae, et dominus Hiberniae, omnibus ad quos presentes literae pervenerint salutem. Inspeximus literas patentes Johannes nuper Regis Castellae et Legionis, Ducis Lancastriae proavi nostri, factas in haec verba."

(Here the 1380 charter is quoted in full).

"Nos autem literas praedictas ad requisitionem dilecti nobis in Christo, Thomae Gedney, prioris de Tuttebury, duximus exemplificandas per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum sub sigillo nostri Ducatus Lancastr. apud palatium nostrum de West. XXII die Febr. anno Regni nostri vicesimo primo."

The Inspeximus then refers to the Bull-running:

"Item est ibidem quaedam consuetudo quod Histriones venientes ad matutinas in festo assumptionis beatae Mariae, habebunt unum Taurum de Priore de Tuttebury, si ipsum capere possunt citra aquam Dove propinquam Tuttebury; vel Prior dabit eis xl^d. pro qua quidem consuetudine dabuntur domino ad dictum festum annuatim xx^d."

(From T. Blount, Fragmenta Antiquitatis, ed. Beckwith, 1815, pp. 528-29).

Document 4

Blount's Fragmenta Antiquitatis contains an account of the part played in these activities by the woodmaster and keepers of Needwood forest. Blount quotes as his source "the Cowcher-book of the honour of Tutbury. Cap. de Libertatibus". The Tutbury Cowcher is a collection of documents of the fifteenth century dealing with the honour of Tutbury, and is in the Public Record Office. (1)

"The prior of Tutburye, shall have yearly, one oure Ladydey, the Assumption, a bukke delivered him of seyssone by the wood-master and kepers of Nedewoode: and the wood-master and kepers of Nedewoode shale, every yere, mete at a lodgge in Nedewoode, called Birkeley Lodgge, by one of the cloke att afternone one Seynt Laurence Dey; at which dey and place a wood-moote shall be kept, and every keper makinge deffalte shall loose xiid. to the kinge, and there the wood-master and kepers shall chose II of the kepers

- (1) See List of the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster, Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, XIV, 1901, p.81, where it is described as "containing rentals and lists of knights' fees in the counties of Derby, Stafford, Nottingham, Leicester and Warwick".

yearly as itt cometh to their turne, to be stewards for to prepare the dyner at Tutburye Castell one oure Ladyedey, the Assumption, for the wood-master, and kepers, and officers within the chase, and there they shall appoint in lykewyse where the bukke shall be kylled for the prior against the saide Ladye-deye; and also where the bukke shall be kylde for the keper's dyner ageinst the same day; and on the saide feaste of Assumption the wood-master or his lyvetenant, and the kepers and their deputies, shall be at Tutburye, and every man one horsebake, and soo ryde in order two and two together from the Yate, called the Lydeat, goinge into the common felde unto the highe crose in the towne; and the keper in whose office the Seynte Marye bukke was kylled, shall beire the bukk's heede garnished aboute with a rye of pease; and the bukk's heede must be cabaged with the hole face and yeers beinge one the sengill of the bukke, with two peces of fatte one either sids of the sengill must be fastened uppon the broo-anklers of the same heed, and every keper must have a grene boghe in his hand; and every

keper that is absent that day, beinge nodder sikke nor in the king's service, shall lose xiid. and soo the kepers shall ridde two and two together tyll they come to the said crosse in the towne; and all the minstrells shall goe afore them one foote two and two together; and the wood-master, or in his absence his lyvetenant, shall ride hindermast after all the kepers; and at the said crosse in the town the foremost keper shall blow a seeke, and all the other kepers shall answeere him in blowinge the same, and when they come to the cornell against the Yue-hall, the formast keper shall blowe a recheate, and all the other kepers shall answeere hyme in blowinge of the same; and so they shall ride still tyll they come into the church-yorde, and then light and goo into the churche in like arrey, and all the minstrels shall pley one their instruments duringe the offeringe tyme, and the wood-master, or in his absence his livetenant, shall offer up the bukk's head mayd in silver, and every keper shall offer a peny, and as soone as the bukk's head is offered uppe, all the kepers shall blowe a morte, three tymes; and then all the kepers goo into a

chappell, and shall there have one of the monks redye to sey them masse; and when masse is done, all the keepers goo in like arreye uppe to the castell to dynner; and when dynner is done the stewards goo to the prior of Tutburye, and he shall give them yearly xxx s. towards the charges of ther dinner; and if the dynner come to more, the keepers shall beir it amongst them; and one the morrow after the Assumption there is a court kept of the minstrells, at which court the woodmaster or his lyvetenant shall be; and shall oversee that every minstrell dwellinge within the honor and makinge defaute shall be amerced; whiche amercement the kinge of the minstrels shall have; and after the courte done, the pryor shall deliver the minstrels a bull, or xviii s. of money; and shall turne hyme loose amongs them, and if he escape from them over Dove-river, the bull is the priour's owne agene; and if the minstrels can take the bull ore he gett over Dove, then the bull is their owne⁽¹⁾.

- (1) Quoted from T. Blount, *op.cit.*, pp.529-32. See also N. Edwards, Medieval Tutbury, 1949, p.124, where it is briefly mentioned that the foresters also observed the Feast of the Assumption; and Chambers, Book of Days, II, 1864, pp.224-6, where Blount is extensively quoted.

Document 5

A series of regulations relating to the Minstrels' Court were issued in 1650:

"Orders made and set forth by the honourable Edward Lord Newburgh, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Counsel of His Majesty's Court of the Duchy Chamber in the fifth year of the reign of King Charles the First, for the better ordering and governing of his Majesty's Court, called the Minstrels' Court, yearly holden at Tutbury on the morrow after the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, and of the musicians and minstrels within the counties of Stafford and Derby, who owe suit to the same court."

No person is allowed to

"use or exercise the art and science of music within the said counties, as a common musician or minstrel, for benefit and gains, except he shall have served and been brought up in the same art and science by the space of seven years, and be allowed and admitted so to do at the same court by the jury thereof, and by consent of the steward of the said court for the time being, on pain of forfeiting for every month that he

shall so offend, three shillings and fourpence.

Also, no musician or minstrel is allowed to take into his service, to teach and instruct any one in the said art and science, for any shorter time than for the space of seven years, under the pain of forfeiting for every such offence forty shillings. And that all the musicians and minstrels above mentioned, shall appear yearly at the court called The minstrels' Court, on pain of forfeiting for every default, according to old custom, three shillings and fourpence."

(From C.H. Underhill, History of Tutbury and Rolleston, Undated, p.69. See also O. Mosley, History of the Castle, Priory, and Town of Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, 1832, pp.78-9

Document 6

In 1772 a document was sent by officials of the minstrels' Court to the Duke of Devonshire. It describes the curious tenure by which the court was supported, and shows how the institution deteriorated.

"May it please your Grace -

We, the Jury of this Court, humbly petition your Grace that the writings concerning this Court may be

laid open before the King and Stewards of this Court, that we may understand our rights. We apprehend we have a right to a piece of ground called "The Pipers' Meadow", formerly in the hands of Pratt of Tutbury, now Thomas Tatler of Etwall, who lets it to Samuel Salt of Rolleston. This rent has been publickly demanded at the Castle, but without any redress. Therefore for the want of the rest of the perquisites we received our dinners for twenty-five men, viz., twelve Jurymen of Staffordshire and twelve Jurymen of Derbyshire, and beer to the aforesaid dinners; and twelve shillings acknowledgement for the rent of this piece of ground, which said twelve shillings we expect to be made whole rent of the said Pipers' Meadow, as it is now let for the yearly rent of - . Likewise the perquisites of the amerciaments, which used to be 3s.4d. for every minstrel that doth appear if enrolled, and 6s.8d. for playing upon an instrument and not appearing in this Court.

Most gracious Duke, we cannot maintain the rights of straining for these misdemeanours of the minstrels of

Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire without the protection of your Grace. It hath been therefore concluded, and believe Derbyshire stands to the conclusion, that without the rent of the said Pipers' Meadow be paid to the King of the Minstrels the said Jurors do not appear.

There is want of members, want of jurors, want of stewards, and in consequence must in a short time be a want of a Bull-running. If the rent was paid and the members came into their office according to order, there would not be so many minstrels absent. They would be willing to come at a profit of £20 a year, as well as the honour of being King. Much ado there has been for several years to get to the honour of being King, and when they only find honour and no profit they directly leave the Court, which said Court cannot be upheld without its members, which said members being met there, then upon Juries panelled, and not before that same day, for the perquisites will not pay extra sixpence.

We therefore knowingly and wittingly, considering the want of our members with the reason of their absence, most humbly petition your Grace that a writing proper to

this affair be transmitted to the King of this Minstrel Court, and that the said writing be ordered to be delivered from King to King. There might be a voluminous subject on this affair, but this is enough to let your Grace understand the reason of the decay of this Court, which we do not doubt your Grace will hereby remedy.

Done at Tutbury according to the tenour of our oath".

The document is signed by Henry Coxon, "King", the panel of jurors, and the two stewards. (Quoted from H. Kirke, "Ancient Court of Minstrels at Tutbury", Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Journal, XXXII, 1910, pp.111-12. See also N. Edwards, Medieval Tutbury, 1949, pp.128-29; and F. W. Hackwood, Staffordshire Customs, 1924, p.42.)

Document 7

Robert Plot visited Tutbury in 1680, and was present at the Minstrels' Court and Bull-running. In his Natural History of Staffordshire, 1686, 971 - 975, he describes the ceremonies which were held

"on the Court day or morrow of the assumption being the 16 of August, what time all the Minstrels within the Honor come first to the Bayliffs house of the Manor of Tutbury (who is now the Earl of Devonshire) where the Steward for the Court

to be holden for the King, as Duke of Lancaster (who is now the Duke of Ormond) or his deputy meeting them, they all goe from thence to the parish Church of Tutbury, two and two together, Musick playing before them, the King of the Minstrells for the year past walking between the Steward and Bayliff, or their deputies; the four Stewards or under Officers of the said King of the Minstrells, each with a white wand in their hands, immediately following them; and then the rest of the company in order. Being come to the Church, the Vicar reads them divine service, choosing Psalms and Lessons suitable to the occasion: the Psalms when I was there An. 1680 being the 98. ← 149. 150; the first Lesson 2. Chron. 5. and the second, the 5 chap. of the Epistle to the Ephesians, to the 22 verse. For which service every Minstrel offered one penny, as a due always paid to the Vicar of the Church of Tutbury, upon this solemnity.

Service being ended, they proceed in like manner as before, from the Church to the Castle-hall or Court, where the Steward or his deputy taketh his place, assisted by the Bayliff or his deputy, the King of the Minstrells sitting between them; who is to oversee that every Minstrell

dwelling within the Honor and making default, shall be presented and amerced; which that he may the better doe, an O yes is then made by one of the Officers being a Minstrel, 3 times giving notice by direction from the Steward to all manner of Minstrells dwelling within the Honor to Tutbury, viz. within the Counties of Stafford, Darby, Nottingham, Leicester and Warwick, owing suit and service to his Majesties Court of Musick here holden as this day, that every man draw near and give his attendance upon pain and peril that may otherwise ensue, and that if any man will be assigned of suit or plea, he or they should come in, and they should be heard. Then all the Musicians being call'd over by a Court-roll, two Juries are impannell'd, out of 24 of the sufficientest of them, 12 for Staffordshire, and 12 for the other Counties; whose names being deliver'd in Court to the Steward and call'd over, and appearing to be full Juries, the Foreman of each is first sworn, and then the residue, as is usual in other Courts, upon the holy Evangelists.

Then to move them the better to mind their duties to the King, and their own good, the Steward proceeds to give them their charge: first commending to their consideration

the original of all Musick, both Wind and String Musick, the antiquity and excellency of both, setting forth the force of it upon the affections, by divers examples; how the use of it has always been allowed (as is plain from holy writ) in praysing and glorifying God; and the skill in it always esteemed so considerable, that it is still accounted in the Schooles one of the liberal Arts, and allowed in all Godly Christian Commonwealths; where by the way he commonly takes notice of the Statute, which reckons some Musicians amongst Vagabonds and Rogues, giving them to understand that such Societies as theirs, thus legally founded and govern'd by laws, are by no means intended by that Statute, for which reason the Minstrells belonging to the Manor of Dutton in the County Palatine of Chester are expressly excepted in that Act. Exhorting them upon this account (to preserve their reputation) to be very carefull to make choise of such men to be Officers amongst them, as fear God, are of good life and conversation, and have knowledge and skill in the practise of their Art. Which charge being ended, the Jurors proceed to the Election of the said Officers, the King being to be chosen out of the 4 Stewards of the preceding year, and one year out of

Staffordshire, and the other out of Darbyshire interchangeably: and the 4 Stewards two of them out of Staffordshire, and two out of Darbyshire; 3 being chosen by the Jurors, and the 4th by him that keeps the Court, and the deputy Steward or Clerk.

The Jurors departing the Court for this purpose, leave the Steward with his assistants still in their places, who in the mean time make themselves merry with a banquet, and a noise of Musicians playing to them, the old King still sitting between the Steward and Bayliff as before: but returning again after a competent time, they present first their cheifest Officer by the name of their King; then the old King arising from his place, delivereth him a little white wand in token of his Sovereignty, and then taking a cup fill'd with Wine drinketh to him, wishing him all joy and prosperity in his Office. In the like manner doe the old Stewards to the new, and the the old King riseth, and the new taketh his place, and so doe the new Stewards of the old, who have full power and authority by virtue of the Kings Stewards warrant, directed from the said Court, to levy and distrain in any City, Town Corporate, or in any place within

the Kings dominions, all such fines and ameracements as are inflicted by the said Juries that day upon any Minstrells, for his or their offences, committed in the breach of any of their ancient orders, made for the good rule and government of the said Society. For which said fines and ameracements so distrained, or otherwise peaceably collected, the said Stewards are accountable at every Audit: one moyety of them going to the Kings Majesty, and the other the said Stewards have, for their own use.

The Election, etc. being thus concluded, the Court riseth, and all persons then repair to another fair room within the Castle, where a plentiful dinner is prepared for them, which being ended; the Minstrells went anciently to the Abbey gate, now to a little barn by the town side, in expectance of the Bull to be turned forth to them, which was formerly done (according to the custom above mention'd) by the Prior of Tutbury, now by the Earle of Devonshire: which Bull, as soon as his horns are cut off, his Ears ~~cut~~, his taile cut by the stumple, all his body smeared over with soap, and his nose blown full of beaten pepper; in short, being made as mad as 'tis possible for him to be; after Solemn Proclamation made by the Steward, that all manner of persons give way to the Bull, none being come near him by 40 foot,

anyway to hinder the Minstrells, but to attend his or their own safeties, every one at his perill: He is then forthwith turned out to them (anciently by the Prior) now by the Lord Devonshire or his deputy, to be taken by them and none other, within the County of Stafford between the time of his being turned out to them, and the setting of the Sun the same day: which if they cannot doe, but the Bull escapes from them untaken, and gets over the River into Darbyshire, he remains still my Lord Devonshires bull: but if the said Minstrells can take him, and hold him so long, as to cutt off but some small matter of his hair, and bring the same to the Mercat cross in token they have taken him, the said bull is then brought to the Bayliff's house in Tutbury, and there coller'd and roap't, and so brought to the Bull-ring in the high-street, and there baited with doggs: the first course being allotted for the King; the second for the Honor of the Towne; and the third for the King of the Minstrells. Which after it is done, the said Minstrells are to have him for their owne, and may sell, or kill and divide him amongst them, according as they shall think good."

Document 8

A letter signed "A.W." in the Gentleman's Magazine, LIII, July 1782, p.336, is written in reply to "your correspondent Mr. Beckwith", who had referred to the Tutbury Minstrels' Court.

"A.W." states that:

"If he should desire it, I believe I can furnish him with a copy of an account of the Minstrel's Court, drawn up by a sensible intelligent gentleman, who was steward thereof, and a contemporary with Blount; likewise of the charge that was constantly given at that court to the minstrels."

Beckwith edited Blount's Fragmenta Antiquitatis. A later edition (1815) by his son contains the account mentioned in the above letter, and includes the following items:

Foreman's Oath

"You, as foreman of this Inquest, shall diligently enquire and true presentment make of all such articles, matters, and things, as shall be given you in charge; the king of the minstrel's counsels, your fellows, and your own, you shall keep secrete and not disclose but in open court; you shall present no man for hatred or malice, or spare any man for fear, favour, affection, or hope of reward,

but in all things, according to the best of your knowledge, and information that you shall receive, you shall present the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

So help you God." (1)

King's Oath

"You as king of the minstrels belonging to this honorable and ancient court, shall, to the uttermost of your power, maintain all the customs and rights heretofore established in this court, and shall preserve unto the society of the minstrels, all their ancient rights, privileges, and customs anciently by them enjoyed, and which of right do belong unto them, and that what you now promise you will perform and keep.

So help you God." (2)

Charges concerning the behaviour of the minstrels

"Whether any of them have abused or disparaged their honorable profession by drunkenness, profane cursing and swearing, singing lewd and obscene songs, playing to any company or meetings on the Lords-day, or by any other vice or immorality, or by intruding into any company unsent for, or by playing for any mean or disgraceful reward.

(1) Blount, op.cit., p.543

(2) ibid., p.544.

Whether any of the minstrels, within this honour, that should be the known masters of concord and harmony, have been themselves guilty of any brawls, quarrels, or disorders.

Whether the minstrels, within this honour, have been decent in their apparel, and skilful in their art, and respectful to their supreme, the king of the minstrels; whether their last year's officers of the minstrelsy have well performed the duty of their respective offices.

Whether any minstrels, that owe suit and service to this court, have appeared and done their suit.

Whether any minstrels have executed their art within this honour, not being allowed and inrolled in this court; and if you find any minstrels, within this honour, to have offended in any of these particulars, you are to present them." (1)

Document 9

The letter signed by "A.W." (see above, p.131) also states that "the Minstrels Court, Bull-running, etc. at

(1) Slount, op.cit., p.555.

Tutbury, were entirely abolished by the Duke of Devonshire in the year 1778, at the request of the inhabitants of that village, owing to the outrages usually committed on those occasions."

The court defied this suppression, however.

F. W. Hackwood⁽¹⁾ states that it survived in an attenuated form "for some time afterwards", but does not specify the length of time. However, the court was still in existence when W. Pitt⁽²⁾ wrote in 1817: "A building has been erected among the ruins [i.e. of Tutbury Castle], which is the residence of the steward, who entertains the tenants occasionally at wakes etc. A large room in this house is used for assemblies; and the Minstrels' Court is annually held in it."

O. Mosley⁽³⁾, writing only fifteen years later, does not refer to the court as an existing institution, and there are no later references to it. It must be assumed, therefore, that the Court fell into disuse between 1817 and 1832.

(1) Staffordshire Customs, 1924, p.45

(2) A Topographical History of Staffordshire, 1817, p.51.

(3) History of the Castle, Priory and Town of Tutbury in the county of Stafford, 1832.

The exhortation delivered by the steward, as recorded by Chambers(1) and Kirke(2), contains the following passage(3):

"....he expatiated upon the nobility and excellence of their noble science, passing from Orpheus to Apollo, Jubal, David, and Timotheus, instancing the effect it had upon beasts by the story of a gentleman once travelling near Royston, who met a herd of stags upon the road following a bagpipe and violin: when the music played, they went forward; when it ceased, they all stood still; and in this way they were conducted out of Yorkshire to the king's palace at Hampton Court."(4)

The steward must have read John Playford's Introduction to the Skill of Musick, first published in 1661. In it, Playford names those to whom, at various times, the invention of music has been attributed, and mentions

(1) Book of Days, II, 1864, p.225

(2) "Ancient Court of Minstrels at Tutbury", Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Journal, XXXII, 1910, p.109

(3) See also: N. Edwards, Medieval Tutbury, 1949, p.127;
O. Mosley, History of the Castle, Priory and Town of Tutbury, 1832, p.85;

R. Plot, Natural History of Staffordshire, 1686, 675.

(4) R. Chambers, Ibid.

among others, Orpheus, Apollo, Jubal, and David. He then states that:

"My self, as I travelled some years since near Royston, met a Herd of Stags, about twenty, upon the Road, following a Bagpipe and a Violin, which while the Musick plaid they went forward, and when it ceased they all stood still; and in this manner they were brought out of Yörk-shire to Hampton-Court." (1)

There are conflicting views regarding the date of the appointment of the "King of the Minstrels" Mosley (2) states that the number of minstrels "became so great, as to render necessary some regulations for the purpose of preserving order amongst them. With this intent John of Gaunt appointed a governor over them, whom he designated by the title of 'The King of the Minstrels.' His duties are set forth in the following charter...." He quotes the charter of 1850 (see p.113 above). Hackwood (3) states that the King of the Minstrels was appointed with the intention of preserving order amongst the minstrels.

(1) Playford, op.cit., sixth edition, 1672, p.A5v.

(2) op.cit., pp.76-7.

(3) Staffordshire Customs, 1924, p.41

Kirke⁽¹⁾, however, does not regard the charter of 1380 as being the official institution of the "King". He states that the minstrels of Tutbury "evidently had become, at an early date, a gild ... with well-defined rights and privileges, as these were recognized by John of Gaunt, who addressed their king as a well-known and respected person."

The evidence supports the latter view. The charter addresses the King in familiar terms: "nostre bien ame le roy des ministrals", and indicates some sort of tradition or duty which the minstrels had to perform on the Feast of the Assumption: "leur service et ministralcie a eux appartenantz affaire dauncien temps a Tuttebury susdit annuelment les jours del Assumpcion Nostre Dame". The charter does not contain the institution of a new post, but gives added authority to an already existing position.

Plot⁽²⁾ asserts that the custom of Bull-running was derived from Spain and instituted by John of Gaunt. Mosley,⁽³⁾ who drew much of his material from Plot, strongly upholds this point of view.

The Rev. Pegge, in a paper read in 1765⁽⁴⁾ endeavours to

(1) In Derbys. Arch. Soc. Journal, p. 108.

(2) Natural History of Staffordshire, 1686, 676.

(4) "The Bull-running, at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, considered", Archaeologia, II., 13, pp. 86 - 91.

(3) op. cit., p. 84. n. 149.

prove that Plot is mistaken in attributing the institution of this custom to John of Gaunt, and that the Bull-running possessed no resemblance to the Spanish bull feasts. He argues that the nature of the sport was identical with other rustic amusements then practised all over the country, and that it was "made the matter of a tenure".⁽¹⁾ The finding and dismissal of the bull was "a condition or term, on which his Grace the Duke of Devonshire holds the priory of this place",⁽²⁾ and which probably went back to the erection of the priory.

Kirke⁽³⁾ also refutes Plot's opinion, stating that the Bull-running "bears no resemblance" to Spanish bull-fights, but rather resembles English rustic sports such as bear-baiting. Edwards⁽⁴⁾, in a close verbal paraphrase of this, echoes Kirke's opinion. Hackwood⁽⁵⁾ describes the custom as "a relic of ruder times", and cites the *Inspeximus* by Henry VI, which refers to the sport as an established custom.

(1) *ibid.*, p. 91.

(2) *ibid.*, p. 89.

(3) *op. cit.*, p. 110.

(4) Medieval Tutbury, 1949, p. 128

(5) *op. cit.* p. 42.

Plot's views are not as plausible as those of his opponents. It is possible, however, that Spanish overtones were added to the custom in John of Gaunt's time, as his wife was princess of Castile and Leon, and it is known that she introduced Spanish entertainments.⁽¹⁾

The above material suggests certain facts regarding the status of minstrels belonging to a fraternity such as the Tutbury Minstrels' Court. Kirke⁽²⁾ states, with reference to this court, that "By joining themselves into guilds and exercising a necessary restraint over the wilder spirits in the community, the status of minstrels was vastly improved."

(1) She appears to have brought musicians over from Spain:

"Johan etc. a nostre bien ame sire Robert atte More nostre receyvour de Tuttebury saluz. Nous veullons et vous mandons que a nostre bien ame damoiselle Johan Martynes d'Espaigne paieez et delivrez des issues de vostre receipt cynk marcZ par an pour sa chauceure as Termes de Saint Michel et de Pasques par ovelles porcions tanque au temps que vous avertrez autre mandement de nous receivant etc."

(John of Gaunt's Register, ed. S. Armitage Smith, Camden Society, Third Series, XXI, 1911, p. 328)

(2) op. cit. p. 107.

The minstrels were genuinely concerned about their status, as is shown by the emphasis laid on the necessity for choosing officers who would preserve the reputation of the society; who feared God, were "of good life and conversation", and had "knowledge and skill in the practise of their Art."⁽¹⁾ The charges concerning the behaviour of the minstrels show a similar concern for their social standing. Plot's description includes a further proof of the status which the minstrels claimed to have acquired by belonging to such a community. During the course of his exhortatory speech, the steward "takes notice of the Statute, which reckons some Musicians amongst Vagabonds and Rogues, giving them to understand that such societies as theirs, thus legally founded and govern'd by laws, are by no means intended by that Statute..."⁽²⁾

There are indications that the court had a certain legal status. The charter of 1380 gave legal authority to the King of the Minstrels. The charter of 1630 described the court as "His Majesty's Court", and in 1680 the steward described the society as "legally founded."⁽³⁾ Plot⁽⁴⁾ states that when the two juries had been chosen,

(1) Plot, op. cit., 73

(2) *ibid.*

(3) *ibid.*

(4) *ibid.*, 72

the "Foreman" of each one was "first sworn, and then the residue, as is usual in other courts, upon the holy Evangelists." Blount⁽¹⁾ compares the procedure in the minstrel court with that in a "court-leet"⁽²⁾, the only difference being that "in a leet the jury swear to keep the king's counsel, their fellows and their own; in this, to keep the king of music's counsel, their fellows and their own."

By creating a well-ordered society, the Tutbury minstrels fostered a pride in their profession. The steward's exhortation exalts music and minstrelry, and the steward's use of Playford's Skill of Musick, apart from proving his literacy, indicates his sense of the importance of the content of his speech, and the consequent pains he took to prepare it. The charter of 1630 indicates the high standard of professionalism required by the Court in the seventeenth century. It implies the existence of "masters" and "apprentices", and suggests that by this time the Tutbury Minstrels' Court closely resembled a professional guild.

(1) op. cit., p. 534.

(2) Court-leet - a court of record held periodically in a hundred, lordship, or manor, before the lord or his steward, and attended by the residents of the district. It had jurisdiction over petty offences and the civil affairs of the district, and performed a number of administrative functions.

(N. E. D. definition)

The cooperation of the church suggests that it in no way objected to the activities of the minstrels, as the vicar led divine service for them. There was not even an ecclesiastical denouncement of the Bull-running with its attendant cruelties, for the prior originally provided the bull.

The Tutbury Minstrels' Court began as a jurisdiction over the minstrels in the honour, and developed into a community which was almost in the nature of a craft guild. It inflicted punishments upon any minstrel who broke its rules, it protected the interests of its members, and it was always concerned to keep up its own reputation and that of the profession.

APPENDIX D

Musical Instruments most commonly played by
minstrels in the fourteenth century

I. References to minstrels' instruments from a selection of fourteenth
century literature

1. Chaucer

- Giterne - Cant. Tales, A,4396.
Harpe - House of Fame, 1201.
Trompe - Cant. Tales, A,2511, 2671; B,705; House of Fame, 1240.
Clarioun - Cant. Tales, A,2511; House of Fame, 1240.
Pype - Cant. Tales, A,2511; House of Fame, 1219.
Flowtours - R. of Rose, 763.
Doucet - House of Fame, 1221.
Cornemuse - House of Fame, 1218.
Shalmye - House of Fame, 1218.
Rede - House of Fame, 1221.
Naker - Cant. Tales, A,2511.

In Chaucer's writings it is often difficult to tell when he is referring to professional minstrels and when to amateurs. The other instruments mentioned by Chaucer are as follows (see the Chaucer Concordance for more detailed references):

Rubible

Simphonye

Sautrye

Lute

Rote

Horn

Beme

Lilting horn

Pypes of grene corn

Organ

Tabour

2. A selection of references from other literature

(a) Romances

- Fydle - Squire of low degree, 1075; Thom. of Erceldune, 257; Beues of Hamtoun, 3907; Lib. Desconus, 150, 1879; Launfal, 668 (fydelers); Emare, 390 (fydylllyng).
- Citole - Lib. Desconus, 149, 1882; Cleges, 102; Sq. of low degree, 1074; Launfal, 668 (Sytolyrs).
- Trompes - H. Childe and M. Rimmild, 964; Beues of Hamtoun, 383; Lib. Desconus, 1864; G. and Gn. Knight, 116, 1016; Ipomydon, 2253; Kyng Alisaunder, 3422; Richard Couer de Lion, 3454, 4643; Emare 389; Cleges, 100; Seege of Troy, H, 12594; Launfal, 668 (trompours); Lib. Desconus, 982 (trompours); Sq. of low degree, 1076 (trompette).

- Tabour - Beues of Hamtoun, 383; K. Alisaunder 1573;
Lib. Desconus, 982; Richard Couer de Lion, 3454,
4643; Emare, 389; Seege of Troy, 12594.
- Harpe - Emare, 390; Kyng of Tars, 485; Thom. of Erceldoune
257; Sq. of low degree, 1070; Lib. Desconus, 150,
1879; Octavian, 197; Cleges, 101, (harpor) 484, 487,
452.
- Sautry - Sq. of low degree, 1070, 1074; Emare, 389; Cleges,
102; Thom. of Erceldoune, 258; Lib. Desconus, 149,
1882; Octavian, 198.
- Pipes - Cleges, 100; Seege of Troy, 12595; Sq. of low degree,
1072, 1077; Richard Couer de Lion, 3454; 6748;
Octavian, 197; G. and Gn. Knight, 118, 1017 (pypyng).
- Claryon - Sq. of low degree, 1076; Ipomydon, 2254; Cleges,
100 (claraneris).
- Lewte - Octavian, 198; G. and Gn. Knight, 119; Thom. of
Erceldoune, 259; Cleges, 101.
- Getterne - Thom. of Erceldoune, 258; Sq. of low degree, 1070;
Cleges, 101.
- Nakeres - Seege of Troy, 12594; G. and Gn. Knight, 1016,
118 (nakryn).
- Symbaleris - Seege of Troy, 12595.
- Crouthe - Kyng of Tars, 485; Lib. Desconus, 150.
- Ribible - Sq. of low degree, 1071; Thom. of Erceldoune, 259.

- Rote - Sq. of low degree, 1071; Lib. Desconus, 1879.
- Organs - Sq. of low degree, 1072; Kyng Alisaunder, 191;
Lib. Desconus, 1880.
- Clokarde - Sq. of low degree, 1071; Kyng Alisaunder, 191
(chymbes).
- Flagel - Richard Couer de Lion, 6774, 6748.
- Hornes - Lib. Desconus, 1864.
- Schalmeis - Lib. Desconus, 1864.
- Bumbarde - Sq. of low degree, 1072.
- Recorde - Sq. of low degree, 1075.
- Dowcemere - Sq. of low degree, 1075.

(b) Langland - Piers Plowman

- Tabre - C, xvi, 205.
- Trompe - C, xvi, 205.
- Fithelen - C, xvi, 206; viii, 107.
- Harpen - C, xvi, 206.
- Pipe - C, xvi, 207; xxiii, 93.
- Gyterne - C, xvi, 208.

(c) Robert de Brunne - Handlyng Synne

- Harpe - 4769.
- Thabour - 4769.
- Symphan - 4769.

Troumpes - 4770
Sautre - 4770
Cordys - 4771
Organes - 4771
Bellys ryngyng - 4771

3. References from account books

(a) Durham Account Rolls

Pyper - 1355⁽¹⁾, 1360

Harpour - 1357 (2 refs), 1362 (2 refs), 1376.

Blyndharpour - 1357 (2 refs).

Welsharpour - 1360.

Kakeharpour - 1362.

Trompours - 1357, 1368.

Trompet - 1394.

Crouder - 1360.

Loyt - 1361.

Rotour . 1394.

(b) Black Prince's Register

Drum - 1352 (2 refs).

Pipes - 1352 (2 refs), 1355.

Piper - 1353, 1355 (2 refs), 1358, 1359 (2 refs), 1361 (3 refs),
1362 (3 refs), 1363.

(1) The numbers refer to the years under which the entries are found.

Bagpipe - 1352.

Cornemuse - 1352, 1355.

Tabor - 1355.

(c) Register of John of Gaunt

Trumpet 1375.

Trumpours - 1380.

Clarioner - 1379.

Piper - 1380.

Nakers - 1381.

II Description of the instruments

(i) String Instruments

Fithele This term was applied indiscriminately to any of several bowed stringed-instruments, especially the viol. The viol had five or more strings, and in shape resembled a violin, but had a flat back, deep ribs, and shoulders so designed that they met the neck at a tangent rather than at right angles. The table, which was usually flat, was pierced with sound-holes in the shape of a single slender C, or of two Cs, one superimposed upon the other. The fourteenth century saw the adoption of the incurved waist, as

opposed to the earlier straight side walls. This waist made it possible for the musician to get at the individual strings up to a certain point, and thus to break away from the early medieval type of performance, with the lowest string perpetually sounding. Owing to the depth of the sides and the flatness of the back the sound produced by the viol was soft and slightly reedy or nasal, but very penetrating. As an instrument of the minstrelsy, it was played at banquets, betrothals, bridal parties, dances, chivalric ceremonies, etc., usually with vocal or other instrumental accompaniment specified.⁽¹⁾ The "fithelle" appears to have been an expensive commodity, for in the romance of Beues of Hamtoun a lady in dire straits buys a fiddle "For fourti panes, of one menstrale"⁽²⁾, so that she can earn her living by playing it.

Crowd This name was applied to any of a class of stringed instruments with from two to six strings, with a bow, and later a fingerboard, in the shape of a rectangle, ellipse, or double ellipsoid, and played, depending on size, at the shoulder or across the knees. The crowd generally had slightly indented sides, a hole of varying shape for the fingers of the left hand to pass through, and strings passing over a bridge and fastened to a tail-piece.

(1) e.g. Sq. of low degree, 1069 ff; Emare, 385 ff.

(2) B. of Hamtoun, 5912.

Ribible This was a bowed fiddle related to the rebeck. It consisted of an oval-shaped sound-box with a separable neck, unlike the rebeck in which the neck was formed by the narrowing of the body. It had two pairs of strings tuned in fifths with a compass of an octave and one note. The ribible could be played either at the shoulder or between the knees.

Symphony This instrument was the predecessor of the hurdy-gurdy. It was a box-like instrument with a stopping mechanism consisting of small rods placed beneath the strings, each bearing a low flat bridge. The ends of the rods, which appeared outside the case, were turned by the performer, and thus the various bridges were brought to bear on all the three strings together at any required point. The internal mechanism comprised a small tangent or upright point of wood, inserted into a sliding rod, which was pulled against the string or strings.

In the fourteenth century the four-stringed symphony appeared, and the middle strings, tuned in unison or in octaves, were probably controlled by the tangents for the melody, while the outer strings vibrated freely, as "Drones" or "bourdons". The symphony's compass seems to have been usually confined to a scale of ten diatonic notes.

There were two popular shapes for the symphony - a viol shape and rectangular.

The term "symphony" also seems to have been applied to a crude form of the drum, for in Trevisa's translation of the De Proprietatibus Rerum, this passage occurs:

The Symphonie is an Instrument of Musyk: and is made of an holowe tree closyd in lether in eyther syde And Mynstralles betyth it wyth styckes And by accorde of hyghe and lowe thereof comyth full swete notes.⁽¹⁾

Gittern This instrument was characterised by a flat back and vertically incurving sides. It had four strings, usually of gut, passing over a bridge and terminating at a tail-piece, which was attached by a cord to a knob or button placed at the end of the instrument and often made most ornamental. As far as can be seen from drawings, the strings were vibrated with a plectrum. In some cases the sound-hole was in the centre; in others, there were small curved slits on either side of the bridge.

The most curious part of the gittern was the neck, which, with the finger-board, formed one piece with the body. The neck had an enormous depth, the thickness of the body of the instrument being extended to the peg-box and an oval-shaped hole pierced in it

(1) De Prop. Rerum, 1398, 19.137. 944.

just behind the finger-board, through which the player's thumb passed and stopped, when necessary, the fourth string.

The gittern was used to accompany singing - Haukyn, in Piers Plowman, says that he cannot like other minstrels, "singe with the giterne"⁽¹⁾. It was also used in ensembles, and in the Romances is particularly mentioned together with the psaltery and the harp.⁽²⁾

Lute Before 1400, this term was used normally with reference to a stringed instrument, plucked with a plectrum or the fingers and comprised of a flat table or belly and a vaulted, pear-shaped back made up of a number of narrow ribs glued together, the latter being often fluted, ribbed, or inlaid. The strings were of catgut and arranged in pairs tuned in unison; they ran from the pegs to a bar fixed to the lower part of the belly. Each string had its own name, the highest one being called the Catling. No bridge was used on the lute, and the strings were kept at the requisite distance from the finger-board and belly by the transverse bar to which they were fixed.

The head or peg-box was turned back in some cases almost at a right angle to the neck and finger-board. This curious device

(1) P. Plowman, C, xvi, 208.

(2) e.g. Thom. of Erceldoune, 258; Cleges, 101; Sq. low degree, 1070.

is said⁽¹⁾ to have been adopted in order that the strings might have a firmer bearing on the nut or bar over which they were stretched before passing on to the finger-board. It seems just as likely, however, that it was made for the performer's convenience, as, owing to the length of the neck, some forms of the lute were extremely awkward to hold.⁽²⁾

The lute sounded most effective both in small and large ensembles, since its dry, neutral tone provided the happiest contrast to the human voice, the wind and the bowed instruments.

A good lute trembles in the hand in response to sounds as slight as the speaking voice. Owing to this fragility, surviving instruments are far from common.

Citole This was a flat-backed instrument of the guitar class, shaped like a pear or oval, and usually marked by a crude figure-head on its narrow end. Its four wire strings were vibrated by means of a plectrum as well as with the fingers. In mechanical treatment the citole resembled the lute, the bar which held the strings being fastened to the belly, and serving at the same time the functions of a bridge, keeping the strings at a sufficient height to enable them to vibrate freely. The strings were arranged in pairs or "courses",

(1) J. Pulver, A Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments, 1923, under "Lute".

(2) F. Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, 1932, p. 41.

as in the lute, each pair being tuned in unison or octaves, in order to strengthen the weak tone of the instrument.

The shape and ornamentation of the citole varied a good deal, but it does not appear to have enjoyed much development, for with the rise of the lute and gittern it fell into disuse, leaving behind few traces of itself, and sculptures and drawings in manuscripts are the only sources of information we have concerning the instrument.

The citole was used to accompany the human voice - in The Squire of Low Degree, there is a reference to minstrels performing "with sytolphe and with sautry songe" (l. 1074), ie. song accompanied by these instruments.

Psaltery This consisted of a shallow, flat sound-box, which was triangular, rectangular, or (more usually) trapezoidal in shape, and over which as many as twenty-five metal or gut strings were stretched. The strings passed over two long bridges and were hitched to pins down one side and to tuning pegs down the other. There was no finger-board or neck as with the lute, nor was there any means of altering the pitch of the strings except by turning the tuning-pins. The strings were set in vibration by being plucked with the fingers or a plectrum. If triangular, the psaltery was played point downward

with the base of the triangle supported between the arms; if rectangular, in an upright position; and if trapezoidal, it was usually held in the lap of the seated performer with the longer horizontal side toward the body.

Allusions to the instrument in literature are fairly frequent. In the Romances it appears especially with the gittern and the citole⁽¹⁾, and it seems to have been/as an accompaniment /used to the voice.⁽²⁾

Dulcimer This was a variant of the psaltery, and was distinguished from the psaltery proper less by its construction than by the way in which it was played. Like the psaltery, it consisted of a shallow sound-box, trapezoidal in shape, over which wire strings stretched horizontally over two bridges. In the Middle Ages, the instrument was played with two small rods or hammers held in the player's hands. It had a range of approximately two octaves.

Rote This instrument belonged to the harp family, and consisted of a solid, triangular wooden frame with seven strings. Usually no plectrum was used, but the strings of sinew or metal were touched by the fingers of the left hand. There are no existing records

(1) e.g. Cleges, 102; Sq. of low degree, 1070; Lib. Desconus, 149; Thom. of Erceldoune, 258.

(2) Sq. of low degree, 1074 (See above, under "Citole")

concerning the tuning of the rote.

Harp The English harp was a triangular-shaped diatonic instrument consisting of a tripartite frame small enough to rest on the knee of the performer. The strings of twisted hair, gut, or wire, numbered from eight to eighteen, though the usual number was eleven or thirteen.

The three-membered construction consisted of the body or sound-chest, leaning back to the player's shoulder and covered by a tapering sound-board, down the centre-line of which the strings were knotted and pegged into their respective holes; the neck, holding the tuning pins and undulating in the "harmonic curve" by which the strings for each given note of the scale could show a length ratio approaching 1:2:4:8 through the different octaves of the diatonic compass; and the fore-pillar with its gentle outward curve, supporting the neck against the pull of the strings.

Medieval harps varied in size according to the degree of portability required, some having been very small, barely two feet high.

In Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde there is an allusion to the way in which the strings of the harp were plucked by the sharp, pointed nails of the performer:

For though the beste harpour upon lyve
Wolde on the beste sowned jolyharpe
That evere was, with alle his fyngres fyve,
Touche ay o streng, or ay o werbul harpe,
Were his nayles poynted nevere so sharpe,
It sholde maken every wight to dulle,
To here his glee, and of his strokes fulle.

The harp was extensively used to accompany the voice of
the harper as he sang lays, gests and songs. (1)

(2) Wind Instruments

Trumpet This term was generally applied to a wind-instrument with a long slender pipe, which was made of wood, horn, or metal, and which terminated in a fairly large, funnel-shaped bell.

In the later Middle Ages the instrument was made in two different sizes: the shorter became known as the clarion (see below), and the longer (the "Buzine") was the parent instrument. This consisted of various lengths of prepared tubing which were fitted together, and the joints of which were covered by a ferrule or ornamental band. In this way tubes of any length could be made, and instruments of up to six feet were produced.

Because of their length, trumpets were extremely awkward to carry. During the fourteenth century the tube was folded by means

(1) e.g. Kyng Horn, 1465 - 1475; Tristrem, A, LI, 1; H. Childe and M. Rimnild, 157; Cleges, 484; Octavian, 197; Kyng Alisaunder, 2839-40.

of a U-shaped elbow or "potence", thus securing unlimited length without loss of portability. But although this made them more portable, the trumpets were weak in construction.

In the Romances, trumpets are particularly used by minstrels to precede the courses of a meal into the hall.⁽¹⁾

Clarion This was the term applied to the shorter form of the trumpet. In the fourteenth century, the name was used probably with reference to a straight trumpet, which was about half the length of the trumpet proper.

Horn The distinguishing feature of this instrument was a tube gradually tapering outward from the mouthpiece to the opening rather than terminating in the flared bell of instruments of the trumpet class. The horn developed along similar lines to that of the trumpet; to prevent the long, unwieldy instrument from warping, the tube was curved back upon itself. The oldest representation of a medieval circular horn is of English origin. It is carved on a choir-stall dating from the end of the fourteenth century in Worcester Cathedral, and represents a man blowing a horn which is curved round his body.

Pipe This was a generic term for any wind instrument which consisted

(1) e.g. Richard C. de Lion, 155, 609, 3453, 4643; Ipomydon, 2253; H. Childe and M. Rinnild, 964; G. and Gn. Knight, 116; Amis and Amiloun, 1898.

of a tube or tubes made of reed, straw, wood, or metal, and which produced a musical sound when the player's breath, passing over a sharp edge or through a mouthpiece which may or may not have been provided with reeds, set an air column in motion.

The term was often used with reference to the tabor-pipe, a flageolet about twenty-four or thirty inches long, which was capable of producing a diatonic scale of one and a half octaves. It had three holes - two in front and one behind for the thumb - and was played with the left hand only, leaving the right hand free to beat the tabor or small drum. Thus the combination of pipe and tabor formed a one-man band in which "marked rhythm and cheerful melody were combined."⁽¹⁾

Pipes appear to have been popular in household ensembles, as pipers are frequently mentioned in the Black Prince's Register.

Flute This name was used for various instruments of the pipe class, especially in England for the recorder, an end-blown instrument with a whistle-like mouthpiece (see below). It was also used for the side-blown, or transverse flute, the keyless prototype of the modern flute, which had a simple cylindrical form and normally six finger-holes.

Recorder or Doucet This was a vertically blown wind instrument of the flageolet family, consisting essentially of a tubular column

(1) F. Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, 1932, p. 149.

pierced with seven finger holes with the lowest duplicated, and having a conical bore which tapered to a small opening at the end, but which looked externally like a plain wooden cylinder. It had a notch cut into the tube near the upper end, and a plug was inserted into the pipe at the notch which partly closed the former. The wind struck the lower edge of the notch and produced the whistle-like tone characteristic of the instrument. The recorder was made in several sizes of different pitch, usually those of Treble, Mean, and Bass.

Because of its soft tone the instrument acquired the French name Doucet or Flute Douce.

Shawm This instrument was a large, deep-toned pipe of the oboe class, consisting of a conically shaped tube pierced at intervals for tuning, a large expanding bell, and a mouthpiece containing double reeds of cane or young willow bark. Its finger holes produced a useful range of about ten notes. The lowest hole, operated by the little finger, was duplicated, appearing both on the right and the left of the instrument, as some performers held the shawm with the left hand below the right, and some with the right hand below the left, the unused hole being stopped with wax. In the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century, the shawm was made in a variety of pitches from treble to bass.

Bombard This was a modification of the shawm. In the late Middle Ages, the shawm was made in two sizes; a small, soprano instrument which was the shawm proper, and a larger, contralto instrument, made a fifth deeper, which was the Pommer or Bombard. In the shawm, the lowest hole was duplicated (see above). There was a similar contrivance in the bombard, where, because of the larger size and the consequent difficulty in reaching the deepest hole, this was sometimes covered with a key protected by a little barrel. This key was fitted with a double touch-piece, one side for the right hand, the other for the left.

The shawm and bombard were combined with instruments of the most contrasted character, their sharp, clear tone rendering them particularly suitable for use with trumpets⁽¹⁾ and percussion.

Bagpipe During the fourteenth century, this instrument consisted of a bag-like wind reservoir which allowed a constant stream of air, uninterrupted by the player's breathing, to flow through the pipes. The pipes were fed by arm pressure on the bag, which was inflated and replenished as necessary, either by the mouth or by bellows strapped to the body, through an inlet pipe fitted with a leather non-return valve. A tune was played on the chanter, or melody-pipe, which was

(1) e.g. Lib. Desconus, 1864.

in principle nothing but a sort of shawm with finger holes and double reed. A drone-pipe, with only a single reed, provided a continuous unchanging bass or "bourdon". The drone was usually tuned two octaves below the chanter's keynote.

Much of the vigour and charm of bagpiping depended upon the gracing techniques to which the piper, having no physical contact with the reeds, was obliged to resort in order to articulate a melody, repeat notes, and so on.

The French form of the instrument, with drones, was known as the "cornemuse", a word used in English literature in the fourteenth century.⁽¹⁾ A distinction was preserved between the French and the English forms of the instrument, as is shown by an entry under the year 1352 in the Black Prince's Register, where the bagpipe and cornemuse are mentioned together.

Portative Organ The small portable organ consisted essentially of a triangular feeder bellows and keyboard mounted on a frame, and had a compass about that of a treble voice. There were tremendous variations in the size of the portative. It could have anything from six to thirty pipes, and it is possible that the pipes were changed for the performance of different compositions. As a rule, the instrument was played at the waist of the performer, who would operate the bellows with his left hand while fingering the keyboard with his right. Because

(1) e.g. Chaucer, H. Fame, 1218.

of its keyboard mechanism the portative was easy to play, and this, coupled with its clear, mellow tone and technical efficiency contributed to its considerable popularity.

(3) Percussion Instruments

Tabour This was a small drum, consisting of a shallow cylinder covered with one skin, and usually provided with a snare. It was very often combined with the pipe, in which case it was beaten with a stick held in the right hand. It was hung on the left side of the player, either suspended from his left wrist, thumb, arm, or shoulder, or, if larger, hung from a belt. The drum enabled a solo musician to hold the attention of the listeners or dancers to a degree far exceeding that which it is possible with a simple pipe without accompaniment.

Naker The naker was type of kettledrum consisting, in various sizes, of a hemispherical body of metal or wood with skin stretched tightly over its open top. Nakers were usually played in pairs. They were made in various sizes: there were those which had a stretched skin barely larger than the palm of the hand, and which could be held in one hand, and beaten with the other, or which were fastened to a strap hung round the performer's neck or attached to his girdle, and there were also larger varieties which were placed on the ground or slung

across the back of a horse.

The full equipment of a performer on the nakers is described in John of Gaunt's Register, where, in 1381, there was a gift to a minstrel of "un pair de nakers ovesque deux colers et un ceyntoure et deux stykkes dargent faitz pur meismes les nakers."

Clokarde The clokarde was a set of hemispherical or tulip-shaped bells hung in series from a bar and struck with hammers in arithmetic order. It was usually played by a single performer, but sometimes by two.

Cymbals These were two concave plates of brass or bronze which emitted a metallic sound when struck together. Like most of the other percussion instruments of the Middle Ages, the cymbals were not employed to produce a shattering noise. On the contrary, the two plates were brought together vertically with no particular effort, producing a kind of ringing sound, fundamentally different from the sharp clash of the modern convention.

Generally, one must think of all the medieval instruments as being delicate, weak in tone, and averse to any developments in the direction of increased volume.

APPENDIX E.

Minstrels and heralds

A similarity existed and a connection is suspected between minstrels and heralds. This similarity has been observed by several scholars. Faral devotes an appendix to this subject in his book on minstrels. (1) He reaches no conclusion about the nature of the connection between them, stating that although heralds are clearly "parents des jongleurs" (2), yet "leurs relations précises avec les jongleurs.....restent à éclaircir" (3). Warton, in his History of English Poetry (4), notes the connection between heralds and minstrels on public occasions, and suggests that from the minstrels the heralds "acquired a facility of reciting adventures", but he adduces no evidence of this. E. K. Chambers (5) conceives the relation of the 'King of the Minstrels' to his fellows to have been much that of the 'Kings at Arms' to the ordinary heralds, and concludes that minstrels and heralds

(1) E. Faral, Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age, 1910.

(2) op.cit., p.270.

(3) op.cit., p.271.

(4) T. Warton, History of English Poetry, II, 1824, p.168

(5) E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, II, 1903, p.239.

"belonged to the same class of 'ministri'". Wagner (1) refers to the "close association of heralds and minstrels".

Although much of the evidence which has been used to prove a connection between heralds and minstrels is French (2), the present essay is concerned solely with English material of the fourteenth century. After an exhaustive search in relevant material, the following references indicating the connection in question have been collected. The references are not complete, but there are probably not many more, judging by the low proportion of such references in the amount of material already studied.

1. References to joint payments

(a) From account books

i to the heralds and minstrels at the jousts of Wyndesore, 100..

("Register of Edward the Black Prince", ed. H.C.B. Daves, H.M. Stationery Office, 1933, under an. 1358).

ii item as diverses heroudes minstralles officers nostre tres redoute seigneur et piere le Roy a Eltham et autres esquiers et vadlets de diverses seignurs et

(1) A.R. Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages, 1939
(2) See Wagner, op.cit., pp.27-31, 130-1; Faral, op.cit., pp. 270-1.

dames apportants a nous nouvelles douns de nostre
doun lxxv. li.

("John of Gaunt's Register", ed. S. Armitage Smith,
XXI, Camden Third Series, 1911, p.299).

iii Et a un pursuant darmes (1) le conte de Douglas,
et a un autre ministrall le soen le second jour de
Januaire a Leycestre, quarrante soldz.

Et as diverses heraudes esteantes en nostre
presence le jour del Ephiaphanie, de nostre doun cent
soldz; Et as diverses ministrallx nostre tresame frer de
Cantebrugg esteant ove nous meisme le jour cynk marcs.

("John of Gaunt's Register", ed. E.C. Lodge and R. Somverville,
LVI, Camden Third Series, 1937, p.180).

iv Et as diverses heraudes esteantz a Westmoustre le
jour del mariage susdit, de nostre doun vynt livres. Et
as diverses ministralles esteantes illeques meisme le jour
de nostre doun vynt marcs. Et as diverses heraudes
esteantz a Smethefeld le jour des joustes illeques de
nostre doun vynt marcs.

(ibid., p.230)

(1) Pursuivant - a junior heraldic officer attendant on the
heralds; also one attached to a particular nobleman, which
is the case here. (N.E.D. definition).

v. Et as diverses heroudes a Wyndesore le jour de Seint George de nostre doun dys livres. Et as diverses ministrals illeokes de nostre doun x. marcs.

Et as diverses heraudes esteantz ovesque nous a Hertford le jour de May le temps de noz joustes illeokes de nostre doun x. marcs. Et a diverses ministrals illeokes de nostre doun x. marcs.

Et as diverses heraudes esteantes a meismes les joustes, de nostre doun x. marcs. Et as diverses ministralles esteantz illeokes de nostre doun x. marcs.

(op. cit., LVII, P. 259)

vi. Haraldis, histrionibus et nunciis, ut patet per cedula, 30s. 4d.

("Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham", ed.

Fowler, Surtees Society, 1898, under an. 1377-8)

vii. Joh'i Harald, histrionibus, et nunciis d'nor Regis, Ducis, et aliorum d'nor 28s.

(ibid., an. 1378-9).

(b) From Literature

- i. Afftyr mete, þoo þey were glad,
Rychard gaff gyfftes, gret wones,
Gold, and syluyr, and precyouse stones;
To herawdes, and to dysours,
To tabourrers, and to trumpours
Hors and robes to bere his los;
Þorwz here cry his renoun ros,
Hou he was curteys and ffree.

(Richard Couer de Lion, ll. 3774 - 81)

2. References to joint appearances on public occasions

(a) From account books

see i,iii,iv,v, under 1(a) above.

(b) From literature

- i. The trompours, with the loude mynstralcie,
The heraudes, that ful loude yelle and crie,
Been in hire wele for joye of daun Arcite.

(Chaucer, Knight's Tale, ll. 2671 - 3)

- ii. Trumpys blewe, herowdes gred,
And alle oþer off hym dred,
To jouste wiþ him efft wiþ launse

(Richard Couer de Lion, ll. 481 - 3)

- iii. Tabors and trompours,
Heraudes and gode disours
Har strokes gone descrie.

(Libeaus Desconus, ll. 982 - 4)

- iv. Thenne mette these men er mynstrales myghte pipe,
And er heraudes of armes hadden discruied lordes.

(Langland, Piers Plowman, C,xxiii, ll. 93 - 4)

A further proof of the connection between heralds and minstrels is the Life of the Black Prince, a poem which is "of undoubted heraldic authorship"⁽¹⁾. It was written in French by the domestic herald of Sir John Chandos, who was a friend and follower of the Black Prince. The poem is an original and, apart from a

(1) A. R. Wagner, op. cit., p. 29.

defective chronology, apparently a trustworthy work. It is written in a straightforward and businesslike manner, without poetical exaggeration or flights of imagination.

There are several indications of the poem's authenticity. Parts of it, particularly the account of the Spanish Campaign, were probably written up from the notes which the herald took at the time, as he claims to have been an eye-witness of these events:

Ore est bien temps de comencer
Ma matier et moy adresser
Au purpos ou ie voille venir
A ce qe ie vys a venir
Après la bataille en Britanie

(ll. 1649 - 53)

This poem indicates a connection between minstrels and heralds in two ways. Firstly, although it is the only poem known to have been written by an English herald, it proves that the heralds to some extent shared the literary ability of the minstrels.

Secondly, the Chandos Herald mentions minstrels at the beginning of the poem. He does so, however, only to disclaim the desire to imitate them and their practices, and he condemns them out of hand:

Ci ne serai plus arestans;
Car combien que hom n'en face compte
Et que hom tiendroit plus grant acompte

D'un janglour ou d'un faux menteur,
D'un jogelour ou d'un bourdeur,
Qui voudroit faire une grimache
Ou contreferoit le lymache,
Dount hom purroit faire risee,
Que hom ne feroit sans demoree
D'un autre qui sauroit bien dire;
Car cils ne sount, saunz contredire,
Mie bien venuz a la court
En le monde qui ore court.

(11. 14 - 26)

As the Chandos Herald finds it necessary to disclaim any emulation of the minstrels, this passage indicates that there must have been a general recognition of some link between them. It suggests that the connection between them at this time was that of rivalry.

The above evidence points to a connection between minstrels and heralds. However, because of the paucity of references to it, it was probably not a very considerable connection. It consisted largely in the sharing of joint duties at tournaments and other public occasions. This joint appearance and their usually identical payment at public festivals indicates that heralds and minstrels were regarded as belonging to the same social class. They also shared an interest in literary activities, as it seems reasonable to assume that the Chandos Herald was not alone in writing poetry. There is no proof, however, that heralds performed what they wrote. By the

fourteenth century, to judge by the internal evidence of the Chandos Herald's poem, collegueship between heralds and minstrels had turned to rivalry.

INDEX TO APPENDIX F.

Within each romance, the references are listed under the following sections, which have been thought by some scholars to be criteria of minstrel (or at least oral) delivery; (see pp.79-83.)

1. Prologue, containing distinct sections, e.g. prayer for the listeners, request for attention, announcement of the subject, etc.
2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.
3. Transitions.
4. Requests for silence and addresses to the audience.
5. Rhetorical device - Occupatio.
6. Diction - verbal clichés and tags. In the Appendix the tags which are used for the purposes of providing a rhyme are marked by ✕.
7. Pious explicit.
8. References to minstrels, often complimentary, and thus suggesting oral delivery by minstrels.

In order to facilitate usage of this Appendix, the above sections retain their own numbers throughout, although not all of them are represented in every romance.

þ and *z* have, as a matter of practicality, been transcribed throughout.

Page references

Amis and Amiloun.....	173
Sir Beues of Hamtoun.....	181
Sir Cleges.....	191
Sir Degaré.....	194
Sir Eglamour of Artois.....	197
Guy of Warwick.....	202
Sir Isumbras.....	219
Kyng Alisaunder.....	222
Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild.....	238
The lyfe of Ipomydon.....	241
King Horn.....	248
King of Tars.....	250
Libeaus Desconus.....	255
Octavian.....	262
Sir Perceval of Galles.....	266
Richard Coeur de Lion.....	269
The Squire of Low Degree.....	285
The Seven Sages of Rome.....	287
Thomas of Erceldoune.....	290
Sir Tristrem.....	294

APPENDIX F.

Fourteenth-century Metrical Romances; passages indicating techniques relating to oral delivery.

Amis and Amiloun.

1. Prologue.

1. For goddes loue in trinyte
Al that ben hend herkenith to me,
I pray yow, par amoure,

)
) Request for
) attention.

What sum-tyme fel beyond the see
[Of] two barons of grete bounte
And men of grete honoure;
Her faders were barons hende,
Lordinges com of grete kynde,
And pris men in toun and tour;
To here of these children two
How they were in wele and woo
Ywys it is grete doloure.

)
)
)
)
) Facts re. the
) story to whet
) curiosity.

In weele and woo how they gan wynd
& how vnkouth they were of kynd,
The children bold of chere,
And how they were good & hend
And how yong thei becom frend
In cort there they were,
And how they were made knyght
And how they were trouth plyght,
The children both in fere,
And in what lond thei were born
And what the childres name worn
Herkeneth and ye mow here.

2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.

- 25. y vnderstond
- 61. y vnderstond
- 205. ich vnderstond
- 1705.ich vnderstond
- 42. For soth with-out leasyng
- 90. I tel yow for soothe
- 27. In romance as we reede
- 2448.In romaunce as we rede
- 2449.But thus, in romaunce as y yow say
- 144. In gest as so we rede
- 157. Thus in geste as ye may here
- 409. as we tel in gest
- 1501.Al thus, in gest as we sain
- 1536.In gest as it is told
- 1546.In gest to rede
- 1729.Thus in gest rede we
- 1917.In gest as ye may here
- 2185.& thus in gest as we say
- 2196.In gest as we finde
- 2355.In gest as ye may here
- 441. Trewely to telle in tale
- 447. In boke as so we rede
- 70. as y yow saye
- 89. y yow plyght
- 100. as me was told
- 202. with-outen les

3. Transitions.

337. Lete we sir Amiloun stille be
With his wiif in his cuntre-
God leue hem wele to fare-
& of sir Amis telle we;

4. Requests for silence & addresses to the audience.

99. As ye may listen & lithe
429. As ye may lithe at me
471. As ye may listen & lithe
1240. as ye may list & lithe
1881. as ye may listen at me
2416. As ye mow listen and lyth
187. as ye may here
1352. as ye may here
280. Hende, herkeneth!
517. Now, hende, herkeneth, & ye may here
1189. Now, hende, herkeneth, & y schal say
901. as y you say
1423. as y you say
1645. as y you say
1849. as y you say
1863. As ye may vnderstond
1923. As ye may vnderstond
2403. As ye mow vnderstonde
37. The children-is names, as y yow hyght,
In ryme y wol rekene ryght
And tel in my talkyng;
484. As y you tel in my talking
1826. as y you told
1839. As y you tel may
1886. with tong as y you tel may

1967. Herdestow neuer in no lond

Telle of so foule a thing.

2484. As ye haue herd echoun.

6. Diction.

11. in wele and woo *

13. In weele and woo

148-9. That bothe bi day & bi night,

In wele & wo, in wrong & right

155. for wele no wo *

235. wer & wo *

296. for wele ne wo *

372. Nouthur for wele no wo *

1469. for wele no wo *

30. That worthy were in wede *

138. worthliest in wede *

443. worthliest in ich a wede *

453. worthliest in wede *

467. worthliest in eueri wede *

1430. worthli in wede *

60. So faire of boon and blood *

142. of blod & bon *

344. bothe bon & blod *

1420. of blod & bon *

63. Prys in toun and toure *

174. Bothe in tour & toun *

1538. tour & toun *

66. ladies bryght in boure *

334. bright in bour *

430. bright in bour *

465. Noither in toun no tour *

560. bird in bour so bright *
578. bird in bour bright *
1518. leuedis bright in bour *
81. hyde and hew and here *
82. with-out lesse *
502. with-uten les *
649. with-uten lesing *
685. withouten les *
727. with-uten les *
1590. with-uten ani lesing *
1903. with-uten les *
2061. with-uten lesing *
2192. with-uten lesing *
2245. with-uten lesing *
2255. with-uten les *
2350. with-uten lesing *
120. proude in pride *
168. As priⁿces prout in pride *
417. proude in pride *
495. As prince prout in pride *
687. As princes that were proude in pres *
1380. As prince proude in pride *
1458. As prince proude in pride *
1793. proude in pride *
1890. As lord & prince with pride *
267. with-uten delay *
318. With-uten more duelling *
387. with-uten delay *
496. with-uten dueling *
673. with-uten duelling *
1146. With-uten more delay *

1242. With-uten more delay *
1818. With-uten ani duelling *
1959. With-uten more duelling *
2127. With-uten more delay *
2295. with-uten delay *
2452. with-out delay *
208. with nithe & ond *
347. with nithe & ond *
141. Noither in word no in dede *
294. Bothe in word & dede *
364. in word & dede *
442. douhtiest in eueri dede *
456. doughtiest of dede *
466. douhtiest in dede *
766. in word & dede *
2439. That doughty were of dede *
416. lasse & mare *
1156. Litel & michel, lasse & mare *
1370. Litel & michel, lasse & mare *
1964. Litel & michel, lasse & mare *
2028. lesse no mare *
2260. Litel & michel, lasse & mare *
383. bi night no day *
478. night no day *
482. Bothe bi night & day *
573. Bothe bi night & day *
580. bothe bi day & bi night *
763. Bothe bi night & day *
904. night & day *
978. Bothe night & day *
1192. night & day *

1556.bothe night & day *
1750.bothe night & day *
1850.bothe night & day *
2042.bi night no day *
2189.night or day *
2443.both nyght and day *
435. mani & fale *
189. hend and fre *
327. hende & fre *
423. hende & fre *
531. hende & fre *
563. bothe fre & hende *
740. hende & fre *
997. hende & fre *
1261.hende & fre *
1531.hende & fre *
1542.hende & fre *
1830.hende & fre *
1875.hende & fre *
2235.hende & fre *
680. glad & blithe *
683. blithe & glad
547. glad & blithe *
1237.glad & blithe *
1402.glad & blithe *
1438.glad & blithe *
1783.glad & blithe *
2470.Glad and blyth
490. with-uten wrong *
919. with-uten wrong *
1837.with-uten wrong *

838. with-uten fail *
862. With-uten fail *
943. with-uten faile *
1099. with-uten faile *
1195. with-uten fail *
1318. with-uten faile *
1200. With sorwe & sikeing sare *
1671. With sorwe & sikeing sare *
1220. with spere & scheld *
1243. brini bright *

7. Pious explicit.

2506. And for her trewth and her godhede
The blisse of heuyn they haue to mede,
That lasteth euer moo.

Amen.

8. References to minstrels.

103. A feast:

Ther was mirthe & melodye
& al maner of menstracie
Her craftes for to kithe;

1897. In kinges court, as it is lawe,
Trumpes in halle to mete gan blawe,
To benche went tho bold.

Sir Beues of Hamtoun.

1. Prologue.

1. Lordinges, herkneth to me tale!)	Request for attention.
Is merier than the nightingale,)	
That y schel singe;)	
Of a knight ich wile yow rounne,)	Announcement of subject.
Beues a highte of Hamtounne,)	
With outen lesing.)	
Ich wile yow tellen al to gadre)	
Of that knight and of is fadre,)	Facts re. story to whet curiosity.
Sire Gii:)	
Of Hamtoun he was sire)	
And of al that ilche schire,)	
To wardi.)	
Lordinges, this, of whan y telle,)	
Neuer man of flesch ne felle)	
Nas so strong,)	
And so he was in ech striue,)	
And euer he leuede with outen wiue,)	
Al to late and long.)	

2. Assertions of truth & references to sources.

844. seith the bok
1546.so saith the bok
2468.saith the bok
3899.so saith the bok
3911.so saith the tale
4589.so saith the bok
888. So hit is fonde in frensche tale
1566.Ase hit is fonde in frensche tale

1782. So hit is in Frensch y-founde
3643. the Frensch seth
4486. So the frensche bok vs seth
1537. The romounce telleth
978. y yow swere!
982. So seiden alle that hit isai
2806. ich vnderstonde

3. Transitions.

295. Now scholle we of him mone,
Of Beues, that was Guis sone,
How wo him was:
1263. Terne we agen, thar we wer er,
& speke we of is em Saber!
1345. Let we now ben is em Saber
& speke of Beues, the maseger!
1431. Now is Beues at this petes grounde
God bringe him vp hol and sonde!
Now speke we of Iosian, the maide,
That cam to hire fader & saide:
1708-9. Now reste we her a lite wight,
& speke we scholle of Brademond.
3117. Lete we Sire Beues thanne
& speke of Iosiane
3615. Now lete we be this Ascopard
& speke of Beues, that rit forthward.
3709. Now lete we be of this leuedi
And speke of Beues & of Terri.
4005. Now let we be of king Yuore
And speke we of Ermin the hore.

4039. Now sire Beues let we gan

And to sire Saber wile we tan.

4105. Now mowe ye here forthormore

Ful strong bataile of king Yuore;

Ac er than we be-ginne fighte,

Ful vs the koppe anon righte!

4323. Let we now Beues be,

& of the stiward telle we

4. Requests for silence & addresses to the audience.

737. His other prowesse who wile lere,

Hende, herkneth, and ye mai here!

848. Herkneth now a ferli cas

1068. Ase ye may now forthward here

1527. A wonder-thing now ye may here

1792. Herkneth now a wonder-cas!

2423. Strenger bataile ne strenger fyght

Herde ye neuer of no knyght

Byfore this in romaunce telle,

Than B. had of beestes felle.

Al that herkeneth word and ende,

To heuyn mot her sowles wende.

2679. Ye, that wile a stounde dwelle,

Of his stringethe i mai yow telle.

2803. Lordinges, herkneth to me now

2775. also i yow sai

3591. as ye mai se

4436. ye that wile here, herkneth to me!

4491. And after-ward, ase ye mai hure

5. Rhetorical device - Occupatio.

1539. Snakes and euetes & oades fale,
How mani, can i nought telle in tale
1901. And delde strokes mani & fale;
The nombre can i nought telle in tale.
2147. What helpeth hit, to make fable?
2253. Dukes & erles, barouns how fale,
I can nought telle the righte tale.
3479. Though ich discriue nought the bredale,
Ye mai wel wite, hit was riale.
3557. What helpeth for to make fable?
1483. Of that feste nel ich namor telle,
For to highe with our spelle.
4563. Ye witeth wel, though i ne telle yow,
The feste was riale inow

6. Diction.

6. with outen lesing *
2022. with outen lesing *
2396. with out lesyng *
2715. with outen lesing *
3816. with outen les *
14. flesche ne felle *
312. Flesch and fel *
2700. of flesch ne bon
27. faire and bright *
62. werre & fight *
64. dai and night *
1054. night ne dai *
1815. In a dai and in a night *

2308. Al a day and al a nyght *
65. with al is might *
914. with al hire might *
1022. with mighte & mayn *
1719. with might & main *
2929. with al me might *
3437. with might and main *
3444. with might and maine *
4097. with alle here might *
4392. with al her mightes *
4460. with alle her might *
70. Anon right
121. anon right *
274. Anon right
673. anon rightes *
969. anon righte *
1026. anon righte *
1057. anon righte *
1411. anon right *
1597. Anon rightes
1680. anon right *
2480. anon righte *
2542. anon righte *
2915. anon right *
3007. anon right *
3065. anon right *
3171. anon right *
3258. Anon rightes
3301. anon righte *
3540. anon righte *
3611. anon rightes *

3668.anon right *
3858.anon right *
3979.anon righte *
4140.anon righte *
4292.anon rightes *
4365.anon rightes *
77. gold and fe *
2312.Both of siluer and of golde *
2616.Naither for seluer ne for golde *
105. with outen delai *
3705.with outen dwelling *
4585.with oute dwelling *
118. par amur *
123. Be me swere! *
193. be godes grace *
225. So god me amende! *
412. be godes grace! *
435. Be godes wille! *
659. Be Mahoun ne be Tervagaunt *
1037.be sein Martyn! *
1052.so god me spede *
1118.Mahoun the yeue tene and wrake! *
1124.Mahoun the yeue tene & care! *
1886.with outen grith *
1890.so god me spede *
1895.Be god, i swere the an oth *
2191.Be godes name *
126. with outen demere *
602. with outen doul *
1037.with outen eni wordes mo *
2657.with outen ensoine *

- 2891.with outen ensoine *
3011.with outen aneighe *
3435.with oute soiur *
3510.with oute sake *
4048.with outen let *
4316.with outen oth *
453. More and lasse *
499. mor or lesse *
1481.lest & meste *
1715.lasse & more *
2284.lasse & more *
3160.lasse & more *
3173.leste & meste *
3584.lasse and more *
4243.lasse & more *
4252.lasse ne more *
529. glad & blithe *
2497.glad & blithe *
3450.gret solas, gle, and game *
3471.glad and blithe *
511. The childes hertte was wel colde *
553. The kinges hertte wex wel cold *
1265.After that Beues was thus sold,
For him is hertte was euer cold
707. gent and fre *
709.bothe moth & chin *
717. bothe hol & fere *
734. bothe hol and sonde *
1152.Bothe loude and eke stille *
1432.hol and sonde *
2143.bothe fer & ner *
3952.hol and sonde *
1269.fer and ner *

1655.fer & ner *
4259.fer & ner *
807. saunfaile *
919. with ouden faile *
1559.with ouden faile *
1672.with oute fable *
2027.with oute fable *
2219.with ouden fable *
2445.with out faile *
2481.saun faile *
2617.saundoute *
2670.saunfaile *
2810.saundoute *
2871.with ouden faile *
2899.with ouden faile *
4134.with ouden faile *
4235.with ouden faile *
4488.with ouden faile *
4493.with ouden faile *
4527.with ouden faile *
1403.& cride, also he hadde be wod *
1706.He lep to hors ase he wer mad *
1772.He faught ase he wer wode
1916.Out of is wit he wex negh wod
2843.That seide Beues, thar a stod,
And leide on, ase he wer wod
2869.That herde the dragoun, ther a stod,
And flegh awei,^{ase} he wer wod.
3799.Thai leide on as hii were wode *
4210.He faught, ase he wer wod
1773.that tide *
1031.in that tide *

3971.in that tide *
4191.in that tide *
4211.in that tide *
4371.that tide *
4400.that tide *
1163.in sorwe & care *
2272.sorwe & care *
1901.mani & fale *
1994.mani & fele *
2214.mani and fale *
3675.mani & fale *
3983.mani & fale *
4401.mani & fale *
2325.verament *
3765.veraiment *
3889.veraiment *
3977.veraiment *
4331.veraiment *
4505.veraiment *
4531.veraiment *
1829.rod ouer dale & doun *
3755.Ouer dale and ouer doun *
2725.so mot I the *
4231.so mot y then *
4285.so mot y the *
3402.in that stounde *
3433.in that stounde *
3649.in that stounde *
4193.in that stounde *
4593.in a lite stounde *
4398.with in a lite throwe *
4405.in that stounde *

4443. in a lite thrawe *
2243. His berd was yelw, to is brest wax,
And to his gerdel heng is fax.
849. grith & pes *
890. euerich del *
976. stout and gay *
1301. yong or olde *
4020. Yong and elde, lewed and lered *
1964. Of is wele and of is wo *

7. Pious explicit.

4619. Thus endeth Beues of Hamtoun:
God yeue vs alle is benesoun!
Amen.

8. References to minstrels.

3905. While Iosian was in Ermonie,
She hadde lerned of minstralcie,
Vpon a fithetele for to play
Staumpes, notes, garibles gay;
Tho she kouthe no beter red,
Boute in to the bourgh anon she yed
And boughte a fithetele, so saith the tale,
For fourti panes, of one menstrale;

Sir Cleges.

1. Prologue.

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. | Will ye lystyn, and ye schyll here | } | Request for
attention and
announcement of
subject. |
| | Of eldyrs that before vs were, | | |
| | Bothe hardy and wyght, | | |
| | In the tyme of kynge Vtere, | } | Beginning of story. |
| | That was ffadyr of kynge Arthyr, | | |
| | A semely man in sight. | | |

2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.

42. Forsoth, as i you saye.
67. the soth to say
157. the soth to saye
248. so seyth the boke
258. the soth to saye

6. Diction.

6. A semely man in sight. *
27. And mery sche was on sighte *
18. both gold and fee *
437. gold or fee *
30. both day and nyghte *
44. wythoutton doughtt *
273. without dowght *
140. glade and blyth *
397. mery and glade *
188. in that tyde *
237. werament *
486. werament *
291. wythout more lettyng *
459. wythout any lett *

316. without lesyng *
366. lesse ar more *
413. old and yonge, most and lest *
517. both old and yenge *
347. be my threfte *
466. be my threft *
478. be my threfte *
384. wythout any faylynge *
390. wythout any fayle *
388. bryght and schene *
504. stronge in stowre *
402. wythout any skorn *
447. without any more *
436. so mott i thee *
538. so mott i thee *
418. lond our lede *
424. londe or lede *
499. be myn hede *
532. soo haue i blysse *

8. References to minstrels.

46. Mynsstrellis wold not be behynde,
For there they myght most myrthis fynd;
There wold they be aye.
49. Mynsstrellys, whan the ffest was don,
Wythoutton yeftis schuld not gon,
And that bothe rech and good:
Hors, robis, and rech ryngis,
Gold, siluer, and othyr thyngis,
To mend wyth her modde.
97. And as he walkyd vpp and down
Sore syghthyng, he hard a sovne

Of trompus, pypus, and claraneris,
Of harpis, luttis, and getarnys,
 A sitole and sawtré,
Many carellys and gret davnsyng;
On euery syde he harde syngyng,
 In euery place, trewly.

484. An harpor sange a gest be mouth
 Of a knyght there be sowth

496. Harper speaks:
 We mynstrellys mysse hym sekyrly

Sir Degaré.

1. Prologue.

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Knichtus that werey sometme in lande |) | Announcement
of subject. |
| | Ferli fele wolde fonde, |) | |
| | And sechen auentures bi night and dai, |) | |
| | Hou yhe mighte here strengthe asai; |) | |
| | So dede a knyght, Sire Degarree: |) | Address to
audience. |
| | Ich wille you telle wat man was he. |) | |

2. Assertions of truth & references to sources.

517. For sothe i seie, withoute lesing

6. Diction.

3. bi night and dai *
712. Night ne dai
11. verraiment *
431. verraiment *
609. verraiment *
961. verraiment *
16. of bon and blod *
556. of bodi and bones *
100. with scheld and spere *
106. wel or wo *
112. gent and fre *
284. so feir and so fre *
769. gent and fre *
153. glad an blithe *
605. glad and blithe *

696. par charité *
366. par charité *
301. par charité *
202. Par charité
159. par charité *
744. par charité *
972. par charité *
699. bi Heuene-kyng *
692. But thanked be Ihesu, Heuene-kyng *
651. bi Heuene-kyng *
321. bi Heuene-kyng *
986. Ihesu, Heuene-king *
1073. bi Heuene-kyng *
166. be sti and strete *
260. into that cité *
270. into that cité *
427. Erles and barouns of renoun,
That come fram a cité toun
499. Stoutliche out of the cité toun,
With mani a lord of gret renoun
871. tour and toun *
291. withouten les *
1052. witouten les *
1008. withouten fail *
1016. saun fail *
436. fer and ner *
570. nother far ne ner *
877. fer and ner *
555. for the nones *
1014. for the nones *
323. bothe gret and grim *

341. stout and fers *
394. yonge and olde *
503. Seide that hi neuer yit seghe
 So pert a man with here eghe
551. Seiden hi ne seghe neuer with eghe *
616. neither more ne min *
698. swithe and yerne *
760. stark an store *
963. eueri del *
779. Stock description: cf. Libeaus Desconus, 133-144; Beues
of Hamtoun, 2243-4.

Sone thereafter with-alle
Ther com a dwerv into the halle.
Four fet of lengthe was in him;
His visage was stout and grim;
Bothe his berd and his fax
Was crisp an yhalew as wax;
Grete sscholdres and quarré;
Right stoutliche loked he;
Mochele were hise fet and honde
Ase the meste man of the londe;
He was iclothed wel aright,
His sschon icouped as a knight;
He hadde on a sorcot ouert,
Iforred with blaundeuer apert.

7. Pious explicit.

Fragment.

Sir Eglamour of Artois.

1. Prologue.

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|---------------------|
| 1. | Jhesu Lorde oure hevyn kyng, |) | |
| | Graunt us alle thy dere blessynge, |) | Prayer |
| | And bylde us in thy bowre! |) | |
| | And yf ye ony yoye wylle here |) | Announcement of |
| | Of them that beforne us were, |) | subject |
| | That leved in grete honowre, |) | |
| | Y schalle telle yow of a knyght, |) | Facts re. the story |
| | That was bothe hardy and wyght, |) | to whet curiosity |
| | And stronge in eche a stowre; |) | |
| | Of dedes of armys there ye may here, |) | |
| | He wynnith the gree with yurney clere, |) | |
| | And in the fylde the flowre. |) | |

2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.

- 41. y undurstonde
- 280. y undurstonde
- 361. y undurstonde
- 835. y undurstonde
- 964. y undurstonde
- 1008.as y undurstonde
- 285. wythowtyn any lesynge
- 1035.withowt lesynge
- 328. os y say
- 466. as y yow say
- 737. for sothe to say
- 1150.y wot
- 408. The boke of Rome thus can telle.
- 886. As the boke of Rome says
- 1339.In Rome thys geste cronyculd ys

559. With the grace of God, or hyt were nyght
The yeant had hys fulle of fyght,
The boke seythe some dele more!
848. A gryffon seythe the boke he hyght
That wroght the lady woo.
1137. Thus harde y a clerke rede.

3. Transitions.

343. Make we mery, so have we blys,
Thys ys the furste fytt of thys
That we have undurtane.
634. Thys ys the seconde fytt of thys,
Make we mery, so have we blys,
For ferre have we to rede.
904. Make we mery for Goddys est,
Thys ys the thrydd fytt of owre geste,
That dar y take an hande.
877. Kepe we thys chylde of mekyllle honowre,
And speke we of hys modur whyte as flowre,
What weyes oure Lord hath hur lente.
949. Kepe we thys lady whyte as flowre,
And speke we of syr Egyelamowre,
Now comyth to hym care y-nogh.

4. Requests for silence and addresses to the audience.

15. Lystenyth, y schalle yow say
335. os y yow say
718. as y yow say
39. Lystenyth, y schalle yow telle.

247. os y yow telle
670. as y yow telle
709. as y yow telle
200. A wrath felle, as ye may here,
 Anone betwene them twoo
1012.as ye may here
1076.as ye may here
1027.Lystenyth, lordyngys, leve and dere,
 What armys that thys chylde bere,
 And ye wylle undurstonde.
1184.Now soche armes beryth he,
 Lystenyth, y wylle yow dyscrye.

6. Diction.

8. bothe hardy and wyght *
18. nyght nor daye *
34. bothe day and nyght *
692. bothe nyght and day *
705. be nyght nor be day *
21. evyr and aye *
26. as whyte as fome *
683. as whyte as fome *
139. whyte as flowre *
145. whyte as lely flowre *
184. as whyte as flowre *
878. whyte as flowre *
893. that lady whyte as flowre *
949. whyte as flowre *
1229.a lady whyte as flowre *
711. as fayre as floure in felde *
801. as whyte as whallys boon *
1083.as whyte as bone of whalle *
1293.as whyte os swan *

33. that lady bryght of blee *
219. sche ys so bryght of blee *
29. a feyre thyng of flesche and felle *
914. A fayrer thyng say y never none,
That ever was made of flesche and bone *
54. bothe est and weste *
213. ferre or nere *
227. ferre and nere *
479. ferre and wyde *
61. so muste y the *
151. so mote y thee *
193. as mote y the *
208. so mote y the *
229. as mote y thee *
430. so mote y thee *
457. so mote y thee *
523. so mote y thee *
661. so mote y the *
1071. as mote y thryue or the *
1222. so mote y the *
162. be the rode! *
168. be the rode! *
565. be the rode *
862. be the rode *
1049. be the rode *
1166. be the rode *
178. anon-ryght *
539. anon-ryght *
210. leve and dere *
268. of yron nor stele *
318. in that tyde *
868. at that tyde *
975. in that tyde *
359. upon the morowe, when hyt was day *

1313. tylle on the morowe that hyt was day *
383. as he were wode *
534. as he were wode *
727. hyt was no wondur thoghe he were wrothe *
828. they weptyn as they were wode *
460. permafay *
55. permafay *
628. permafay *
1157. permafay *
688. for sorow and care *
874. bothe glad and blythe *
952. hole and sounde *
1130. withowt nay *

7. Pious explicit.

1340. Jhesu brynge us to that blys,
That lastyth withowten ende! Amen.

8. References to minstrels.

1096. Grete lordys were at the assent;
Waytys blewe, to mete they wente
Wyth a fulle ryalle chere.

1327. At a wedding:
The mynstrels that were of ferre londe,
They had mony robys, y undurstonde,
And mony a ryche gyfte.

1336. At a wedding:
Mynstrels that there were in that stounde,
Ther gyftys were worthe iij.c. ponde,
The bettur myght they spende.

Guy of Warwick.

1. Prologue.

lls. 1 - 18 contain no oral techniques; they state the moral improvement to be gained from hearing about good men.

19. Of an Erle y wyll yow telle	}	Facts re. story to whet curiosity.
(Of a better may no man spelle)		
And of hys stewarde bryght of hewe,		
That was bothe gode and trewe,		
And of hys sone, that good squyere,		
Whyll he was hole and fere,		
And howe he louyd a may ynge,		
The Erllys doghtur, a swete thyng.)	

2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.

653. No clerke can on boke rede
 To telle the doghtynes of ther dede

1802. For sothe wythowten fayle

2125. for sothe y say

2320. as y the sothe telle may

2358. Certenly, as y yow telle

2956. the sothe to say

8073. Hyt was in somer, the wedur was hote:
 The story so tellyth, wele y wote.
 On the morne aftur mydsomyr day,
 As we in boke telle yow may

8746. As we fynde in storrye (cf. under 3. below)

10788. As y fynde in parchement spelle

3. Transitions.

81. Who so schulde the fayrenes telle,
All to longe schulde he dwelle.
Now of the stewarde speke we then,
For he was comyn of ryche kynne.

4587. Now wyll we leue of syr Gye
And of the maydyn speke in hye,
On what maner sche was gane
And owt of the forest tane.
Of Gyes felows wyll we telle
In the foreste, as we spelle.

4617. Now go we to a nodur matere
And speke we, there as we were ere,
How that Gye wyth Syr Tyrrye
To the hawthorne faste dud hye.

5103. Now turne we ageyne to syr Gye
And to the bolde erle Tyrrye.

5652. Of Gye to speke ys my redde,
That god had sauyd fro the dedde.

6070. Speke we now of dewke Oton
And of the knyght, syr Gyown.

8397. Off the lady now wyll y telle,
Of Gyes wyfe, and nothyng dwelle.

8745. Now wyll we speke of syr Gye,
As we fynde in storye

4. Requests for silence & addresses to the audience.

53. Lysten to me: telle y wyll
Of hur bewte; for that ys skylle.

144. As y yow telle may
2359.as y yow telle
6084.as y yow telle
1268.As ye schall here aftur of me
1370.As ye haue herde me before sey
8147.Togedur they streke, as ye may herke
8422.as ye harde yerre
9310.As ye may afturwarde here
10554.Now herkenyth, what on hym bycame
10749.Now, lordyngys, lystenyth of the noyse
 Of gode syr Tyrrye of Gormoyse
10787.Lystenyth now, y schalle yow telle,
 As y fynde in parchement spelle
11703.They then wente forthe ther way
 But a whyle, as y yow say.
5859.For seynt Thomas loue of Cawnturberye,
 Fylle the cuppe and make vs mery.
6687.Also so god geue yow reste,
 Fylle the cuppe of the beste.
7117.For the gode, that god made,
 Fylle the cuppe and make vs glade.
7549.But therof be, as be may,
 Let vs be mery, y yow pray.

5. Rhetorical device - Occupatio.

- 11413.The nobull array of that ylke halle
 Y haue no tyme to telle yow all;
 For, yf y schulde hyt yow telle,
 All to longe y schulde here dwelle.

6. Diction.

21. bryght of hewe *
121. bryght of hewe *
131. bryght of face *
2674. bryght in bowre *
5372. Hys doghtur bryght in bowre *
31. wythowten otheys *
108. wythowten foune *
274. wythowten mynde *
346. wythowtyn stryfe *
491. wythowten ore *
3054. wythowten nay *
3254. wythowt fabule *
3273. wythowte feyne *
4067. wythowten more *
5439. wythowte more *
8174. wythowten more *
9239. wythowten more *
9420. wythowten more *
9634. wythowten othe *
10504. wythowten noo *
11102. wythowte dredys *
11583. wythowten mare *
175. wythowten lett *
719. Wythowtyn more
1009. wythowte lettynge *
1664. wythowte any more lett *
2907. wythowte lettynge *
4394. wythowten lett *
6350. wythowten lett *
6742. wythowte lettynge *

8015.wythrowte lettynge *
10132.wythrowten lett *
10902.wythrowten lett *
11698.wythrowte lettynge *
550. wythowt lesynge *
558. wythout lesynge *
738. wythowt lesynge *
2582.wythrowte lesynge *
2908.wythrowte lesynge *
3186.wythrowte lesynge *
3316.wythowt lesynge *
3807.wythrowte lese *
4320.wythrowte lesynge *
5282.wythrowte any lesynge *
6971.wythrowte lesynge *
7792.wythrowte lesynge *
10352.wythrowte lesynge *
10695.wythrowten lees *
10751.wythrowten lees *
11464.wythrowte lesynge *
11570.wythrowte lettynge *
465. sauns fayle *
593. wythrowten fayle *
1190.wythrowten fayle *
1421.sawns fayle *
1630.wythrowten fayle *
1671.sawns fayle *
1708.sawns fayle *
1720.wythrowte fayle *
1783.wythrowte fayle *
1802.wythrowten fayle *

1829.sawns fayle *
2097.sawnce fayle *
2221.wythrowten fayle *
2313.wythrowten fayle *
2485.wythrowten fayle *
3420.sawns fayle *
3360.wythrowten fayle *
3558.wythrowte fayle *
4736.wythrowte fayle *
4930.wythrowten fayle *
5200.sawns fayle *
5206.wythrowte fayle *
6159.wythrowte fayle *
7183.wythrowten fayle *
7631.sawns fayle *
7964.wythrowte fayle *
8129.wythrowte fayle *
8559.wythrowten fayle *
8680.wythrowten fayle *
9017.wythrowte fayle *
9254.wythrowten fayle *
9338.wythrowten fayle *
9375.wythrowten fayle *
9605.wythrowten fayle *
9732.wythrowte fayle *
9761.wythrowte fayle *
9975.wythrowten fayle *
10327.sawns fayle *
11729.wythrowte fayle *
11785.wythrowte fayle *
1902.wythrowte delay *

2188. wythowte dwellynge *
4388. Wythowte any more dwellynge *
5830. wythowte delaye *
5986. wythowt dwellyng *
5990. wythowte delaye *
8914. wythowten dwellynge *
11358. wythowte dwellynge *
11690. wythowte dwellyng *
191. nyght and daye *
205. day and nyght *
239. Nyght and day
276. bothe nyght and day *
305. nyght nor day *
752. day and nyght *
1170. bothe day and nyght *
1687. day and nyght *
2805. day and nyght *
3044. bothe nyght and day *
3102. Bothe be day and be nyght *
4383. Nyght nor day
4698. day and nyght *
4808. bothe day and nyght *
5119. nyght and day *
5410. day and nyght *
5499. bothe nyght and day *
5649. nyght and day *
5798. Day and nyght
5813. day or nyght *
6003. nyght nor day *
6022. Bothe be day and be nyght *
6032. on dayes and nyghtys *

6269. bothe day and nyght *
6889. bothe day and nyght *
7009. nyght and day *
7089. day and nyght *
7140. nyght and day *
7144. bothe day and nyght *
7216. bothe nyght and day *
7250. day nor nyght *
7337. nyght nor day *
7772. nyght and day *
8002. bothe the day and nyght *
8665. day nor nyght *
8729. day and nyght *
8938. Nyght and day
8959. day nor nyght *
8975. bothe nyght and day *
9868. bothe day and nyght *
9932. And nyght and day
10423. Nodur be day nodur be nyght *
10840. Bothe be day and be nyght *
11411. nyght and day *
263. nyght and daye *
70. warre and wyse *
253. wyse and ware *
740. so ware a man and wys *
1586. bothe war and wyse *
7171. warre and wyse *
7648. ware and wyse *
193. sorowe and care *
268. sorowe and care
880. sorowe and care *

193. sorowe and care *
1191. For the sorowe and for the care *
1725. grete sorowe and care *
1867. wyth sorowe and care *
4208. sorowe and care *
4646. sorowe and care *
5660. sorowe and care *
5776. sorowe and care *
6630. in sorowe and in care *
7276. in grete sorowe and care *
7702. Gye had sorow and moche care *
8460. sorowe and dele *
8988. full of sorowe and care *
112. Nodur of hye nor of lowe *
114. wyth lesse and mare *
211. bothe moost and leeste *
2732. more and lesse *
3487. more and lesse *
3550. lesse nor mare *
5737. lesse and more *
6300. more and lesse *
6308. lesse and mare *
6361. more and lesse *
6980. Lesse and mare
7836. bothe more and lesse *
7868. more nor lesse *
9379. Lesse and more
9668. lesse and more *
11026. Lytull and mykell
11576. lesse and mare *
396. for the noones *

2306.for the nones *
8993.for the nones *
9368.for the nones *
10174.for the nones *
11402.for the nonys *
615. so mote y the *
754. so mote y the *
983. so mote y the *
4904.so mote y thee *
5032.so mote y thee *
5137.so mote y thee *
5576.so mote y the *
5726.so mote y thee *
5904.so mote y the *
6055.so mote y the *
6541.so mote y the *
6774.so mote y the *
7043.so mote y the *
7325.so mote y the *
7839.so mote thou the *
8809.so mote thou the *
9558.so mote y the *
9564.so mote y the *
9804.so mote y the *
903. in hye *
627. all in hye *
499. wyth grete hye *
300. all in hye *
1739.in hye *
1757.in hye *

1937.in hye *
1967.in hye *
2286.in hye *
2335.all in hye *
2836.in hye *
3094.in hye *
3763.in hye *
3844.in hye *
3927.in hye *
4162.in hye *
4615.in hye *
4629.in hye *
4641.in hye *
4806.in hye *
4852.in hye *
4926.in hye *
5554.in hye *
6165.in hye *
6230.in hye *
6255.in hye *
6277.in hye *
6479.in hye *
7330.in hye *
7375.in hye *
8633.in hye *
8722.in hye *
9148.in hye *
10345.in hye *
10359.in hye *
10998.in hye *
11296.in hye *

11647.in hye *
11770.in hye *
11791.in hye *
11806.in hye *
11913.in hye *
11949.in hye *
760. euery dele *
1300.euery dele *
1381.euery delle *
1376.euery dell *
1533.euery dele *
1781.eche dell *
2178.euery dell *
2477.euery dele *
3106.euery dele *
3218.every delle *
3886.euery dele *
3909.eu^ery dele *
4438.euery dele *
4742.euery dele *
5046.euery dele *
5142.euery dele *
5482.euery delle *
5965.euery dele *
6452.euery delle *
6570.euery dele *
6762.euery dele *
6842.euery dell *
6954.euery delle *
7085.euery dele *
7724.euery dele *

8496.euery dele *
8561.euery dele *
8850.euery dele *
9133.euery dele *
9554.euery dele *
9569.euery dele *
9572.euery dele *
9814.some dele *
9853.euery dele *
11937.euery dele *
846. bothe ferre and nere *
949. ferre and nere *
1526.Far and nere
1704.far and nere *
2564.farre and nere *
2604.ferre and nere *
2802.bothe far and nere *
3486.ferre and nere *
3848.far and nere *
6979.ferre and nere *
7000.ferre and nere *
7344.bothe farre and nere *
7368.bothe farre and nere *
7444.farre and nere *
8718.bothe far and nere *
8970.far and nere *
11454.farre or nere *
11866.bothe ferre and nere *
390. Also whyte, as any mylke *
537. whyte as mylke *
541. All be as whyte, as any snowe *

552. gladde and yolye *
1728. neuyr glad nor blythe *
1873. neuer be gladde nor blythe *
2939. glad nor blythe *
2959. game and glee *
3802. Wyth moche game and more glee *
4495. glade nor blythe *
5616. gladde and blythe *
6210. moche yoye and game *
6262. game and glee *
6285. neuer so gladde nor blythe *
11230. bothe glad and blythe *
11586. Glade and blythe
11587. glad and blythe *
11941. glad and blythe *
11959. wyth game and glee *
422. be oon and oon *
560. oon and oon *
732. spere and schylde *
1575. scheldys and sperys *
1649. Bothe wyth swyrde and wyth spere *
1904. Wyth swerdys and wyth sperys
2014. schelde and spere *
2266. Wyth scheldys and speres
3172. Wyth schelde and spere
3250. wyth sper~~e~~ and schelde *
3489. schylde or spere *
4497. He toke hys schylde and hys spere *
6137. He toke hys spere and hys schelde *
6677. schelde or spere *
1548. Bothe in yron and in stele *

960. Bothe in yron and in steele *
1644. Bothe in yron and in stele *
2398. Bothe in yron and in stele *
2816. Bothe in yron and in stele *
3388. Bothe in yron and in stele *
4976. Bothe in yron and in stele *
6648. Bothe in yron and in stele *
8860. Odur in yron or in stele *
9282. bothe in yron and stele *
10239. wyth yron and stele
281. For loue he waxyd almoste wode *
1061. For sorowe he waxe nere wode *
2885. For sorowe he wolde nere wode *
5658. And for sorowe he waxe nere wode *
10630. wode and wylde *
1765. On the morne, when hyt was day *
761. We wyll to morowe, when hyt ys day *
553. Wyth goddys grace, when hyt ys day *
1823. wyth myght and mayn *
1883. All wyth myght and wyth mayne *
2229. wyth myght and mayne *
2918. wyth myght and mayne *
3075. All wyth myght and wyth mayne *
10850. nodur mayn nor myght *
2924. swyfte and faste *
3466. bothe lowde and styllle *
3214. lowde or styllle *
2615. lowde and styllle *
2524. lowde and styllle *
792. lowde or styllle *
5384. lowde and styllle *

5758.lowde and styllle *
5862.bothe lowde and styllle *
8440.bothe lowde and styllle *
8492.bothe lowde and styllle *
8570.lowde or styllle *
10739.lowde and styllle *
4626.hole and fere *
4650.hole and fere *
4674.bothe hole and sownde *
5177.hole and sownde *
6219.bothe hole and fere *
6716.hole and fere *
11590.bothe hoole and fere *
11965.hole and fere *
4282.bothe pale and wanne *
4654.bothe pale and wan *
4880.wythrowte fabulle *
8536.wythrowte defawte *
7879.wythrowte dowte *
9252.wythrowten dowte *
9551.wythrowten dowte *
10906.wythrowten fabull *
9545.wythrowte stryfe *
5196.be my hode *
4896.be my crowne *
5544.be my nolle *
7379.wyth mowthe *
7388.wyth eye *
7665.wyth mowthe *
8500.be dale and downe *
11891.speke wyth mowthe *

10020.Bothe be dales and be downes ✕
9403.yoye wythowten care ✕
1355.yoye wythowte care ✕
9040.of flesche and boon ✕
11032.thowow flesche and boon ✕
10146.lyth and lymme ✕
9674.wythynne and owte ✕
10984.Bothe wythynne the cyte and wythoute ✕

7. Pious explicit.

11973.God for hys names seuyn
Graunt vs all the blysse of heuyn
And gyf vs grace, that hyt so bee:
Amen, amen, for charyte!

8. References to minstrels.

7101.Marriage of Guy and Felice:
There were mynstrels on all manere:
Moche yoye there men myght here.

Sir Isumbras.

1. Prologue.

1. Jhesu Crist, Lorde of hevene kynge,
Graunte us alle his dere blyssynge,
And hevene unto oure mede!) Pious
Incipit.
- Now, hende in haule, and ye wolde here) Request for
Of eldirs that by-fore us were,) attention.
That lyffede in arethede,)
- I wille yow telle of a knyghte,) Announcement of
That bothe was stalworthe and wyghte,) subject.
And worthily undir wede:)
His name was hattene syr Ysambrace,)
Swilke a knyghte als he was)
Now lyffes nowrewhare in lede.)

2. Assertions of truth & references to sources.

417. I undirstande
514. In storye thus als we rede
782. In storyes thus als we rede

4. Addresses to the audience.

27. With tunge als I yow nevene
137. In storye als I yowe saye

5. Rhetorical device - Occupatio.

231. Those schippes landed by that land syde,
The folke come up with mekille pryde,
yaa moo thene I kane nevene

6. Diction.

9. worthily undir wede *
21. Bothe golde and also fee *
45. For pride of golde and fee *
149. Nowther golde ne fee *
270. gold and fee *
292. golde and fee *
697. Silvere, golde, nor fee *
71. Whate wondir was thofe hym ware wo *
207. Littille wondir thofe thame wo were *
156. wele and wyne *
203. wele and wanke *
305. in wele and waa *
380. bothe wele and woo *
759. wele and woo *
144. bothe olde and yynge *
692. Riche and povre, bothe yonge and olde *
230. A littille ther bysyde *
425. A littyllle ther besyde *
258. bothe lange and heghe *
16. bothe faire and heghe *
603. bothe fayre and heghe *
261. whitte as walles bone *
262. Hir lyre es als the see fome * (cf. Eglamour, 26,683)
466. Thay made thame gamene and glee *
573. gamene and glee *
452. He sprange als any sparke one glede *
594. daye and nyghte *
716. many and maa *
737. bothe spere and schelde *
500. withowttyne lesse *

7. Pious explicit.

792. Praye we now to hevenes kynge,
He gyffe us alle his dere blyssynge
Nowe and evermare!

8. References to minstrels.

19. He luffede glewmene wele in haulle,
He gafe thame robis riche of palle,
Bothe golde and also fee;

Kyng Alisaunder.

1. Prologue.

lls.1 - 28 contain no evidence of oral techniques. They state that all men desire the solace of a tale, but unfortunately many prefer ribald stories to pious ones.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|------------------------|
| 29. | Now, pes! listneth, and leteth cheste - |) | Request for attention. |
| | Yee shullen heren noble geste, |) | |
| | Of Alisaundre, the riche kyng, |) | Announcement of |
| | That dude by his maistres teching, |) | subject and |
| | And ouercom, so J fynde, |) | facts re. the |
| | Darrye of Perce and Pore of Ynde, |) | story to whet |
| | And many othere, wighth and hende, |) | curiosity. |
| | Jn to the est werldes ende; |) | |
| | And the wondres of worme and beest - |) | |
| | Deliciouse it is to ylest. |) | |
| | Yif yee willeth sitten styлле, |) | Request for |
| | Fulfyllе Ich wil al youre wille. |) | silence. |

2. Assertions of truth & references to sources.

- 149. as J fynde on bokes
- 1436.so J fynde
- 2113.so J fynde
- 2265.so J fynde
- 2399.also J fynde
- 2509.als J fynde
- 3297.als J fynde
- 3653.also J fynde
- 3684.als J fynde
- 3904.so J fynde

4308.als J fynde
4807.als J fynde
4809.so Ich fynde in the book
4815.also J fynde
4829.als J fynde
4984.als Ich fynde
5091.als J fynde
5104.als J fynde
5113.als J fynde
5358.als J fynde
5467.als J fynde
5561.so J fynde
5681.als J fynde
5727.so J fynde on the book
5792.so J fynde
5821.Als J fynde on the boke
6011.als J fynde
6161.Jn maistres bokes als J fynde
6176.als J fynde
6254.als J fynde
6328.This folk is ycleped Saubaris,
 Als Ich ywryte fynde, jwys.
6513.als J fynde
6516.als J fynde on boke
6542.Als Ich in holy book fynde
6779.Als we fynden in the book
6966.als we fyndeth on the book
7058.als J fynde
7096.als J fynde
7766.als we fynden on the book
7980.also J fynde

6508. als the boke telleth vs
2622. so men telle
5079. so seith the book
3448. Ich wil avowe
5759. Ich wil avowe
6312. Jch it wil avowe
6359. Ich wil avowe
668. This is noughth romaunce of skof,
Ac storye ymade of maïstres wyse,
Of this werlde of mest pryse.
1936. So vs siggen thise clerken
2195. This bataile distincted is
In the Freinsshe, wel jwys.
Therefore J hadde hit to coloure
Borowed of Latyn a nature,
Hou hightton the gentyl knighttes,
Hou hij contened hem in fighttes,
On Alisaunders half and Darries also.
2325. Jch you sigge, saunz dotaunces,
Alle foure hij breken her launces.
2391. With Alisaunder neren, Ich swere,
Noughth wel fele wighttere
3506. Now the gest telleth here hi. lach. philippoun,
Of this leche Philippoun,
And of a baroun Permenyoun -
Of his onde, of biwreyeyng,
That shulde ben seide to the kyng.
Ac for the latyn seiththere - agan,
Ne wil ich hit shewe this borel man,
For in this book fer J fynde
Of Permenyon and of his kynde

3798. And J sigge, for sothe thing,
He braak his nek in the fallyng.
3852. And J you sigge, sikerlich
4763. Thoo Alisaunder went thorough desert,
Many wondres he seigh apert,
Whiche he dude wel descryue
By gode clerkes in her lyue -
By Aristotle, his maister that was.
Better clerk sithen non nas -
He was with hym, and seigh and wroot
Alle thise wondres, God it woot.
Salomon, that al the werlde thorough - yede,
Jn sooth witnessse helde hym myde.
Ysidre also, that was so wijs,
Jn his bokes telleth this.
Maister Eustroge bereth hym witnessse
Of the wondres, more and lesse.
Seint Jerome, yee shullen ywyte,
And Magestene the gode clerk
Hath made therof mychel werk.
Denys, that was of gode memorie,
It sheweth al in his book of storie.
And also Pompie, of Rome lorde,
Dude it writen euery worde.
Ne heldeth me therof no fynder -
Her bokes ben my shewer,
And the lijf of Alisaunder,
Of whom fleigh so riche sklauder.
5174. The gode clerk men cleped Solim
Hath ywriten in his Latin
That ypotame a wonder beest is,
More than an olifaunt, jwis.

6294. In Ethiope is folk of selcouth kynde,
Als oure bokes habbeth in mynde
6300. Oure book seith that thilk men
Ben ycleped Garmaiten.
6432. Hij ben ycleped, men tellen me,
Jn langage Orifine
6485. Her here her clothing is,
Also yelewe as any golde,
Als the maistres vs haue ytolde.

3. Transitions.

1038. Now gynneth gest of gret nobleys.
1661. Now resteth Alisaunder jn this siggyng -
Yhereth now al other thing.
1915. Who so wil now giuen lyst,
Here bigynneth the romaunce best.
4747. Now agynneth the othere partye
Of Alisaunders dedes hardye -
4841. Lete we now Alisaunder in pays ride,
And speke we of wondres that ben biside.
6159. Now ariseth a gode romaunce.
6496. Of selcouthe folk yee haue yherd
That woneth in Egipte erd.
Now yee mowen here gestes
Bothe of wormes and of bestes,
That kyng Alisaunder fande
Thoo he went in Egipte lande.

4. Requests for silence & addresses to the audience.

87. Ich you telle

571. ich you telle
577. ich you telle
1510. Ich you telle
1685. Jch you telle
1776. J you saye
2325. Jch you sigge
2259. Jch you sigge
69. Ac whi Ich hadde hem thus vnleke
 Yee shullen me after her speke.
154. Ac hereth now a selcouth cas!
455. Yhereth now hou selcouthe lijf
 Cometh to shame, sorough, and strijf.
656. Now hereth geste and giueth listnyng.
1331. Therwhiles now yhereth a caas.
1745. Ac of Alisaunder yee shullen here
1787. Thise messengeres - alistneth alle! -
 Honde in honde cometh in to halle.
2047. Listneth now and leteth gale,
 For now ariseth riche tale.
2202. Yif yee willeth listnen to,
 Yee shullen yhere geste of mounde -
2558. Also Ich tofore you saide
2974. Hereth it alle, par amoure
3287. Now listneth, withouten gyle,
 Hou Darrie dooth therwhile
3518. Othere thing now listneth to:
3584. Sitteth now stille on al wise,
 For here bigynneth gest arise
 Of doughghty men and gret of prise
4036. Thoo Alisaunder seigh al this,
 Yhereth what he dude, jwis!

4099. Therwhiles of Alisaunder the kyng
Lestneth now a selcouth thing!
4495. And sent to Alisaunder a wrytt
That thus seide (now hereth it) :
4843. Listneth of wondres, and sitteth in pes!
4895. Listneth nov to me, J praie for my loue.
5029. Of wonder folk yee habbeth yherd
That woneth in this myddelerde.
In a fewe ydles of Ynde
Fele moo there beth bihynde;
Ac a fewe wordes, with youre wille,
Of Alisaunder Ich wil telle.
5206. Now hereth gest of grete noblay.
5289. Ac the houndes of whiche we spaak
5301. The smale addren of whiche we spaake
5319. And thoo comen the addren smale,
Of whiche was first oure tale
5456. Now listneth of a queynt gyle.
5662. Listneth now for the nones!
5741. God make alle sory blithe!
who - so wil lystne and lithe,
the most wonder ye mowen vnderstonde
That ben yfounden in Ynde londe.
5907. Jch wil you telle what men ben in Bramande,
Yif yee willen vnderstande.
6292. Giueth listenyng and beeth now blithe!
6362. These women in Ethiope west;
Now listneth of hem that ben in the est.
6566. Hij norissheth delphynes and cokedrille,
Of whom after telle you Ich wille.
6586. Now listneth (and sitteth stille!)
What beest is the cokedrylle.

6737. Listneth now of his metyng
6801. Hereth now of a selkouth man!
7351. Now hereth of thise kynges fighth!
7482. His pleynte he telleth in the manere
 Als yee mowen now yhere.
7819. Now hereth the kynges encoumbrement.
6502. Sitteth stille and giueth listnyng,
 And ye shullen here wonder thinge!
1915. See under (3).
6496. See under (3).

5. Rhetorical device - Occupatio.

539. To the mete thay weren ysett,
 Ne mightten men ben serued bett,
 Noither in mete ne in drynk;
 Bot there-about nyl ich swynk.
961. And slough of Alisaunder men
 Moo than J you telle can.
1135. Jt nys non nede here to duelle,
 Ne longe tales here to telle.
2493. And leuedis and damoysele,
 So many that J noot hou fele.
4491. He made so mychel woo and reuthe,
 Ne may Ich telle it al in treuthe.
6816. What helpeth it al to telle?

6. Diction.

134. saunz fable *
138. saunz dotaunce *
217. saunz fayle *
301. saunz fayle *

310. saunz fable *
550. saunz fayle *
591. saunfaile *
778. saun fable *
989. saun faile *
1012. saunz fayle *
1081. saunz fable *
1230. saunfaile *
1538. saunfaile *
1544. saunfayle *
1780. saun fayle *
1913. saun faile *
2121. saun faile *
2136. saun faile *
2145. saunz faile *
2205. saunz faile *
2318. saun faile *
2575. saunz faile *
2661. saun faile *
3115. saun faile *
3373. saunz faile *
3566. saun faile *
3605. saun faile *
3624. saun faile *
4167. withouten fable *
4211. saunz fable *
4311. saunz faile *
4321. saunz fable *
4513. saunz faile *
4643. saunz faile *
4660. withouten doute *
4701. saunz fail *

4878.saunz faille *
4885.saunz faile *
5180.saunz fayl *
5303.saunz faile *
5502.saunz/faile *
5543.saunz faile *
5585.saunz faile *
6 045.saunz faile *
6130.saunz faile *
6213.saunz faille *
6547.saunz faile *
6682.saunz faile *
7010.saunz fayle *
7090.saunz fayle *
7242.saunz fables *
237. lesse and maast *
502. most and last *
1754.the moste and the laste *
2834.more and lasse *
2990.most and lest *
3281.More and lesse
3572.more and lesse *
4279.lesse and more *
4776.more and lesse *
5608.lesse ne more *
5807.lesse and more *
5889.more and lesse *
6866.lesse and more *
6871.lesse anddmore *
6883.moo ne las *
7867.more ne lesse *

170. onon righttes *
580. onon-rightth *
823. onon-righttes *
1393. onon-righttes *
1424. onon-righttes *
1842. onon-righttes *
1946. onon-righttes *
2106. onon-righttes *
2693. onon-rightth *
3193. onon-righttes *
4162. onon-rightte *
5137. onon-righttes *
5387. anon-righttes *
5818. anon-rightth *
5984. anon-righttes *
6442. Onon-righttes
6552. onon-rightth *
6559, onon-rightth
6606. anon-rightth *
7633. onon-rightth *
953. Withouten siluer, withouten golde *
987. Golde and siluer
1123. Golde and siluer
1156. Jn golde, in siluer
1458. siluer and golde *
2094. gold and siluer
4978. golde and siluer
5093. golde and siluer
5524. golde and siluer *
5650. golde and siluer
6696. Golde ne siluer
7664. Gold and siluer

7667. gold and siluer
1375. withouten doute *
1756. saunz doute *
1821. saunz dotaunce *
2321. withouten doute *
3842. saunz doute *
3856. saunz doute *
3964. saunz doute *
5230. withouten doute *
6479. withouten dout *
6760. saunz dotaunce *
7139. saunz doute *
175. A mule also whyte so mylk *
1031. a mule white so mylk *
63. nesshe and hard *
122. frende ne fon *
161. by north and south *
1273. withoute pyte *
1264. withouten pite *
983. withoute pyte *
1599. withoute pyte *
1858. withouten pite *
5700. withouten pite *
5887. withouten any pyte *
7546. withouten pyte *
1631. There was sone in that prees
Many childe faderles.
947. Many knighth starf there in the prees;
Many childe was faderles;
Many lefdy lees her amoure,
And many maiden her gent socoure.

2208. Many man so lees his brother,
Many lefdy hire amy,
Many maiden her drury;
Many childe his fader lees -
Gret and dedly was the prees.
3836. Many gentil lauedy
There lese quyk her amy.
4433. There les childe and ek lefdy
Her fader and her amy,
Damoysels her lemman,
The man his lorde, the lorde his man.
6078. And many keruyng swerd
Made lefdy withouten lorde.
2341. in litel stounde *
2427. Jn litel stounde
2759. in litel stounde *
955. in litel stounde *
1625. in litel stounde *
5296. in litel stounde *
5883, in litel stounde *
448. by nighth and dayes *
4804. by day and nighth *
6336. by nighth and day *
6397. bothe nighth and deye *
6624. Nighth and day
6717. By nighth and day
7156. from day to nighth *
7722. Many nighth and many day *
357. for the nones *
1623. for the nones *
2682. for the nones *
7605. for the nones *

519. withouten noo *
1019. withouten essoyne *
1358. withouten smerte *
1425. withouten gyle *
1441. withouten assoyne *
1590. withouten wane *
1831. withoute lettyng *
3560. withouten chest *
4116. saunz demurraunce *
5119. withouten duellyng *
5672. withouten lesyng *
5781. withouten lees *
6025. withouten noo *
6040. withouten assoyne *
7982. withoute assoigne *
598. Bothe of lewed and of lerd *
2. To lewed men and to lerede *
213. Of the folk lewed and lered *
1713. lewed and lered *
2969. Bothe of the lewed and of the lered *
8017. the lewed and the lerede *
1766. by doune and dale *
3125. bothe dales and dounes *
5892. by dales and dovnes *
6059. Bothe in dales and ek in dounes *
7017. Passeden dounes and many dale *
7119. By dounes, by dales
7536. dales and doune *
7769. By wodes, by dales, and by douns *-
1092. loketh as he were wood *
1830. He was neigh of wytt wood *
2288. Negussar faughth as he were wood *

2966. Wood he is neigh out of his wytt *
5876. als a wode lyoun he faughth *
6663. For fere of loue she brast neigh wood *
7840. Adrad he is, he is wood neigh *
5000. par ma fey *
5087. par ma fey *
5389. par ma fay *
5410. par ma fay *
5900. par ma fey *
6244. par ma fay *
6398. par ma fay *
6673. par ma feie *

7. Pious explicit.

8020. Thus ended Alisaunder the kyng.
God vs graunte his blissyng! Amen.

8. References to minstrels.

155. In this tyme faire and jolyf,
Olympas, that faire wijf,
Wolde make a riche fest
Of knighttes and lefdyes honest,
Of burgeys and of jugelers,
And of men of vche mesters.

832. After a feast:
Sum to knighttes of heighe seruise,
Sum mareschales, and botlers,
To yoman, page, and joglers.
Alle thoo that fongen wolde
Ynough hadden of rede golde.

1573. Noyse is gret with tabour and pype,
 Damoyseis playen with peren rips.
 Ribaudes festeth also with tripe;
 The gestour wil oft his mouthe wype.
2567. Mery is the blast of the styuoure;
 Mery is the touchyng of the harpoure.
2839. Tofore the kyng com on harpoure,
 And made a lay of gret sauoure
3419. The erthe quaked hem alle vnder,
 Ne shulde man haue herd the thonder
 For the noyse and the tabours,
 And the trumpes and jugelours.
5247. The glevmen vseden her tunge -
 The wode aquiette, so hij sunge.
5980. Mery it is in halle to here the harpe;
 The mynstrales synge, the jogelours carpe.
7762. Tho the table was ydrawe
 The wayte gan "A choger!" blawe.
4305. In battle:
 The waites blowen, the belles rynges.

Horn Childe & Maiden Rinnild.

1. Prologue.

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Mi leue frende dere, | } | Request for
attention. |
| | Herken & ye may here, | | |
| | & ye wil vnder stonde; | | |
| | Stories ye may lere | } | Announcement of
subject. |
| | Of our elders that were | | |
| | Whilom in this lond. | | |
| | Y wil you telle of kinges tvo,.. | | |

2. Assertions of truth & references to sources.

- 26. as it is told
- 85. as y you say
- 276. In bok thus rede we
- 277. Thus, in boke as we rede
- 468. In boke so rede we
- 1119. In boke as we rede
- 1120. Forth, as we telle in gest

4. Requests for silence & addresses to the audience.

- 360. As ye may forward here.
- 25. Hende, & ye me herken wold,
The childer name as it is told,
Y wil you reken aright;

6. Diction.

- 38. Bothe bi north & bisouthe *
- 59. bothe night & day *
- 160. night & day *

238. noither night no day *
250. bothe night & day *
308. Bi day no bi night *
604. day & night *
704. bi night or day *
1032. Bitvene the day & the night *
64. With helme on heued & brini bright *
91. Armour & brini bright *
98. With helme on heued & brini bright *
143. With helme on heued & brini bright *
174. brinis bright *
609. Bi way no bi strete *
132. lond no fe *
469. gold & fe *
643. gold & fe *
679. gold & fe *
724. gold & fe *
115. with outen lesing *
150. with outen les *
484. with outen lesing *
565. with outen lesing *
658. with outten lesing *

7. Pious explicit.

Fragment.

8. References to minstrels.

157. He bad the harpour leuen his lay:
"For ous bi houeth another play,
Buske armour & stede."

964. A feast:

The trompes blewe, the glewemen pleyd,
The bischopes had the grace y seyde,
As miri men of molde.

The Lyfe of Ipomydon.

1. Prologue.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. Mekely, lordynges gentyll and fre, | } | Request for
attention. |
| Lysten awhile and herken to me: | | |
| I schall you telle of a kynge, | } | Announcement of
subject. |
| A dowghty man withowte lesynge; | | |

2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.

417. as I vndirstand
1591. I vndirstand
1672. sothe to say
1910. as saythe the boke
2059. as I vndirstand
2220. I vnderstand
2242. I vndirstand
2248. I vndirstand
2278. I vnderstond
2296. I vnderstond
2341. I trow, I wis

3. Transitions.

528. Of chyld Ipomydon here is a space.
749. Leve we theyme at the justynge,
And talke we now of other thyng,
Off Ipomydon and the lady shene
That was at home with the quene.
1523. Thus Caymys hathe his seruyce quytte;
And of Ipomydon here is a fytte.
1595. Turne we now all the matere,
And speke we of Calabre the eyre.
1955. Turne we now anone ryghtes,

And speke of Kyng Melliagers knyghtes.

4. Requests for silence and addresses to the audience.

104. as I you sey

979. as I you saye

1828. as I you say

1962. as I you say

2244. as I you say

2249. as I you say

2301. as I yow say

1553. as I you telle

515. Ipomydon went as ye may here.

549. Off the eyre of Calabre here will I telle

1075. Latte hym go, God hym spede!

Till efte sone we of hym rede.

1872. His brother he wende it had be.

It was not he, as ye shall here.

1651. as ye may here

5. Rhetorical device - Occupatio.

2211. I lette you wete, withoute delay,

Halfe there joye I cannot say.

2319. At the takynge of his leve

Halfe the ioye I cannot discryve,

That there was hem amonge,

Off ladyes and of knyghtis stronge.

6. Diction.

4. withowte lesynge *

213. withoute lesynge *

1361. withoute lesynge *

- 1574.withoute lesynge *
2002.withoute lesynge *
2028.withoute lesynge *
2096.withoute lesynge *
2315.withowte lesynge *
12. gold and sylver
1330.syluer and golde *
1382.syluer and golde *
1390.syluer and gold
13. hye and low
60. hye and low
1569.hye or lowe *
17. bothe bryght and shene *
21. feyre he was of flessche and blod *
37. bothe of more and of lesse *
71. bothe more and lesse *
369. more and lesse *
469. bothe at lesse and at more *
1954.bothe more and lasse *
2268.more and lesse *
42. grete and smalle
58. bothe to grete and to smalle *
96. bothe grete and smalle *
303. grete and smalle *
412. grete and smalle *
468. grete and smalle *
632. grete and smalle *
1516.bothe grete and smalle *
1612.bothe grete and smalle *
2346.for grete and smalle *
62. all and same *
362. all and some *
1632.bothe all and somme *

- 77. for the nonys *
- 30. and playd in chamber and in hall *
- 132. bothe in chambre and in halle *
- 105. some to chambre and some to boure *
- 135. bothe in chambre and in boure *
- 699. fro hyr chamber to hyr halle *
- 717. in boure or halle *
- 147. nyght and day *
- 624. nyght and day *
- 663. nyght ne day *
- 1198. day and nyght *
- 1285. bothe day and nyght *
- 1920. bothe day and nyght *
- 178. withoute deley *
- 619. withoute delaye *
- 1703. withoute delaye *
- 2250. withoute delay *
- 182. withoute lettynge *
- 520. withoute lettynge *
- 575. withoute lettyng *
- 791. withoute lettynge *
- 819. withoute lettynge *
- 1171. withoute lettynge *
- 202. with all my myght *
- 231. ferre or nere *
- 621. ferre and nere *
- 691. bothe ferre and nere *
- 1585. ferre and nere *
- 1600. bothe ferre and nere *
- 2307. bothe ferre and nere *
- 347. in or oute *
- 419. sanz fayle *
- 589. withouyn fayle *

1003.withouten fayle *
1211.withoute fayle *
1461.withoute fayle *
1560.withouten fayle *
2165.withouten fayle *
423. on hye *
473. on hye *
629. in hye *
975. in hye *
1036.in hye *
1085.in hye *
1127.in hye *
1460.on hye *
1667.in hye *
1985.all in hye *
2159.in hye *
434. euery dele *
352. every dele *
453. euery dele *
636. euery dele *
867. euery dele *
1038.euery dele *
1410.euery dele *
2252.euery dele *
471. anone ryght *
670. anone right *
682. anone right *
809. anone ryght *
1197.anone righte *
1728.anone ryght *
1756.anone ryght *
1984.anon ryghtes *
1991.anone ryght *

543. within a lytell stounde *
680. a lytelle stounde
1117. within a stounde *
706. without avyse *
911. so mot I thee *
918. so mot I the *
1061. withoute lakke *
1343. withoute drede *
1825. withoute doute *
1893. withoute lye *
1639. withouten more *
2232. withoute more *
2238. withoute mo *
1383. hole and sounde *
1488. that tyde *
2092. that tyde *
2260. that tyde *
2145. cryed as they were wode *
2228. pore and ryche

7. Pious explicit.

2341. And whan they dyed, I trow, I wis,
Bothe they yede to heuyn blysse,
There as non other thyng may bee,
But joye and blisse, game and glee.
To that blysse God bryng vs alle
That dyed on rode for grete and smalle!

Amen.

8. References to minstrels.

547. At a tournament:

Mynstrellys had yiftes of golde;
And fourty days thys fest was holde.

2253. At a marriage-feast:

Trumpes to mete gan blow tho,
Claryons and other menstrellis mo.

2257. Whan they were seruyd, all the route,
Menstrellys blew than all aboute:
Tille they were seruyd, with pryde,
Of the fryst cours that tyde.

2269. Ipomydon gaff, in that stound,
To mynstrellys v.c. pound,
And othyr yiftes of grete noblay
He yaff to other men that day.

King Horn.

1. Prologue.

Alle beon he blithe)	Request for attention.
That to my song lythe:)	
A sang ihc schal you singe)	Announcement of
Of Murry the kinge.)	subject.

6. Diction.

8. Faire ne mighte non ben *
10. Fairer ne miste non beo born *
13. Fairer nis non thane he was,
He was bright so the glas,
He was whit so the flur,
Rose red was his colur.
154. Bi dales & bi dune *
208. Bi dales & bi hulle *
210. Bi dales & bi dune *
1070. Mani tyme & ofte *

7. Pious explicit.

1523. Nu ben hi bothe dede;
Crist to heuene hem lede!
Her endeth the tale of horn,
That fair was & noght vnorn;
Make we vs glade eure among,
For thus him endeth hornes song.
Jesus that is of heuene king
Yeue vs alle his suete blessing! Amen.

8. References to minstrels.

1475. Horn poses as a harper:

He sette him om the benche

His harpe for to clenche.

He makede Rymenhilde lay,

& heo makede walaway.

The Kyng of Tars.

1. Prologue.

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Herkneth now, bothe olde and yung, |) | Request for
attention. |
| | For Maries love, that swete thyng, |) | |
| | How a werre bigan |) | Announcement of
subject. |
| | Bitwene a god Cristene kyng, |) | |
| | And an hethene heyhe lordyng |) | |
| | Of Damas the soudan. |) | |

2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.

297. in stori as we rede
390. as ich fynde in my sawe
423. selcouth hit is to rede
516. in tale as hit is tolde
528. in stori as hit is founde
743. soth to tel
994. in stori as we rede
1051. as i fynde in my sawe
1111. in stori as hit is tolde

3. Transitions.

349. Nou lete we of that mournyng,
 And speke we of that maiden ying.

4. Requests for silence and addresses to the audience.

49. That schul ye witen ar ye pase.
311. Of gret reuthe ye may here,
 Whon thei to chaumbre went.
457. The mayden onswerde, with glad chere,
 To the soudan as ye may heere.

667. Nou, lordinges, herkneth a muri pas
Hou this child icristned was,
And hath limes hol and feere;
And hou the soudan of Damas
Was icristnet in that cas,
Lustneth and ye schul here.

735. As i ow telle may

744. In stori as ich ow say

913. As ich ou telle may

1010. Hou the soudan hem gon assayle,
And what thei hihte withoute fayle,
Lustneth, and ye mouwe here.

1025. Herkeneth now, bothe olde and ying,
Hou the soudan and the kyng
Among hem gunne to dryve,
And hou the Sarazines that day
Hopped hedles for heore pray,
I schall ow tell as blyve.

6. Diction.

- 1. bothe olde and ying *
- 513. yonge and olde *
- 1025. bothe olde and ying *
- 883. bothe olde and ying *
- 8. the feireste that might bere lyf *
- 12. white so fether of swan *
- 368. briht of ble *
- 18. princes pert in play *
- 88. the prince proud in pres *
- 1059. proud in pryde *
- 20. feor and ner
- 161. feor and neer *

998. fer and nerre *
31. withouten fayle *
128. withouten fayle *
138. withouten eny fayle *
178. withouten fayle *
211. saunz fayle *
262. withouten fayle *
1011. withoute fayle *
37. withouten eny dwellyng *
886. withouten eny dwellyng *
901. withouten eny dwellyng *
39. for wraththe neih he waxeth wood *
174. thei fouhte as heo weore woode *
182. wodde he was for wraththe apliht *
511. heo leyden on as heo weore wode *
1079. whon the soudan saugh his blod,
for wraththe he thoughte he was neih wod *
1091. whon the soudan saugh that siht,
wod for wraththe he was aflight *
60. so mot i thryve *
89. withouten lees *
298. withoute les *
421. withoute lesyng *
1046. withoute lye *
710. withouten stryf *
718. withouten blame *
922. withouten eny delay *
947. withouten let *
1036. withouten wene *
117. bothe lest and mast *
400. lasse and more *
414. nouthur lasse ne more *
145. that tyde *
493. that tyde *

730. in that tyde *
1031. that tyde *
1058.that tyde *
1073.that ilke tyde *
1121.in that tyde *
1097.in that stounde *
194. he sprong as sparkle doth of glede *
230. erli and late, loude and stille *
290. erly and late, loude and stille *
467. erli and late, loud and stille *
287. bothe blithe and glad *
337. glad and blythe *
469. glad and blithe *
296. in care and serwe and muche wo *
314. in serwe and care and muche wo *
957. weole and wo *
333. anon riht *
502. anon rihte
830. anon riht
987. anon riht *
995. anon riht
1109.anon riht *
487. niht and day *
585. nouthur bi day nor niht *
575. bothe lef and dere *
979. lef and dere *
1081. gon to prike with mayn *
1118.he priked his hors with miht and mayn *
381. for fo ne for frende *
456. kyng with croun *
812. heigh or lowe *
882. al and some *
906. bothe lyme and lyf *
943. knihtes douhti in dede *

7. Pious explicit.

1136. Now Jhesu, that is ful of miht,
Graunt us alle in hevene liht
To seo thi swete face!

8. References to minstrels.

484. Wher heo weore bi north or southe
Nas munstral non with harpe ne crouthe
That ones mihte chaunge hire thought.

Libeaus Desconus.

1. Prologue.

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. | Ihesu Crist, our saviour, |) | Prayer and
announcement of
subject. |
| | And his modir, that swete flour, |) | |
| | Helpe hem at her nede, |) | |
| | That harkeneth of a conqueror, |) | |
| | Wis of witte and wight werrour |) | |
| | And doughty man in dede. |) | |
| | His name was called Gingelem; |) | Facts re. story to
whet curiosity. |
| | Begete he was of sir Gawein |) | |
| | Be a forest side. |) | |
| | Of stouter knight and profitable |) | |
| | With Arthour of the rounde table |) | |
| | Ne herde ye never rede. |) | |

2. Assertions of truth & references to sources.

- 90. For sothe as I you say
- 141. I dar well say in certe
- 520. as hit is teld
- 1197. In rime to rede aright
- 2069. I tell you for certain
- 246. So seith the frensche tale
- 688. In frensche as hit is y-founde
- 2224. As the frensche tale teld
- 2035. In the right tale y-teld

3. Transitions.

- 457. Nou lete we William be,
- That wente in his jorne

Toward Arthour the king.
Of these knightes thre
Harkeneth, lordinges fre,
A ferly fair fightinge!
1297. Nou reste we her a while
Of sir Otes de Lile
And telle we other tales.

4. Requests for silence & addresses to the audience.

460. Of these knightes thre,
Harkeneth, lordinges fre,
A ferly fair fightinge! (cf. under 3 above).
2013. As ye may lithe and lere.
2103. As ye may lithe and lere.

5. Rhetorical device - Occupatio.

973. what help mo tales teld?

6. Diction.

61. Be seint Jame! *
69. Be god and seint Denis! *
76. Be God and be seint Jame *
359. Be the love of swete Jhesus *
386. For love of seint Marie *
392. For love of swete Jhesus! *
424. Be seint Jame! *
612. Be god and be seint Gile! *
637. Be seint Jame! *
700. Be seint Jame! *

740. Be the love of swete Jhesus! *
760. Be seint John! *
785. Be god and seint Michell! *
801. Be god and be seint Gile! .*
856. Be god and seint Michell *
887. be seint Jame *
1114. Be seint Gile! *
1445. Be seint Michell *
1584. Be god and seint Michell
54. anon right *
85. anon right *
217. anon right *
234. anoon rightes *
351. anoon right *
1138. anon rightes *
1316. anon right *
1375. anoon right *
1614. anon rightes *
1639. anon rightes *
1942. anon right *
1967. anon right *
316. day other night *
438. day ne night *
767. be day other night *
792. Be daies other be night *
1806. Be daies and be night *
496. as prince in pride *
822. as prince in pride *
861. As princes proude in pride *
926. A lady, proud in pride *
1382. On stedes proude of pris *

1312. With paleis proud in pride
And castelles high and wide
1555. With castell high and wide
And paleis proud in pride
1937. proud in palle *
56. with oute dwelling *
269. Anoon, with oute dwellinge *
465. With oute ony dwelling *
1285. with oute dwellinge *
201. With oute any lesing *
365. with oute lesinge *
712. with oute lesinge *
810. with oute les *
1004. with oute les *
1204. with oute lesinge *
1847. with oute lesinge *
2117. with oute lesing *
109. with oute more resoun *
176. with outen oth *
447. with oute faile *
721. with oute more talkinge *
805. with oute more resoune *
823. with oute more abood *
1437. with oute more despite *
1476. saunz faile *
1571. with oute wene *
1624. with oute fable *
1771. with oute fable *
1962. saunz faile *
2051. with outen othe *
2141. with oute strif *
506. with might and maine *

519. main and might *
560. main ne might *
1276. main and might *
1479. with might and main *
1713. With oute main and might *
2183. with main and might *
180. with dente of spere and sword! *
208. To fighte with spere or swerd *
443. Nother scheld ne spere *
563. His spere and ek his schelde *
615. scheld and spere *
1296. with spere and scheld *
1646. with sper and scheld *
1928. with sper and scheld *
75. fair and fre *
305. bright of ble *
1086. ladies bright and schene *
1275. lady fair and hende *
1503. bright and schene *
277. The maide stout and gay *
917. That were so stout and gay *
485. stout and gay *
291. He is werrour out of witte *
535. As werrour out of witte *
546. As werrour wild and wode *
1688. As werrour out of wit *
694. glad and blithe *
1270. glad and blithe *
1630. glad and blithe *
1762. glad and blithe *
2143. glad and blithe *
2191. glad and blithe *
2202. with moche gle and game *

729. gle and game *

2228. With moche gle and game *

133. Stock description: cf. Degaré , 779-792; B. of Hamtoun
2243-4.

The dwerf was clothed in inde,
Before and ek behinde

Stout he was and pert.

Among alle cristene kinde
Swich on schold no man finde;

His surcote was overt,
His berd was yelow as wax,
To his gerdell heng his fax;

I dar well say in certe.

His schon with gold wer dight
And coped as a knight;

That semed no pouerte.

7. Pious explicit.

2230. Jhesu Crist, our saviour,
And his moder, that swete flour,
Graunte us good endinge! Amen.

8. References to minstrels.

982. Tabours and trompours,
Heraudes and gode disours
Har strokes gone descrie.

1873. Libeaus inner gan passe,
To behelde ech place,
The hales in the halle.
Of maine more ne lasse

Ne Ne sigh he body ne face,
 But menstrales clothed in palle;
With harpe, fithetele and rote
And with organes note
 Greet gle they maden alle,
With citole and sautrie;
So moche menstralsie
 Was never with inne walle.

1885. Before ech menstrale stod
A torche fair and good,
 Brenninge faire and bright.
He sette him on the deis;
The menstrales wer in pes,
 That were so good and trie.
The torches, that brende bright,
Quenched anon right;
 The menstrales wer away.

2218. Ther. wonne they riche giftes,
Ech menstral arightes
 And they, that were unwrest.

Octavian.

1. Prologue.

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Lytyll and mykyll, olde and yonge,
Lystenyth now to my talkynge,
Of whome y wylle yow lythe. |) | Request for
attention. |
| | Jhesu, LOrde, of hevyn kyng,
Grawnt us alle hys blessynge,
And make us gladd and blythe! |) | Prayer. |
| | Sothe sawys y wylle yow mynge
Of whom the worde wyde can sprynge,
Yf ye wylle lystyn and lythe;
Yn bokys of ryme hyt ys tolde,
How hyt befelle owre eldurs olde,
Welle oftyn sythe. |) | Announcement of
subject. |

2. Assertions of truth & references to sources.

10. Yn bokys of ryme hyt ys tolde,
How hyt befelle owre eldurs olde,
Welle oftyn sythe. (cf. 1 above)
17. In Romane as we rede
27. These clerkys seyn soo.
279. In yeste as we rede
628. In the jeste, as hyt ys tolde
984. In geste as hyt ys tolde
1693. The tale who so redyth ryght,
The feste lastyd a fourtenyght
In jeste as we rede.

3. Transitions.

526. In Jerusalem can the lady dwelle,
And of hur odor chyld y can yow telle,
That the ape away bare.

4. Requests for silence & addresses to the audience.

202. Ther was never so ryche a getherynge,
That had so sory a pertynge,
I wylle yow telle for-why.
Grete dele hyt ys to telle,
On the ix^{the} day what befelle;
Lystenyth, and ye schalle here.

652. as y schalle yow telle

6. Diction.

6. gladd and blythe *
1079. glad and blythe *
1307. blythe and gladd *
1650. gladd and blythe *
255. What wondur was hyt thogh she were woo! *
334. What wondur was thogh sche were woo? *
343. What wondur was thogh sche woo ware? *
359. wele nor wo
375. day and nyght *
510. day and nyght *
523. day and nyght *
681. Neythur day ne nyght *
1108. bothe nyght and day *
1232. day aftur nyght *

798. Neythur be nyght ne day *
41. bryght os blossom on brere *
511. feyre and free *
783. feyre and fre *
807. feyre and free *
817. mylde of mode *
1000. mylde of mode *
1003. feyre and free *
1142. feyre and fre *
1237. the mayde with mylde mode *
1369. the mayde, with mylde mode *
1680. ferly, feyre, and fre *
381. feyre and bryght *
1015. feyre and bryght *
777. moche of myght *
1540. so moche of mayn *
1569. of moche myght *
1573. of moche myght *
961. Chylde Florent, yn hys feyre wede,
Sprange owt as sparkyle on glede,
The sothe y wylle yow say;
1033. Chylde Florent yn on-feyre wede
Sprange owt as sparklle on glede,
The sothe for to say;
1465. They horsyd Clement on a stede,
He sprang owt as sperkulle on glede,
Into a feyre fylde.
1315. Wyth trumpys and with moche pryde,
Boldely owt of the borowe they ryde
Into a brode fylde.
1516. Wyth trumpys and with moche pryde,

- Boldely owt of the borogh they ryde,
As men moche of myght!
1333. That whyle was moche sorowe yn fyght,
When the batelle began to smyte,
Wyth many a grevys wounde!
Fro the morne that day was lyght,
Tylle hyt was evyn derke nyght,
Or eythur party wolde fownde.
1525. That whyle was moche sorowe yn fyght,
When the batelle began to smyght
With many a grymme gare;
Fro morne that hyt was day lyght,
Tylle hyt was evyn derke nyght,
Wyth woundys wondur sore.

7. Pious explicit.

1729. Jhesu Lorde, hevyn kynge,
Graunt us thy blessyng,
And yn hevyn to abyde!

8. References to minstrels.

193. Kyngys dwellyd then alle in same;
There was yoye and moche game,
At that grete mangery;
Wyth gode metys them amonge,
Harpe, pype, amd mery songe,
Bothe lewte and sawtré.
When the vij. nyght was alle goon,
Wyth alle-kyn welthe in that won,
And mery mynstralsy;

Sir Perceval of Galles.

1. Prologue.

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Lef, lythes to me, | } | Request for attention. |
| | Two wordes or thre, | | |
| | Off one that was faire and fre | } | Announcement of
subject. |
| | And fell in his fighte. | | |

2. Assertions of truth & references to sources.

16. whoso redis ryghte =
17. who that righte can rede =
567. The bokes says
626. Als he says that this made
695. Whoso the sothe will luke
1273. Als it was tolde vnto me
2242. Als he sayse that it made
1219. I tell yow for certen
1494. Certanely, is noghte to layne
1759. The certane sothe als i say
1818. The certen sothe als i yow say
1831. I say it yow certanly
2227. I say yow full certaynly
2275. I say yow than certenly

3. Transitions.

1057. Late we Percyuell the yynge
Fare in Goddes blyssynge,
And vntill Arthoure the Kynge
Will we agayne take.

1121. The Kyng es now in his waye;
Lete hym come when he maye!
And i will forthir in my playe
To Percyuell agayne.

6. Diction.

41. withowtten any bade *
666. withowtten bade *
1533. withowtten any bade *
1760. withowtten any bade *
2128. withowtten any bade *
45. withowtten any lett *
489. And thare made he no lett *
947. withowtten any lett *
1054. withowtten lett *
1315. withowtten any let *
1332. withowtten any lett *
1357. withowtten lett *
1715. withowtten lett *
2066. withowtten lett *
972. withowtten any lese *
1739. withowtten lesyng *
1718. withowt lesyng *
494. withowtten faylynge *
1363. withowtten mare *
1393. withowtten mare *
2237. withowtten mare *
1189. for the nonys *
1172. that tyde *
1209. in that tyde *

7. Pious explicit.

2285. Now Ihesu Criste, heuens Kyng,
Als he es lorde of all thyng,
Grante vs all His blyssyng!
Amen, for charyté!

Richard Coeur de Lion.

1. Prologue.

1. Lord Iesu, kyng off glorye,
Whyche grace and uytorye
Thou sente to Kyng Rychard,
That neuer was founde coward!
It is ful good to here in ieste
Off his prowesse and hys conqueste.)
Announcement of
subject

Ffele romaunes men maken newe,
Off goode knyghtes, stronge and trewe;
Off here dedys men rede romaunce,
10. Bothe in Engeland and in Ffraunce:
Off Rowelond, and off Olyuer,
And off euery Doseper,
Off Alisaundre, and Charlemayn;
Off kyng Arthour, and off Gawayn,
How they were knyghtes goode and curteys;
Off Turpyn, and of Oger Daneys;
Off Troye men rede in ryme,
What werre ther was in olde tyme;
Off Ector, and off Achylles,

20. What folk they slowe in that pres.
In Frenssche bookys this rym is wrought,
Lewede men ne knowe it nought -
Lewede men cune Ffrench non,
Among an hondryd vnnethis on -
Neuertheles, with glad chere,
Ffele off hem that wolde here
Noble iestes, j vndyrstonde,
Off doughty knyghtes off Yngelonde.

Therefore now j wole yow rede
30. Off a kyng, doughty in dede:)
Kyng Rychard, the werryour beste } Reiteration of
subject

That men fynde in ony ieste.)

Now alle that here this talkyng,) Prayer for
God geue hem alle good endyng! } listeners

2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.

21. In Ffrenssche bookys this rym is wrought (see under 1.)

39. Als j finde in my sawe

2047. j fynde

2896. as j ffynde in tale

2973. j ffynde

4888. And as j ffynde in his story

5027. as j ffynde

5401. in booke j fynde

5855. In the ieste as j ffynde

5883. as j ffynde

6211. It was so don as j fynde

6553. j fynde in boke

6609. j ffynde

7116. as j ffynde

27. j vndyrstonde

45. j vndyrstonde

259. j vnderstonde

629. j unyrstande

735. j vnderstonde

1318. j vndyrstande

1526. j vndirstande

1676. j vndyrstonde

2209. as j vnderstonde

2542. j vndyrstonde

100. j wene

201. j wis

1956. i swere

200. Fforsothe, as the book vs sayde
794. He that it sawe the sothe sayd
1903. Therwith i wote, forsothe, iwys
3149. The sothe to say/and nought to hele
5854. To telle the sothe in alle thynges
6302. soth to sayn
6863. forsothe to say
1313. so says oure tale
1975. so sayth the boke
2383. so sayth the boke
2626. so says the book
3439. so says the ieste
6501. so says the story
1594. as j yow rede
5319. as we rede
5669. But in ieste as it is tolde
5753. as the book vs telles
2031. To this daye men may here speke
 How the Englysshe were there awreke.
4991. And ye schal here, as it is wrete,
 Hou the batayle was ismete.
5099. Off my tale bes nought awundryd:
 The Ffrenssche says he slowgh an hundrid,
 Whereof is maad this Ynglyssche sawe,
 Or he reste hym ony thrawe.
5439. Hard fyght was hem bytwene,
 So sayde thay that dyde it sene.
5538. As thay seyde that were there,
 Nevere was ther sen non slyke.
6615. Ffyue myle it was off brede,
 And more, j wene, so God me rede
7028. As it is in Ffrensche jffounde
7033. Seygh neuere man, j haue herd telle,
 One man so manye Saryzynys quelle.

3. Transitions.

1119. Now off this lete we bee,
And off the kyng speke we.

2243. Hearken now of the stewarde!

3980. But speke we now off Kyng Richard

4303. Lordynges, now ye haue herd
Off these townes hou it fferd;
Hou Kyng R. with hys maystry
Wan the toun off Sudan Turry;
Orglyous wan Thomas Multone,
And slowgh euery modyr sone.
Off Ebedy we schal speke,
That faste now hath here yate steke,
Whenne Ffouke Doyly it bylay,
That entre jn nought he may.

5013. Now speke we of Richard oure kyng
Hou he com to batayle with his gyng.

6509. Now may ye here of the wynnyng
That ther wan R. oure kyng.

6561. Now off Saladyn speke we
What dool he made and pyte,
Whenne he wyste off that caas,
That hys tresore robbyd was.

4. Requests for silence and addresses to the audience.

619. j yow saye

776. as j you saye

942. as j yow say

1199. as j yow say

- 1470.as j yow say
1478.as j schal telle thee
2579.as j yow telle
4853.j telle yow sekyr
5533.as j yow telle
277. And aboute his necke a bell,
 Wherfore the reason j shall you tell
655. I schal yow telle that be here,
 Herkenes alle in what manere!
3041.Why Kyng Richard so syke lay,
 The resoun j yow telle may
5297.Here names j schal yow telle anon
29. Therefore now j wole yow rede (See under 1.)
 Off a kyng, doughty in dede
5248.as j yow rede
780. be you sure
1509.as j haue sayde
2695.as ye may see
35. Lordynges, herkenes bifore,
 How Kyng Rychard was gete and bore.
1297.Lystenenes off a tresoun strong
1340.As ye may here afftyrward
1429.as ye may here
1879.Now harken of Rycharde, our kynge
3757.Hys doughty dedes whoso wyl lere,
 Herkenes now, and ye mowe here.
3848.But now ye may here a wundyr.
4002.But lystenes off a queynte gyle!
4069.Now beth in pes, lystenes a pas!
 I schal yow telle off Sere Thomas,
 The noble baroun off Multone,
 That lay with many a modyr sone

- At Orglyous, a strong castel.
Lystnes now what chaunce beiel!
4231. Lordynges, here to my pleynte
Ye schal here of a tresoun queynte.
4991. And ye schal here, as it is wrete,
Hou the batayle was jsmete.
5395. Lystnys lordes, yungge and olde,
Ffor his loue that Judas solde!
5723. Now herkenes what oth they swore
Ar they to the batayle wore
6229. Now herkenes hou he it wan,
And ye may here off a doughty man,
A stout werreour and a queynte
That neuere was ffounden in herte ffeynte.
6239. But as he dede a ffayr queyntyse,
Herkenes now in what wyse!
6723. Now herkenes of my tale soth,
Though j swere yow none oth!
6827. And yekon cryede in this manere
As ye schal afftyrward here
6881. And ye schal here on the morwe
That was a day of mucche sorowe:
The gretest batayll, j vnderstonde,
That euer was in ony londe.
And ye that this batayll wyll lere,
Herken now, and ye schal here!

5. Rhetorical device - Occupatio.

157. Knyghtes seruyd there good spede,
Off what to telle it is no nede.
1761. Of whete and benys twenty thowsinde
Quarters he boughte als that j fynde;

Of fysshe, foules, and venyson,
I ne can nought account in ryght reason.
3354. Here names j ne telle can.
4975. Off moo landes than ony can telle,
Saue he that made heuene and helle.
6874. So many of them to deth he dyght,
That no man it may acounte
How many of them it wolde amounte.

6. Diction.

30. doughty in dede *
1927. doughty of dede *
76. Bryght as the sunne thorwgh the glas *
175. bryght and schene *
98. withouten lye *
173. withouten lesyng *
713. without lyes *
718. without lesynge *
944. withouten lesyng *
984. withouten lesyng *
5326. withouten lye *
5604. withouten lesynges *
5758. withouten lesyng *
6257. withouten les *
6295. withoute lesyng *
7018. withouten les *
7161. withouten les *
138. whyt so flour *
387. whyte as mylke *
1036. whyte as ony mylk *
1523. whyt so mylke *
4891. whyte as the iflour *

142. curteys and hende *
1173. curteys and hende *
169. withouten fayle *
935. withouten fayle *
1177. withouten ffayle *
1329. withouten ffayle *
1623. withouten ffayle *
1710. saunt ffayle *
1829. saunce fayle *
1860. saunce fayle *
2015. withouten fayle *
2151. withouten fayle *
2237. without fayle *
2261. withouten fayle *
2338. without fayle *
2478. saun faile *
2489. saun faile *
2587. sauns fayle *
2684. saun fayle *
2763. saun ffayle *
2768. saun fayl *
2806. saun fayle *
2836. saun faylle *
2840. saun fayle *
3025. saun ffayle *
3227. withouten ffayle *
3664. withoute ffayle *
4152. withouten ffayl *
4563. saun ffayle *
4899. withouten ffayle *
4922. saun fayle *
5086. withouten ffayle *
5288. withouten ffayle *

5371.withouten fayle *
5525.withoute ffayle *
5877.withouten ffayle *
5964.without fayle *
6123.withouten ffayle *
6269.withouten fayle *
6403.saunt fayle *
6512.saun fayle *
6585.withouten ffayle *
6624.withouten fayle *
6739.saun fayle *
6915.without fayle *
7015.withouten fayle *
7036.withouten ffayle *
7091.withouten ffayle *
7186.saun ffayle *
219. Neyther for wele neyther for woo *
599. Neyther for wele ne for woo *
6587.wel and woo *
254. Bothe with shelde and with spere *
1290.with spere and scheeld *
4484.with scheeldes and with speres *
5289.Weel armyd with spere and scheelde *
5497.with spere and scheelde *
266. without let *
404. without let *
851. withouten let *
948. withouten let *
991. withouten lette *
1192.withouten let *
1500.withouten let *
4947.withouten lette *
274. without lacke *

285. grete and stronge *
287. grete and stoute *
467. styff and strong *
485. stout and sauage *
493. stout and quarrey *
4542. bothe styff and strong *
6366. stout and ffers *
293. And the knyght fell to grounde,
Full nye deed in that stounde
299. His horse and he fell to grounde,
And dyed bothe in that stounde
798. He fel doun ded as ony ston *
868. He ffyl doun ded as ony ston *
276. as he were wode *
463. he rod as he were wood *
826. Ffor sorwe, sertys, sche wax nygh wood *
975. as they were wode *
1806. loked as he were wode *
3215. gan to laughe as he were wood *
435 0. the othere fledden, and were nygh wood *
5105. And layden on as they were woode *
7059. they layden on as they were wood *
7062. As he were wode he gan to ffyghte *
306. rede as blode *
333. rede as blode *
346. within and withoute *
1938. Within the gates and without *
2662. Fful schyr withjnne and eke withoute *
309. grete and longe *
1350. grete and smale *
2329. grete and smale *
2331. small and grete *
436. on hye *

2239.on hye *
556. heyghe and lowgh *
6246.hygh ne lowe *
622. fer and nere *
1408.ifer or nere *
7196.bothe fer and nere *
723. so mote j the *
726. nyght or daye *
2470.nyght ne day *
3063.be nyght and day
3125.day and nyght *
3273.other be nyght, other be dawe *
4612.by nyght and day *
5995.day and nyght *
6039.day and nyght *
6112.nyght and day *
748. erly or late, loude or styll *
884. sche louede Rychard with al here myght *
3126.with al here myght *
7011.with al here myght *
7030.with myght and mayn *
7051.with myghte and mayn *
891. anon ryght *
2206.anone ryghtes *
2400.anon ryght *
2607.anon ryght *
4025.anon ryght
4399.anon ryght
6423.anon ryght *
6667.anon ryght *
6720.anon ryghte *
6786.anon ryght *

1090.that tyde *
2168.in that tyde *
4006.that tyde *
4505.that tyde *
4844.that tyde *
4871.that tyde *
5790.that tyde *
7008.that tyde *
1104.prowde in pres *
3452.prowde in pres *
1184.more and lesse
1223.lesse and more *
1812.more and lasse *
2054.lesse and more *
2873.the more and the lasse *
3323.more and lasse *
5246.lesse and more *
5377.Lytyl, mekyl, lasse, and more *
5919.more and lesse *
6294.Yyng and olde, lesse and more *
6520.more and lasse *
1411.on lyff and leme *
3332.Olde and yonge, lesse and more *
3303.With lyff and leme
3386.with lyff and leme *
3896.lyues and lemes
3903.vp lyff and leme *
3964.On lyff and leme
6193.lyff and leme
6595.Vpon leme and vpon lyff *
1446.in werre and fyght *
2246.in pease and gryth *

- 3336.pes or grith *
2049.euery dell *
2365.euery dele *
2301.for the nones *
2551.for the nones *
2707.for the nones *
2923.ffor the nones *
3112.for the nones *
3675.ffor the nones *
3932.ffor the nones *
5417.ffor the nones *
5488.ffor the nones *
6091.for the nones *
6639.ffor the nones *
2544.Bothe in yryn and in steel *
2788.Bothe in yren and in steel *
5658.Bothe in yryn and in steel *
6048.Bothe in yryn and in steel *
6281.steel and yre *
6842.in yryn and in steel *
2276.Stowte in armes, and stronge in fighte *
5178.Stowte in armes, stronge in ffyghtes *
5946.stoute in armes, stronge in ffyghtes *
6504.stoute in armes and stronge in fyghtes *
2736.alle and some *
6746.alle and some *
2577.Ffor non armour withstood hys ax,
 No more than a knyff dos the wax.
3163.Ffor non armour withstood hys ax,
 No more than a knyff dos the wax. [See below, p. 6865]
4848.With hys ax, that byttyrly boot *
4874.With hys fawchoun, that byttyr bot *
5173.On the morowe Kyng Rycharde ros -

Hys dedes were riche and his los
5879. At morwen, whenne Kyng R. aros -
Hys dedes were noble and his los
6865. For theyr armure fared as waxe
Ayenst Kynge Rychardes axe
3181. bothe pore and ryche *
3826. Ryche ne pore
4191. pore ne ryche *
6386. pore and ryche *
2302. bodyes and bones *
5487. fflesch and bones *
6336. fflesch and bon *
6796. bothe fflesch and bon *
5126. flesch and bon *
2698. manye and fale *
2818. hardy and kene *
3118. hool and sounde *
3122. bothe leryd and lewyd *
4466. wyght in wede *
5222. bolde and stoute *
6244. olde and y yng *
3503. withouten bost *
5400. withouten wene *
5932. withouten bost *
6995. withouten doute *
4600. Bothe in hous and eke in yerde *
7081. bothe mount and playn *

7. Pious explicit.

7209. Thus endyd Rychard oure kyng;

God geue vs alle good endyng,
And hys soule reste and roo,
And oure soules whenne we come thertoo!

8. References to minstrels.

147. The messengers by ylke a syde,
And menstralles with mekyl pryde.

663. Whenne they hadde drunken wel afyn,

A mynstralle com ther in,

And saide; "Goode men, wyttyrly,

Wole ye haue ony mynstralsy?"

Rychard bad that he scholde goo;

That turnyd hym to mekyl woo.

The mynstralle took in mynde,

And sayde: "Ye are men vnkynde,

And yiff j may, ye schall forthynk.

Ye gaff me neyther mete ne drynk!

Ffor gentyl men scholde bede

To mynstrall that abouten yede

Off here mete, wyn, and ale:

Ffor los ryses off mynstrale."

(The minstrel is rewarded by the king, and Richard
and his knights are thrown into prison.)

3441. At a meal;

At noon "a lauer" the waytes blewe

3453. Ffro kechene com the fyrste cours,

With pypes, and trumpes, and tabours.

3774. Afftyr mete, thoo they were glad,

Rychard gaff gyfftes, gret wones,

Gold, and syluyr, and precyouse stones;

To herawdes, and to dysours,

To tabourrers, and to trumpours

Hors and robes to bere his los;
Thorwgh here cry his renoun ros,
Hou he was curteys and ffree.

6747. They lokyd towarde the castel,
They herde no pype ne flagel.
They drough hem nygh to the lande
Yiff they myghte vndyrstande;
And they ne cowde nought aspye,
Be no voys off menstralsye,
That quyk man in the castel ware.

The Squire of Low Degree.

2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.

1113. And certaynly, as the story sayes,
The reuell lasted forty dayes.

1128. For also farre as i haue gone,
Suche two louers sawe i none.

3. Transitions

301. But leue we of the stewarde here,
And speke we more of that squyer

509. But it stode with hym full harde,
As ye shall here nowe of the stewarde.

669. Leue we here of this squyer wight,
And speake we of that lady bryght

859. But leue we of that lady here,
And speake we more of that squyer

6. Diction

19. He was not ryche of golde and fe; ✱

69. That were ryche of golde and fe ✱

138. To seke where Christ was quicke and dead ✱

238. To seke where Christe were dead and quycke ✱

113. in wele and wo ✱

733. so mote I thryue ✱

7. Pious incipit

For also farre as i have gone,
Suche two louers sawe i none.

Therefore blessed may theyr soules be,
Amen, Amen, for charyte!

8. References to minstrels

1069. There was myrth and melody

With harpe, getron, and sautry,
With rote, ribible, and clokarde,
With pypes, organs, and bumbarde,
Wyth other mynstrelles them amonge,
With sytolphe and with sautry songe,
With wythefyde, recorde, and dowcemere,
With trompette and with claryon clere,
With dulcet pipes of many cordes;
In chambre reuelyng all the lordes
Unto morne, that it was daye.

The Seven Sages of Rome.

1. Prologue.

1. Lordynges that here likes to dwell,) Request for
Leues yowre speche and heres this spell.) attention.
I sal yow tel, if I haue tome,)
Of the Seuen Sages of Rome.) Announcement of
subject.

3. Transitions.

20. Tharfore of hir na more I tell,
Whether sho past to pyne or play;
Bot of the son I sal yow say.
255. Of the riche Emperoure of Rome
I sal yow tel if I haue tome;
Tharfore the childe now lat we be,
And of his fader speke wil we.

4. Requests for silence & addresses to the audience.

26. Herkens now a ferly case.
316. Herkins now on what manere.

6. Diction.

10. The fayrest lady that bare life *
14. The fayrest that on fote myght go *
2564. bath night and day *
2743. day or night *
2938. day and night *
3065. dai and night *
3258. night and day *
3275. by day ne night *

3386.nowther day ne night *
3398.Night and day
3731.day and nyght *
4060.Both by nightes and bi dayes *
4068.nowther night ne day *
4094.both night and day *
687. so mot I the *
1153.so mot I the *
3 014.so/mot I the *
3022.so mot I the *
3039.so mot I gang *
3059.so mot I the *
3309.so mot I the *
384. les and mare *
905. les and mare *
1494.mekil or mare *
3974.both les and mare *
4037.bath les and mare *
2857.ilka dele *
3270.ilka dele *
3892.ilk dele *
3991.ilka dele *
4000.ilka dele *
2622.withowten fayl *
2694.withowten let *
2733.withowten dout *
3115.withouten fayl *
3523.withowten lese *
3976.withowten let *
4167.withowten delay *

7. Thusgate endes al this thing;
Ihesu grante vs his blyssyng!
Amen.

8. References to minstrels.

3688. After a marriage ceremony:
And als tite als the mes was done,
Than was thare made grete menestrelsy

Thomas of Erceldoune

1. Prologue

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Lystyns, lordyngs both grete and smale,
 And takis gude tente, what i will saye;
 I sall yow telle als trewe a tale,
 Als ever was herde by nyghte or daye,
 And the maste mervelle, forowttyn naye,
 Tht ever was herde byfore or syen;
 And therfore pristly i yow praye,
 That ye will of youre talkyng blyn.</p> | <p>)
)=
)Request
)
) for
)
)
)attention</p> |
| <p>9. It es an harde thyng for to lere
 Of doghety dedis, that hase bene done,
 Of felle feghtyngs and batells sere,
 And how that thir knyghtishas wonne thair
 schone:
 Bot Jesu Crist, that syttis in trone,
 Safe Ynglysche men bothe ferre and nere.
 And i sall felle yow tyte and sone
 Of batells done sythen many a yere</p> | <p>)
)Announcement
)
)
) of
)
) subject
)
)</p> |
| <p>17. And of batells, that done shall bee,
 In whate place and howe and where,
 And wha sall hafe the heghere gree,
 And whethir partye sall hafe the werre,
 Wha sall takk the flyghte and flee,
 And wha sall dye and byleve thare;</p> | <p>)
)Facts re.
)the story
)
) to whet
)
)curiosity</p> |

23. Bot Jesu Crist, that dyed on tre,
Save Inglysche men, whareso thay fare. } Prayer

2. Assertions of truth and references to sources.

83. Gyff it be, als the storrye sayes,
He hir mette at Eldontree.
123. And, als the storrye tellis full ryghte,
Seven sythis by hir he laye.

3. Transitions.

307. Here es a fytt, twayn ar to saye
Of Thomas of Erselldown.
487. Here ar two fyttis, ones to saye
Of Thomas of Erselldown.

6. Diction.

4. by nyghte or daye *
300. bothe nyght and daye *
408. that nyghte and daye *
500. that nyghte and daye *
512. that nyghte and daye *
14. bothe ferre and nere *
75. Marye moste of myghte *
126. byrde in bour
157. sonne and moon *
189. sothely to saye *
207. the sothe to saye *
493. sothely to telle *
628. the sothe to tell *
211. with tene and traye *
219. Of towne and towre

230. faire and free ✕
250. by my faye ✕
420. par faye ✕
457. par faye ✕
501. par faye ✕
251. with mayne and mode ✕
279. with mode and mayne ✕
362. with mode and mayne ✕
255. bothe faire and gent ✕
489. gente and hende ✕
267. als they were wode ✕
271. Lufly ladies faire and free ✕
285. als i the telle ✕
319. by frythe or felle ✕
321. withowttyn gyle ✕
1. bothe grete and smale ✕
387. grete and smale ✕
499. grete and smalle ✕
398. Mare and lesse
423. more and myn ✕
532. more and lesse ✕
427. bothe alde and younge ✕
428. withowten naye ✕
5. forowttyn naye ✕
456. forowttyn drede ✕
504. withowttyn drede ✕
390. Trow thou wele, that i the saye! ✕
418. Belefe, Thomas, als i the saye! ✕
462. Trow thou wele, that i telle the! ✕
621. Thomas, trowe, that i the tell, ✕
That this es soth yeke a worde! ✕

632. Thomas, trow thou ilke a worde! ✕
641. Trow this wel, that i the saye: ✕
650. (Thomas, truly i the saye!) ✕
507. bothe ferse and felle ✕
525. bathe styf and strange ✕
560. bothe styf and strange ✕
554. i undirstande ✕
571. bothe este and weste ✕
586. by northe ne southe ✕
614. Este and weste

7. Pious explicit.

697. Of swilke an hirdman wolde i here,
That couth me telle of swilke ferly.
Jesu corounde with crown so clere;
Brynge us to thi hall on hye!

8. References to minstrels.

313. To harpe or carpe, whareso thougonge
Thomas, thou sall have the chose, sothely.
He saide: 'harpyng kepe i none,
For tonge es chefe of mynstralsye'.
685. I sall the kenne, whare ever thou gaa,
To bere the pryce of curtaysye.
Tunge es wele, and tunge es waa,
And tunge es chefe of mynstrallsye.

4. Requests for silence & addresses to the audience.

A.19.1. Rewthe mow ye here,
Of Rouland Riis the knight

A.37.6. Listneth lordinges dere;
Who so better can say,
His owen he may here,
As hende,

Of thing that is him dere,
Ichman preise at end.

B.28.10. Listen now who wil lithe,
Al of an hardi man.

C.10.1. The king a welp he brought,
Bifor Tristrem the trewe;
What colour he was wrought,
Now ichil you schewe

C.25.10. Of love who wil lere,
Listen now the ground.

5. Rhetorical device - Occupatio.

B.54.2. Of fest no speke y nought.

6. Diction

A.1.5. king with crown *

A.16.10. king with crown *

A.47.10. king with croun *

A.86.2. king with croun *

A.3.10. withouten les *

A.6.8. with outen les *

A.55.6. with outen les *

- B.54.3. with outen lesing *
- B.63.3. withouten lesing *
- B.77.3. without lesing *
- B.100.2. with outen les *
- C.12.1. withouten les *
- C.32.7. with outen les *
- C.75.5. withouten lesing *
- A.5.11. knightes mani and hende *
- A.6.2. knightes proud in pres *
- A.15.6. That brightest is in bour *
- A.68.4. maidens that were bright *
- A.24.8. tour and town *
- A.25.10. blod and ban *
- A.37.5. prince proud in play *
- A.44.10. that tide *
- B.38.9. That tide *
- B.54.9. That tide *
- B.58.3. at that tide *
- B.103.5. that tide *
- C.7.5. that tide *
- C.28.6. at that tide *
- C.42.1. that tide *
- C.48.1. that tide *
- C.78.9. That tide *
- C.87.9. That tide *
- C.91.11. that tide *
- A.49.6. sikerly *
- A.62.10. holtes hare *
- A.35.4. holtes that weren hare *
- A.81.9. saunfayl *
- A.97.9. Saun fayl *
- B.16.9. Saun fail *

- A.88.1. glad and blithe ✕
B.82.1. blithe and glad ✕
A.91.4. As prince proude in pan ✕
A.96.3-4. He fought withouten wene, ✕
 So wolf that wald wede ✕
B.2.10. withouten wene ✕
B.31.7. withouten wene ✕
B.63.10. withouten wen ✕
B.67.5. withouten wen ✕
B.89.10. withouten wene ✕
B.107.5. withouten wene ✕
C.8.10. withouten wene ✕
C.14.10. with outen wene ✕
C.15.8. withouten wene ✕
C.26.7. with outen wene ✕
C.29.8. with outen wene ✕
B.8.3. Lovesome under line ✕
C.47.11. Luffsam under line ✕
B.15.4. hole he was and fere ✕
B.69.2. hole and sound ✕
B.70.11. hole and sounde ✕
B.71.1. Hole was sche and sounde ✕
B.16.6. Gold and silver
B.24.2. war and wise ✕
B.44.8. In batayl and in fight ✕
B.45.7. day and night ✕
B.52.5. night and day ✕
B.63.11. day and night ✕
B.83.8. night and day ✕
C.17.11. day and night ✕
C.30.7. Bothe night and day ✕

- B.41.10. Ysonde, bright of hewe *
B.53.10. Ysonde, bright of hewe
B.78.3. withouten wene *
B.95.2. Y wis *
B.99.5. Y wis *
B.107.4. Y wis *
C.6.2. Y wis *
C.10.9. Y wis *
C.14.7. Y wis *
C.23.9. Y wis *
C.42.4. Y wis *
C.56.4. Y wis *
C.2.10. withouten nay *
C.20.5. withouten nay *
C.8.3. brinies bright *
C.10.8; gamen and glewe *
C.11.8. withouten wende *
C.31.3. Gamen and joie
C.44.3. that tide *
C.47.2. In bataile and in fighte *
C.53.9. With outen oth *

8. References to minstrels

- A.51.1. An harpour made a lay
C.51.5. A baroun that hight Bonifas,
Spoused a leuedi of Lyoun;
Ther was miche solas,
Of all maner souþ,
And gle;
Of minstrals up and down,
Bifor the flock so fre.

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