

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: MUSICIANS AND COMMONERS
 IN LATE MEDIEVAL LONDON

 Simon Polson, Doctor of Philosophy, 2020

Dissertation directed by: Professor Barbara Hagg-Huglo
 School of Music

This dissertation examines music making in late medieval London (c.1300-c.1550) from the commoners' perspective, and with this emphasis, does not discuss royal or monastic musical ensembles or music in aristocratic households, nor does it examine the music of St Paul's Cathedral in detail. This shifts the focus from mensurally notated, pre-composed music towards monophony and extemporized polyphony which, unnotated, was realized in performance. These kinds of music more than any others were those made by medieval musicians and heard by commoners; through a study of archival documents and their printed editions, including account books, chronicles and other sources, the dissertation identifies the events at which musicians performed and commoners encountered music: civic and royal processions; the Midsummer Watches; processions of criminals with "rough music"; liturgical feast days, and at associated meals. It also locates the music of daily life in the streets and in many dozens of parish churches.

The extant notated music from medieval London is mostly in chant books. No complete extant source of polyphony survives, but neither would such a source accurately represent a musical culture in which mensural polyphony and notated music itself were inaccessible to most. Used with methodological caution, documents from London reveal

details where little notated music survives and describe or hint at the music that commoners knew. Also examined are two songs (“Sovereign Lord Welcome Ye Be,” “Row the bote Norman”) with surviving texts that may be original. A major appendix lists over 300 musicians who flourished in London in the period.

MUSICIANS AND COMMONERS
IN LATE MEDIEVAL LONDON

by

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To my mum and dad,
and to *Thomas with the Trompe*
and all other *Mynstrelles of this Citie of london*

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I acknowledge first my debt to the editors of the rich published archive of medieval London documents, whose unimaginably long hours spent reading, transcribing, and translating the original scribes' work has placed so much more of London's archive in my hands than I could ever have read myself. Anne Lancashire (editor, REED *Civic London*) and Mary Erler (editor, REED *Ecclesiastical London*) have communicated with me about the texts in their editions, and Lisa Jefferson (editor, Mercers' and Wardens' accounts editions) answered my questions. That I could read the manuscripts cited here is thanks to Heather Wolfe and the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC. I thank Sarah Powell for her assistance in interpreting some of the texts.

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List of Abbreviations

- BHO British History Online, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/>.
- CL Transcription of a record from Anne Lancashire, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Civic London to 1558*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015).
- CWD Churchwardens' documents (see List of Documents & Citations, and Editorial Procedures).
- EL Transcription of a record from Mary Carpenter Erler, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Ecclesiastical London* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
- GMO *Grove Music Online*, via Oxford Music Online, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic>.
- LMA London Metropolitan Archives, City of London.
- MSL Anne Lancashire, "The Mayors and Sheriffs [of London], 1190-1558," appendix 7 of *CL*, 983-1037 (also online and regularly updated at <https://masl.library.utoronto.ca/>).
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/>.
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary*, <https://www.oed.com/>.
- PRI Transcription of a record from the (parish churches') Reformation Inventories, from H. B. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1939).¹
- STA C. Paul Christianson, *A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans, 1300-1500* (New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 1990).

¹ In May 1552, the Privy Council issued four articles to churches, of which the second, third, and fourth were to supply to the King's Commissioners a list of the goods in the church's possession in the sixth year of the reign of Edward VI [i.e., 1552], a copy of the inventory made for Bishop Bonner in 1548, and a list of goods sold between 1548 and 1552: for the compilation of these documents, see the introduction by Walters, PRI, 12. Unless it is relevant to separate them, I have considered these articles together under the umbrella term "Reformation Inventories."

Documents and Citations

Documents

This study is based on the extant churchwardens' documents (including accounts, inventories and memoranda) and secular documents (including records of the business of the City of London, and company accounts and other memoranda). Churchwardens' documents have mostly been consulted in their original manuscripts, though some editions have been used; references to secular documents are mostly taken from the London volumes in the *Records of Early English Drama* series,² though sometimes the manuscripts have been used. I have restricted myself to the public sphere and so have not consulted, for example, household accounts.³

| Citation | See |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| All Hallows Barking CWD | LMA, P69/ALH1/G/04/005 (<i>citations are to the typewritten transcripts accompanying each leaf, under a heading 's.v.' identifying the transcript</i>) |
| All Hallows on the Wall CWD | LMA, P69/ALH5/B/003/MS05090/001 (<i>citations follow the modern pencil foliation in the lower right corner of the recto, not the earlier ink foliation in the top right</i>) |
| All Hallows Staining CWD(1) | LMA, P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/001 (<i>citations follow my foliation and the scribal roman-numeral foliation, absent on some leaves; the opening folio is thus cited as 1r/iiii^o r</i>) |
| All Hallows Staining CWD(2) | LMA, P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/002 (<i>citations follow the ink foliation in roman numerals in the upper right corner of the recto</i>) |
| Armourers and Brasiers' Court Minutes | CL |

² Several manuscripts included in *CL* and *EL* and listed in the front matter of those volumes were not thought relevant to include in this dissertation, but they were consulted.

³ The major volume is C. M. Woolgar, ed., *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, 2 parts (Oxford: Published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1992-93). Examples of entries relating to music from household records are given in Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), appendix B, 252-79.

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| Armourers and Brasiers' Wardens' Accounts | CL |
| Bakers' Audit Books | CL |
| Blacksmiths' Wardens' Accounts | |
| Brewers' Account and Memorandum Book (Porland) | CL |
| Brewers' Wardens' Accounts | CL |
| Bridge House Weekly Payments | CL |
| Bridgemasters' Annual Accounts and Rentals | CL |
| Carpenters' Wardens' Accounts | CL |
| Clothworkers' Wardens' Accounts | CL |
| Commissary Court Act Book | EL |
| Coopers' Wardens' Accounts | CL |
| Court of Aldermen, Repertory [1-14] | CL |
| Court of Common Council, Journal [1-7] | CL |
| Drapers' Minutes and Records | CL |
| Drapers' Wardens' Accounts | CL |
| Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes | CL |
| Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, ed. Jefferson | <i>Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books of the Goldsmiths' Mistery of London 1334-1446</i> , ed. Lisa Jefferson (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2003). |
| Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book) | CL |
| Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), ed. Kingdon | <i>Facsimile Account of the First Volume of the Ms Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London 1345-1463</i> , ed. John Abernethy Kingdon, 2 vols. (London: Grocers' Company, 1886). |
| Grocers' Wardens' Accounts | CL |
| Grocers', Memorandum, Ordinance and Account Book | CL |
| Ironmongers' Registers | CL |

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|---|---|
| Jesus Guild Wardens' Accounts | <i>EL</i> |
| John Foxe, Acts and Monuments | <i>EL</i> |
| [City of London] Letter Books A-O | <i>CL</i> |
| Leathersellers' Accounts and Inventories (Liber Curtes) | <i>CL</i> |
| Mercers' Acts of Court | <i>CL</i> |
| Mercers' Register of Writings | <i>CL</i> |
| Mercers' Wardens' Accounts | <i>CL</i> |
| Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, ed. Jefferson | <i>The Medieval Account Books of the Mercers of London: An Edition and Translation</i> , ed. Lisa Jefferson, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Aldgate, 2009). |
| Merchant Taylors' Accounts | <i>CL</i> |
| Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes | <i>CL</i> |
| Merchant Taylors' Pageant Memorandum Book | <i>CL</i> |
| Pewterers' Audit Books | <i>CL</i> |
| Royal Order Banning Boy Bishops | <i>EL</i> |
| Skinners' Court Book | <i>CL</i> |
| Skinners' Receipts and Payments | <i>CL</i> |
| St Alphage CWD | LMA, P69/ALP/B/006/MS01432/001 (<i>citations follow the modern pencil foliation</i>) |
| St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess | <i>The Church Records of St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, c1450-c1570</i> , ed. Clive Burgess (London: London Record Society, 1999) |
| St Benet Gracechurch CWD | LMA, P69/BEN2/B/012/MS01568/001 (<i>citations follow the modern pencil pagination in the upper, outer corners of each opening</i>) |
| St Botolph without Aldgate CWD | LMA, P69/BOT2/B/012/MS09235/001 (<i>citations follow the pencil foliation in the upper right corner of each recto</i>) |
| St Christopher Le Stocks CWD | LMA, P69/CRI/B/012/MS04424 (<i>citations refer to the second sequence of pencil foliation, where fol. 1r begins with the inventory of 26 March 1483</i>). |

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|---|--|
| St Dunstan in the East CWD | LMA, P69/DUN1/B/001/MS04887 (<i>citations follow the modern pencil foliation in the upper right corner of the recto</i>) |
| St Dunstan in the West CWD | LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001 (<i>citations follow the ink foliation in the upper right corner of the recto</i>) |
| St Lawrence Pountney CWD | LMA, P69/LAW2/B/010/MS03907/001 (<i>citations follow my foliation, beginning 1r</i>) |
| St Margaret Moses CWD | LMA, P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001 (<i>citations follow the foliation in black at the bottom centre of the recto</i>) |
| | Consulted but not cited: LMA, P69/MGT2/D/001/MS10137 (churchwardens' documents, including a copy of the 1547 chantry certificate) |
| St Margaret Pattens CWD | LMA, P69/MGT4/B/004/MS04570/001 (<i>citations follow the modern pencil foliation in the upper right corner of the recto</i>) |
| St Martin Ludgate Vestry Minutes | EL |
| St Martin Orgar CWD(1) | London, Lambeth Palace Library, CM IX/14 (<i>citations follow the modern pencil foliation</i>) |
| St Martin Orgar CWD(2) | LMA, P69/MTN2/B/001/MS00959/001 (<i>citations follow the modern pencil foliation in the top margin of the recto</i>) |
| St Martin Outwich CWD | LMA, P69/MTN3/B/004/MS06842 (<i>citations follow my foliation with a reference to the manuscript's confused pagination: 5r/3, for example</i>) |
| St Mary at Hill CWD | LMA, P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/001 (<i>citations follow the pencil foliation in the upper right corner of the recto</i>) |
| St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales | <i>The Medieval Records of a London City Church: St Mary at Hill, 1420-1559</i> , ed. Henry Littlehales (London: Trübner, 1905) |
| St Mary Magdalen Milk Street CWD | LMA, P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/001 (<i>citations follow the ink foliation in the upper right corner of the recto, which is out by one folio until 9r, so fols 1-8</i>) |

inclusive are cited as 1r/fol 2r, for example)

- St Mary within Cripplegate
Hospital Kitchener's Account *EL*
- St Mary Woolnoth CWD LMA, P69/MRY15/B/006/MS01002/001A
(citations follow the modern pencil foliation in the upper right margin of the recto, not the contemporary ink foliation which is often one folio out of sequence)
- St Matthew Friday Street CWD LMA, P69/MTW/B/005/MS01016/001
(citations follow the modern pencil foliation in the upper right corner of the recto)
- St Michael Cornhill CWD, ed.
Overall *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, in the City of London, from 1456 to 1608*, ed. William Henry Overall (London: Alfred James Waterlow, 1871)
- St Michael le Querne CWD LMA, P69/MIC4/B/005/MS02895/001
(citations follow the ink foliation in the upper right corner of the recto)
- St Nicholas Shambles CWD London, St Bartholomew's Hospital Archives, Barts Health NHS Trust and Archives, MS SBHSNC/1 *(citations follow the pencil foliation)*
- See also *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Nicholas Shambles London (1452-1548)*, eds. H. Combes, D. Harry and C. Steer (forthcoming). I am grateful to Christian Steer for sharing with me a draft of this edition, to which I have referred when dating entries in the manuscript. I acknowledge also the assistance of the editors in dating the layers of the manuscript's opening inventories.
- St Paul's Cathedral Inventory *EL*
- St Peter Westcheap CWD LMA, P69/PET4/B/006/MS00645/001
(citations follow the foliation in black ink in the upper right corner of the recto, which is supplemented by modern pencil)

| | |
|--|---|
| St Stephen Coleman Street CWD | LMA, P69/STE1/B/012/MS04457/001 <i>(citations follow the foliation in black ink in the upper right corner of the recto)</i> |
| St Stephen Walbrook CWD | LMA, P69/STE2/B/008/MS00593/001 <i>(gatherings in this manuscript are foliated separately. Citations give the physical folio reference followed by the pencil or ink foliation of each gathering: 10r/4r, for example)</i> |
| | Consulted but not cited: LMA, P69/STE2/B/008/MS00593/002 (churchwardens' account book, 1549-1637) |
| Statute for Residentiary Canons | <i>EL</i> |
| Statutes of Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral | <i>EL</i> |
| Supplementary Ordinances for the Jesus Guild | <i>EL</i> |
| Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts | <i>CL</i> |
| Wax Chandlers' Master and Wardens' Accounts | <i>CL</i> |

Editorial Policy

Quotations from primary sources given *in italics* were transcribed directly from the source and retain the original syntax and spelling, except that I have expanded abbreviations, lowered superscript text, and omitted deleted text (except where the scribe's original intent is relevant to the discussion). In the body text, quotations from primary sources are mostly given "in quotation marks," because they are translated into modern English or because either I or an editor has modified the text in some way. Mostly, modifications to the original text adjust spelling (including the substitution of þ with "th") and the scribe's syntax, which is altered where the original is confusing to modern English speakers. Here I have followed the standards established by Clive Burgess in his edition of the church records of St Andrew Hubbard,⁴ and Helen Combes, David Harry and Christian Steer, in their forthcoming edition of the churchwardens' accounts of St Nicholas Shambles.⁵ Changes are mostly to prepositions: *Playing at organs* becomes "playing the organ"; *received of* becomes "received from"; *his bequest to a pair of organs* becomes "his bequest for a pair of organs." In general, I have ignored superfluous punctuation and other marks when transcribing quotations and included only those that help the reader.

Quotations from *CL*, *EL*, and the CWD editions by Littlehales and Overall are given *in italics* (except translations). Quotations from the edition by Burgess are given "in quotation marks."

[...] within a quotation always represents my own omission from the scribe's original text, not a break or damage within it, which is represented by [text missing] or [unintelligible].

Capitalization of a trade or occupation refers to the Company or Guild; lowercase refers to the occupation held by an individual: "The Mercers paid for six trumpeters when Richard Whittington, mercer, rode to Westminster." References to the "Waits," capitalized, refers to the organization of musicians salaried by the chamber; a "wait," lowercase, is an individual musician.

Currency amounts are reduced to their simplest form in pounds, shillings and pence, except when quoted *in italics*. Twelve pence (12*d.*) equalled one shilling (1*s.*), and twenty shillings (20*s.*) equalled one pound (£1), so 62*s. 5d.* in the original becomes £3 2*s. 5d.* Every instance of the mark, which is equivalent to two-thirds of a pound, I have translated as 13*s. 4d.*, and half a mark as 6*s. 8d.*, except where quoting *in italics*. Even in quotations I offset the amount with a comma, and add dots after the *li.*, *s.*, and *d.* signs.

⁴ *The Church Records of St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, c1450-c1570*, ed. Clive Burgess (London: London Record Society, 1999).

⁵ *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Nicholas Shambles London (1452-1548)*, eds. Helen Combes, David Harry and Christian Steer (forthcoming).

Musical terms, including names of instruments and liturgical book types, are defined at their first appearance in the text.

Names of persons are standardized, and the most common spelling is given (where there is certainty that variant names represent the same individual), except for quotations *in italics*. Variant spellings of names are given in appendix 1. Except *in italics* I have not reproduced the doubled *ff* at the beginning of names, and I have replace “I” with “J” and “U” with “V” in those names that are more commonly today spelled (and pronounced) with those consonants.

Names of places, including churches and streets are standardized and are given here according to their spelling in the index of *A Map of Tudor London*, eds. Caroline M. Barron and Vanessa Harding (The Historic Towns Trust, 2018), except where quoting *in italics*.

Square brackets enclose text or commentary by the author.

Years for citations and quotations are given in the text or supplied in parentheses in the footnote. In every case I follow the modern calendar, beginning 1 January. (*CL* follows London’s mayoral year, beginning 28 October, a reference to April 1485 will be found under the heading 1484/85 there; churchwardens’ accounts use a variety of years, beginning at the Annunciation, Midsummer, or Michaelmas, for example.) If it has not been possible to isolate exactly when an event took place in the record, the year is given as the time span of the record, e.g. 1484/85.

I. Introduction

This dissertation examines, through archival documents and printed editions of them, musicians and music making in the city of London from a commoner's perspective, beginning with the early documentary evidence of the fourteenth century, and continuing into the decade after the death of Henry VIII in 1547. While previous studies have been concerned with the roles of musicians in London churches,¹ church resources for the production of polyphony,² and exchanges between royal and civic musicians,³ the people who heard and made the music that is the subject here are the last of the three classes of *clerkes and knyghtes and comuners* into which the narrator of "Piers Plowman"—himself a Londoner—divided medieval society:⁴ they were distinct from the clergy (the *clerkes*), and though some accumulated great wealth, they did not belong to the noble class of *knyghtes* and aristocrats. Therefore, the music of the higher (and often cloistered) orders of clergy, the nobility, and, most importantly, royalty, is excluded, and no attempt is made to

¹ Hugh Baillie, "London Churches, Their Music and Musicians, 1485-1560" (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1957).

² Richard Lloyd, "Provision for Music in the Parish Church in Late-Medieval London" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1999).

³ See the work of Fiona Kisby, including "The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel, 1485-1547" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996); "Music and Musicians of Early Tudor Westminster," *Early Music* 23, no. 2 (1995): 223-40; and "Royal Minstrels in the City and Suburbs of Early Tudor London: Professional Activities and Private Interests," *Early Music* 25, no. 2 (1997): 199-219.

⁴ *Piers Plowman*, B text, Passus XV, line 331: *Ac clerkes and knyȝtes, and comuners þat ben riche* [...]. See William Langland, *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, and C and Z Versions*, 2 vols. ed. A. V. C. Schmidt (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 1:590. For the poem's narrator as a Londoner, see James Simpson, *Piers Plowman: An Introduction to the B-text* (New York: Longman, 1990), 2-4.

offer a concentrated study or provide new information about music in royal institutions,⁵ the army, London's aristocratic households,⁶ or religious houses.

Beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, the field of urban historiography has called for historical enquiry to focus on the cities themselves, and not on those historical events and individual lives that played out within them; these changing emphases are analogous to the emphases of urban musicology.⁷ Within this broad discipline, scholars in recent decades have offered studies of music in Continental cities and their institutions, among them: Amiens (Glenn Pierr Johnson, 1991⁸); Barcelona (Kenneth Kreitner, 1990⁹); Bruges (Reinhard Strohm, 1985¹⁰); Brussels (Barbara Haggh, 1988¹¹); Ferrara (Lewis Lockwood,

⁵ The music at the Royal Court in this period—itsself a peripatetic institution, though often found near to London—has been well studied: in addition to Kisby, “The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel,” see Ian Bent, “The English Chapel Royal before 1300,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 90 (1963): 77-95; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Frances Palmer, “Musical Instruments at the Court of Henry VIII” (PhD diss., University of Surrey, 1985); Eileen Sharpe Pearsall, “Tudor Court Musicians, 1485–1547: Their Number, Status, and Function” (PhD diss., New York University, 1986); Andrew Wathey, *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies of Sources and Patronage* (New York: Garland, 1989); Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot: Aldgate, 2007).

⁶ For an example of scholarship that includes reference to minstrels (with a lute, harp, trumpet, clarion, and zither), see the reference to the town house of Henry of Derby in Caroline M. Barron, “Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Town House in London, 1200-1550,” *The London Journal* 20 (1995): 1-16. (Henry of Derby was later Henry IV.)

⁷ For the relationship between urban historiography and musicology, see Fiona Kisby, “Introduction: Urban History, Musicology and Cities and Towns in Renaissance Europe,” in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. Fiona Kisby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), especially 4-6.

⁸ Glenn Pierr Johnson, “Aspects of Late Medieval Music at the Cathedral of Amiens” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1991).

⁹ Kenneth Richard Kreitner, “Music and Civic Ceremony in Late Fifteenth Century Barcelona,” (PhD diss., Duke University, 1990).

¹⁰ Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

¹¹ Barbara Haggh, “Music, Liturgy and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350-1500” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988).

2009;¹² Laurie Stras, 2018¹³); Florence (Frank D’Accone, 2006,¹⁴ 2007¹⁵); Liège (Catherine Saucier, 2014¹⁶); Provence (Gretchen Peters, 1994¹⁷); Siena (Frank D’Accone, 1997¹⁸); St Omer (Andrew Kirkman, forthcoming¹⁹), Verona (Judith Benfield, 1984),²⁰ and Zamora (Kathleen Nelson, 1996²¹). The large body of literature that has addressed and continues to address music in focused urban environments amplifies the absence of such a study of London, the most populous city in England and one of the two most populous north of Paris in the later Middle Ages, with Ghent.²²

¹² Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹³ Laurie Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

¹⁴ Frank D’Accone, *Music in Renaissance Florence: Studies and Documents* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

¹⁵ Frank D’Accone, *Music and Musicians in 16th-Century Florence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹⁶ Catherine Saucier, *A Paradise of Priests: Singing the Civic and Episcopal Hagiography of Medieval Liège* (Rochester, NY, and Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 2014).

¹⁷ Gretchen Peters, “Secular Urban Musical Culture in Provence and Languedoc during the Late Middle Ages” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1994).

¹⁸ Frank A. D’Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

¹⁹ Andrew Kirkman, *Music and Musicians at the Collegiate Church of St Omer: Crucible of Song, 1350-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in press). I thank Professor Kirkman for kindly sharing his manuscript with me, and I acknowledge our correspondence on some of the topics raised there and in this dissertation.

²⁰ Judith Benfield, “Music in Verona, c. 1480-1530” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1984).

²¹ Kathleen E. Nelson, *Medieval Liturgical Music of Zamora* (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1996).

²² Barbara Haggh, “Sources of Plainchant and Ritual from Ghent and London: A Survey and Comparison,” *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent, Nieuwe Reeks* 50 (1996): 23; see also table 1.1, “Approximate populations of select European cities, 1000-1600” in Kisby, “Introduction: Urban History, Musicology and Cities and Towns,” 3. The fluctuating population of London in this period is described below, see “The City of London” in this chapter.

Existing scholarship that has considered London has done so through the lens of major institutions: the dissertation by Fiona Kisby (1996²³), for example, examines the music of the King's household chapel, which though peripatetic was by the mid-fifteenth century most often found within a 30-mile radius of London; its musicians were sometimes integrated into greater London society.²⁴ Marie-Hélène Rousseau (2011²⁵) has examined the chantry foundations of St Paul's Cathedral, through which testators left bequests to fund priests and personnel to celebrate masses to ease the passage of their soul through purgatory. Royal singers and trumpeters, and the choir of St Paul's Cathedral, do appear in the following chapters, but at those points at which they intersected with the musicians and commoners under examination here.²⁶ Otherwise, the royal household and even the city's cathedral are not the focus of this dissertation—the former because commoners did not have regular access to it, and the latter because they were more inclined to worship at their parish churches than at the cathedral.²⁷

²³ Kisby, "The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel," *op. cit.*

²⁴ Kisby has also shown that while the royal musicians' first loyalties were to the court, they were nevertheless integrated into the urban environments of greater London, especially Westminster (but see "The City of London" in this chapter for a discussion on the boundaries of London). See Kisby, "The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel," especially part two, chapters 6 and 7, and Fiona Kisby, "Royal Minstrels," *op. cit.*

²⁵ Marie-Hélène Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St. Paul's Cathedral, c.1200-1548* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

²⁶ See, for example, the references to the King's trumpeters in "Processions of Civic Officials," chapter 3; the choristers of the Chapel Royal at St Dunstan in the East and St Nicholas Shambles, and the singers of the Lord of Warwick's chapel at St Nicholas Shambles, "Dedication Feasts and Feasts of Patron Saints," chapter 4. Neither were the cloistered worlds completely cut off from society: "Bells," chapter 3, records Londoners supplying bells to the city's Augustinians, for example.

²⁷ See Caroline Barron, "London and St Paul's Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Medieval English Cathedral: Papers in Honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig, Proceedings of the 1998 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Janet Backhouse (Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 134, 149.

While the very useful works by Hugh Baillie (1955;²⁸ 1957²⁹) and Richard Lloyd (1995;³⁰ 1997;³¹ 1999³²) are studies of music within the city's parish churches, the "music" described in their dissertation titles is mostly synonymous with "mensurally notated, polyphonic music," and the role of plainchant is underemphasized. Of plainchant, Thomas Forrest Kelly has written that it was "from at least the eighth century and for about a thousand years [...] the most-heard, most-studied, and most-written music in Western civilization";³³ it remained, with the ongoing composition of new saints' offices, liturgical dramas, and selected chant for the Mass—sometimes by very famous composers of polyphony³⁴—the most commonly composed and notated of all music before the standardization of the Roman calendar by the Council of Trent. Plainchant and monophonic song are now overshadowed by the emphasis on polyphonic composition in constructions

²⁸ Hugh Baillie, "A London Church in Early Tudor Times," *Music & Letters* 36, no. 1 (1955): 55-64.

²⁹ Baillie, "London Churches," *op. cit.*

³⁰ Richard Lloyd, "Pre-Reformation Music in the Chapel of St Thomas the Martyr, London Bridge" (MMus thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1995).

³¹ Richard Lloyd, "Music at the Parish Church of St Mary at Hill, London," *Early Music* 25, no. 2 (1997): 221-26.

³² Lloyd, "Provision for Music," *op. cit.*

³³ Thomas Forrest Kelly, "Introduction," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.

³⁴ For example, the office chants written by Guillaume Du Fay identified and described in Barbara Helen Haggh, "The Celebration of the 'Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis', 1457-1987," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30 (1988): 361-73. Of these chants, Richard Sherr has written, "It would be interesting to know Guillaume Du Fay's reaction if he were told that of all the music he had produced during his lifetime, the only works that would be sung with regularity for nearly a century after his death [in 1474] would be the plainsongs he wrote in 1457 for the *Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis*": see Richard Sherr, "Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony," in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 771. Barbara Haggh-Huglo now traces the singing of Du Fay's chant to 1953: see her forthcoming book, *Recollecting the Virgin Mary with Music: Guillaume Du Fay's Chant across Five Centuries*, 2 vols. (Münster: American Institute of Musicology, forthcoming).

of music history, but this emphasis on the notated polyphony of the past reflects our present understanding of music. Geoffrey Chaucer, himself a Londoner,³⁵ made no certain reference to polyphony among the musical allusions he left in his poetry,³⁶ and one churchwardens' document examined here specifically associates polyphony with exceptional days.³⁷

When polyphony was performed, plainchant very often remained at the heart of it, as a single melody around which higher and/or lower parts could be added in performance by trained singers, or to which an embellishment might be added by an organ player. After monophony, this body of extemporized polyphonic music, based still on monophonic chant, was surely the next most commonly heard music in the medieval West,³⁸ and, like the music offered by minstrels in the streets, it remained unnotated, because the musicians, trained to realize in performance several musical parts from the one notated part, did not need to write it down. As for the pre-composed, mensural polyphony that was written down, plainchant still formed the basis (and often the *cantus firmus*) of much of it, since

³⁵ For a biography of Chaucer, see Douglas Gray, "Chaucer, Geoffrey (c. 1340–1400)," *ODNB* (accessed 5 February 2020), and especially *s.v.* "Early years."

³⁶ See Christopher Page, "Chaucer, Geoffrey," *GMO* (accessed 5 February 2020).

³⁷ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 109r: *Item paide to John Pye clerk for the pryked songe boke that they sing over in the churche on halydaies, x s.;* (1475/76); see also the discussion in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

³⁸ Here and throughout this dissertation, the term "extemporized" is preferred to describe those musical practices that might otherwise be called "improvised": on this topic see Philippe Canguilhem, "Improvisation as Concept and Musical Practice in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 149-63, and especially 155: "The association of improvisation with an absence of planning is a modern misconception. In fact, during this period improvisation should be understood only through the lens of *extemporaneitas*, the act of creating in a given moment." Also see, in the same volume, Anna Maria Busse Berger, "Oral Composition in Fifteenth-Century Music," 139-148, and especially 144, wherein she looks at "English sight and faburden treatises that describe how beginners would visualize the chant on a single staff with one or two parts added in performance"; see also 145 for a visualization of counterpoint realized "in sound."

the advances of theorists and practitioners in thirteenth-century Paris had begun to spread throughout the West.

This dissertation emphasizes the first two of these bodies of music: monophonic music and extemporized, unnotated polyphonic music; it does not discuss notated music until chapters 4 and 5. Thus it complements and extends the existing literature for music in late medieval London by properly contextualizing that literature within a broader understanding of what “music” encompasses, and by concentrating on music in the streets as much as in the churches, embracing what Fiona Kisby has called the “total experience” of music in her edited collection of articles on music in Renaissance cities and towns.³⁹

Sources, Methodology, and Problems of Evidence

With its emphases on plainchant and unnotated traditions of music and polyphony, this dissertation relies on archival documents and manuscripts to identify and describe music making in late medieval London. There are very few examples of earwitness accounts of music⁴⁰ and, with written music mostly absent—there are no examples from late medieval London that survive from outside of the churches,⁴¹ and those from inside the churches are

³⁹ Kisby, “Introduction: Urban History, Musicology and Cities and Towns,” 4.

⁴⁰ Examples in the following chapters are offered of eyewitness accounts of events that record the presence of musicians, but say nothing about the music they offered: an example is John Stow’s description of the Midsummer Watch (see “The Midsummer Watches,” chapter 3) which records the fact of the Morris dance, but nowhere mentions the music or the musician(s) who accompanied it, for which secondary sources must be consulted.

⁴¹ Helen Deeming has discussed the possibility that an early version of the Agincourt Carol (*Deo gracias Anglia*) was performed at the entry of Henry V into London in 1415 (about which more is said in chapter 3), but she notes that the third stanza of the carol describes this same event, and thus the carol—as it survives to us—was unlikely to have been performed in the streets of London: see Helen Deeming, “The Sources and Origin of the ‘Agincourt Carol’,” *Early Music* 35, no. 1 (February 2007): 27-30. Deeming has also suggested

of plainchant—details of all other music must instead be sought in sources that are only indirectly concerned with music, such as accounts. A very few financial records of London’s trade companies—membership of which gave a Londoner the right to practice their trade in the city, and through which they received their citizenship⁴²—survive from the fourteenth century, and others are increasingly extant from the fifteenth century. No relevant documents from London’s parish churches survive from before the mid-fifteenth century, but from then on churchwardens’ documents—mostly accounts and inventories—increasingly survive, though accounts are sometimes broken by gaps in the record. The day-to-day business of companies and churches alike that is recorded in these documents included contacts with minstrels and musicians as arrangements were made for festivities, masses, and meals.

Many of these documents, some of which are still preserved today in London’s Guildhall, but most at the London Metropolitan Archives, have been made available in editions; some of those published by the London Record Society (of which just under half of the records published in editions since 1965 are relevant for medieval London⁴³) are now digitized and available at British History Online, based at the Institute for Historical Research at the University of London. The titanic undertaking of trawling through the records in pursuit of non-liturgical musical activity has already been completed by Mary Erler and Anne Lancashire, editors of the *Records of Early English Drama* (REED)

that Ranud de Hoilande’s song *Si tost c’amis* (London, The National Archives E 163/22/1/2) may have been a winning entrant in the London Puy, about which see n.86 in this chapter.

⁴² For a discussion of citizenship, see “Musicians and Commoners” in this chapter.

⁴³ This is an update to that given in Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3.

volumes for *Ecclesiastical London* (2008,⁴⁴ in one volume), and *Civic London* (2015,⁴⁵ in three volumes) respectively; especially helpful are the endnotes by Lancashire and Erler that contextualize the records, which are frequently cited in this dissertation alongside their transcriptions. The REED project, based at the University of Toronto, works to transcribe, translate, and publish those written records that pertain to drama, secular music, entertainment, and ceremony, for the entirety of the period examined here.⁴⁶ (A third REED London volume, for the *Inns of Court*⁴⁷—the institutions responsible for legal education—is infrequently cited, but the Inns of Court themselves are generally excluded from this study, admission to them in the period considered here having mostly been reserved for the higher social classes.⁴⁸)

Because REED does not include liturgical music (including bells) within its remit, use has also been made of other complete editions of company accounts and records (including the edition of the Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, by Lisa Jefferson⁴⁹), especially where the sacred and secular worlds met at company feast times.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Mary Carpenter Erler, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Ecclesiastical London* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

⁴⁵ Anne Lancashire, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Civic London to 1558*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015).

⁴⁶ For REED's fuller description of its principles of selection, method of dating, editorial and transcription conventions, and translations, see the description of the "Series Methodology," <https://ereed.library.utoronto.ca/about/series/> (accessed 12 January 2020).

⁴⁷ Alan H. Nelson and John R. Elliott, Jr, eds. *Records of Early English Drama: Inns of Court*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010).

⁴⁸ See *ibid.*, "Historical Background," xiv.

⁴⁹ *Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books of the Goldsmiths' Mystery of London 1334-1446*, ed. Lisa Jefferson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2003).

⁵⁰ See "Company Feasts and Dinners," chapter 4.

All but one of the extant churchwardens' accounts have also been examined; these survive, at least in part, for about a third of London's parish churches.⁵¹ Some of these exist in thorough print editions, including the records of St Andrew Hubbard (edited by Clive Burgess for the London Record Society) and St Michael Cornhill (edited by William Henry Overall); the accounts of St Mary at Hill have also been published, but in a calendar edition by Henry Littlehales that sometimes omits information from the manuscripts.⁵² Because repeated items are the most crucial to a study of a common musical picture, Littlehales's edition has been consulted alongside the original. For the majority of churches, the sources of information are the extant manuscripts themselves, which sometimes include other documents, including inventories, which have also found their use here. The principles of citation, described in the front matter, explain how the footnotes of this study differentiate between records excerpted from REED volumes or in other published editions, or that only exist in the original manuscript: generally, if the reference can be located in a printed edition, it is included in the footnote.

The following chapters show that, even in the absence of notated music itself, a picture can be gleaned from secular and church records of the occasions for which musicians were sought, sometimes their number, and often, the kinds of music that were

⁵¹ The one London church for which access to the complete surviving accounts has not been possible is St Botolph without Aldersgate. These accounts from 1466 to 1636 (LMA, P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/001) are preserved uniquely on 99 rolls in thirteen boxes, whereas all other churches' documents are bound in manuscript books; owing to the fragility of these rolls, the decision was made not to examine them at all. These accounts were examined when *EL* was compiled, however, so St Botolph without Aldersgate is included in the discussion of London's non-liturgical musical activity, but it is not cited in the discussion of music within the liturgy itself.

⁵² See Littlehales's preface, vii; for example, Littlehales's edition omits the memorandum of 1521 concerning the parish's fundraising efforts for new organs, which is transcribed from the manuscript in *EL*, but neither includes the payment to Bower and his company for the Dedication feast in 1495/96, which is transcribed in chapter 4 directly from the manuscript.

considered appropriate (it is shown in chapter 2 that increasingly, from the mid-fifteenth century, payments identify “musicians,” in place of “minstrels,” and sometimes specific instruments). But these documents have been approached with necessary caution: it is the function of them to record accurately the transfer of money in the first instance, and only after that to record other details on which this study is reliant. The potential methodological problems identified by Andrew Foster in his discussion of churchwardens’ accounts apply equally to the accounts of the city’s trade companies.⁵³ Different accounting methods mean that some years of some accounts may be recorded in great detail,⁵⁴ whereas other accounts record only lump expenses, obscuring patterns and making comparison difficult.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Foster writes, accounts were written to be presented to those concerned alongside oral testimony that was not recorded;⁵⁶ in the absence of that oral testimony even the most detailed accounts are thus incomplete.

But the accounts themselves acknowledge their incompleteness: frequently, payments are recorded “as the bill shows,” meaning that a more detailed account of the expenses was written down elsewhere (the “bill”) but not copied into the accounts that have

⁵³ Andrew Foster, “Churchwardens’ Accounts of Early Modern England and Wales: Some Problems to Note, but Much to be Gained,” in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, eds. Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs and Beat A. Kümin (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 74-93. Also for a helpful consideration of churchwardens’ documents as historical evidence, see Gary R. Gibbs, *Five Parishes in Late Medieval and Tudor London: Communities and Reforms* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019), especially 1, 9-10, 12-14.

⁵⁴ Foster writes, for example, that “every drink paid to a bellringer” might be itemized: see Foster, “Churchwardens’ Accounts,” 85.

⁵⁵ For example, the 1516/17 account of St Nicholas Shambles does not itemize any of the *necessaries that haue byne bought and spent for the seid churche withyn the tyme of this Accompte*, and instead records only the total cost of them, whereas payments were itemized separately in the previous year’s account: St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 231v (beginning the 1515/16 account), 241r (expenses for 1516/17).

⁵⁶ Foster, “Churchwardens’ Accounts,” 85. See also Gibbs, *Five Parishes*, 13.

survived.⁵⁷ Foster also noted that when churchwardens compiled their documents, they may have exercised a degree of discretion over what was committed to writing, and what was not;⁵⁸ it is not difficult to imagine, especially at the Reformation, wardens obscuring details about their church's possessions. Nor, Foster notes, will it ever be possible to know how many services were rendered to churches—and to this can be added, the companies—in kind:⁵⁹ the examples in the London documents of a minstrel being present at a dinner “without paying”—suggesting that the meal was their payment-of-sorts—or of a king's minstrel being given citizenship without paying the fee “on the condition that he yearly plays at the Mayor's feast...without taking a fee for doing so” are small indications of practices that could have been very widespread and not recorded.⁶⁰ Because the transaction for services rendered did not involve a transfer of money, this did not need to be recorded

⁵⁷ For example, St Peter Westcheap CWD, 222v: *Item paide on seynt georges daye for ffaryndons mynde as hit shewyth in a byll, xxij s. j d. ob.* (c. 1447/50). The “mind,” as chapter 4 describes, was the liturgy celebrated on the anniversary of death of a testator who left money to a church, often in perpetuity, for its observance; music was very much a part, but in this case the details are recorded elsewhere. Another example, a century later, is St Michael le Querne CWD, 121v: [...] *ffor mendynge & new trymynge the organs as apperyth by bill, v[?] s. viij d.* (1546/47); a more complete outline of the expenses for the organ was not incorporated into the main account. The same problem is true of the company accounts, for example: Ironmonger's Register, *CL*, 236: *Item payd in dyuerse costes off fettyng in off the kyng be water ffrom Shene ffor Barge hyere with bred wyne beer and ale And mete And ffor menstrelles as hyt apperyth by a byll off the passelles* [i.e., an item of an account, a detail], *xxij s. j d.* (1485/86). For *passelles*, see *OED*, s.v. “parcel, n., adv., and adj.”

⁵⁸ Foster, “Churchwardens' Accounts,” 85.

⁵⁹ Foster, “Churchwardens' Accounts,” 85.

⁶⁰ In the account of the Brewers' Company feast in November 1435, *the names of the persones beyng atte the same ffeste not payyng* includes *I Menstrall* [i.e., one minstrel]; evidently the minstrel dined without cost at the dinner, very probably in return for some kind of minstrelsy. See *Brewers' Account and Memorandum Book* (Porland), *CL*, 138. Also see *Court of Aldermen, Repertory 7, CL*, 444: *Thomas Brandon [...] was admytted in to the liberties and ffredom of this Citie [...] the seyde olde haunse* [i.e., hanse, the entrance fee of a guild] *shalbe Clerely Remytted & forgeuen to the seyde Thomas with this Condicion That he shall fromhensforthe yerely at the Mayres ffeste & also the Monday next after the ffeste of the Epiphanie of oure lorde before the Mayre then beyng Ministre suche beste playe & disporte as concerneth his ffaculte withoute eny takyng therefore &c.* (1526); Brandon was not to receive a fee for minstrelsy at certain civic events, in exchange for the city having waived the fee for him to receive the freedom (citizenship) of the city. For “hanse,” see *OED*, s.v. “Hanse, n.”

and a more precise record of their minstrelsy is lost. This is articulated by the fifteenth-century satirical poem “London Lickpenny,” wherein the speaker, describing the soundscape of London’s streets—of which more is said in chapter 3—laments that he does not have the money to pay a minstrel for a song of “Jenken and Julian” (*Full fayne I wold hadd of that mynstralsie / But for lacke of money I cowld not spede*): in the absence of an economic transaction, he cannot record anything of the minstrelsy.

It is fortunate that often, where transactions are recorded to minstrels and musicians for their craft, some of the more fastidious accountants took care to name the payees. Because of this, it has been possible to assemble a roll of musicians in London, c.1310-1550, presented here as appendix 1 and described in the next chapter. But even when the accounts name payees, the transfer of money remains the primary concern, and it is entirely possible that a great many more musicians are named in the accounts than are listed here, but the accountants were not concerned to identify those individuals as musicians. That John Scarlett, who appears to have been on staff at St Dunstan in the West for almost twenty years, was an organ player there is noted in only one of the accounts that names him;⁶¹ if that one account had not survived, neither would any record of his musicianship nor any evidence of his possible connection to Robert Scarlett, organ player at St Dunstan in the East, a generation before him. Scribal errors in recording names also create the possibility that two people may present in the record as one individual, or that

⁶¹ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 16r: *Paid vnto John Scarlett organ pleyer ffor hys wages ffor the ffyrst quarter after xiiij s. iiij d. by the yere, iij s. iiij d.* (1519/20). He otherwise appears in the accounts without the reference to organ playing, as for example, 8r: *Item payd to scarlet from owre lade day to mydsomer, vj s. viij d.* [...] *Item payd to scarlet from mydsomer to myhellmas, iij s. iiij d.* (1517/18); 21r: *Paid vnto Scarlett ffor iij quarters wages & di at vij s. vj d. le quarter, xxvj s. iij d.* (1520/21), *et passim*.

one individual may present in the record as two: for example, the accounts of St Benet Gracechurch record payments to a Robert Colson, who was paid for notating music in 1548/49 and 1549/50,⁶² and a Thomas Colson, who was paid for the same in 1550/51.⁶³ Robert and Thomas appear to have held the same job at the same church, but neither appears in the same account.

Among the many documents and records of late medieval London that are not extant, the chamberlains' records—wherein would have been recorded details of civic expenditure—are almost completely lost and, with them, most lamentably, many records of musicians salaried by the city.⁶⁴ But other civic documentation, including the minute books detailing the activities of the city government, has survived: these are the city's Letter Books (extant from 1272), the Court of Common Council's Journal books (extant from 1416), and the Court of Aldermen's Repertory books (extant from 1495, though the business of the Court of Aldermen before this was recorded in the Journals).⁶⁵ Through the city government's records and plans for major civic events and the more routine day-to-day running of the city, it has been possible to identify a considerable amount of information about London's musical culture outside of church walls: from the horns that

⁶² St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 18, 34.

⁶³ St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 43.

⁶⁴ Barron, *London*, 3. The extant accounts for the city begin only in 1632/33, but draft and fragments survive from the second half of the sixteenth century, and one account of the chamberlain's clerk survives for 1535/36: see "Introduction: Medieval accounts and their arrangement, pages ix-xxxii," *Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Betty R. Masters (London: London Record Society, 1984), BHO (accessed 7 February 2020). The chamberlain's clerk account is given *s.v.* "Appendix: Account of the Chamberlain's Clerk, 1535-6, pages 105-116."

⁶⁵ Barron, *London*, 3.

were blown in the streets to remind people to put out their waste; to the sites where musicians were stationed when the King entered the city, much of which is corroborated by the extant accounts of the city's companies and churches, which also participated in such events.

A third and different body of evidence is formed of the histories of London written in verse and, from the late fourteenth century, in prose by chroniclers and antiquarians,⁶⁶ some of whom probably had access to some of the above-mentioned documents.⁶⁷ Whereas the writers of financial accounts and the other documents described above were concerned to record the present (in their rough-copy "bills" and "parcels") and the immediate past (usually one accounting year), chroniclers took a much broader view and intended to record history. Chronicles offer particularly valuable descriptions of those times when the King came into contact with Londoners, and provide detailed accounts, for example, of Henry V's entry into London in 1415, only scant details of which are to be found in the extant documents presented above.

⁶⁶ See Lister M. Matheson, "Vernacular Chronicles and Narrative Sources of History in Medieval England," in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 28.

⁶⁷ Malcolm Richardson has written that the city's Letter Books were used to "find information for the vernacular chronicle," among other things, and so "increasingly the clerks entered material they considered of long-term interest" and "carefully prepared [the manuscripts] with indexing and marginal notes": see Malcolm Richardson, *Middle-Class Writing in Late Medieval London* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 84-85. Mary C. Erler has written that "points of connections among [four of London's late medieval chroniclers] suggest the borrowings, physical and intellectual, that the presence of London's administrative library at the Guildhall made possible": see Mary C. Erler, "The Guildhall Library, Robert Bale, and the Writing of London History," *Historical Research* 89 (2016): 177. The author of *Gregory's Chronicle* was long believed to be William Gregory, sometime mayor of London: see "Introduction, pages i-xli" in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Camden Society, 1876), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020). See also the discussion of Lydgate's and Carpenter's of the entry of Henry VI in this chapter.

But while chronicles might record details drawn from documentary evidence that has since been lost, the chronicle itself adds an extra lens of interpretation between the reader and those documents. Caution has been exercised when relying on chronicles for evidence of musicians and musical performance: a case study is the descriptions of Henry VI's entry into London in 1432 by *Gregory's Chronicle* and John Lydgate (the latter is in verse).⁶⁸ The authors of both accounts must have made use of the documentary evidence available to them,⁶⁹ as both offer exceptional detail about the music and musicians that welcomed the King and a song that was written for him. But a comparison with the documentary evidence, which for the 1432 entry is extant and detailed, reveals discrepancies that are particularly important for this study of music making and musicians in London: *Gregory's Chronicle* records that fourteen "maidens" sang a song to the King, and Lydgate's verses record seven "maidens" and seven "virgins";⁷⁰ the record left by John Carpenter, the self-described "most unworthy secretary" of London,⁷¹ actually records that the song was sung by "seven divine virtues *in the likeness of* young girls,"⁷² and the record of payments to the fourteen singers confirms that they were boys, led by the clerk of

⁶⁸ "Gregory's Chronicle: 1427-1434, pages 161-177," in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*; John Lydgate, "Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London," in *John Lydgate: Mummings and Entertainments*, ed. Claire Sponsler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010), 29-42.

⁶⁹ See n.67, above; see also Sponsler's explanatory notes: "Lydgate's poem is a versified account in English of the entry, which appears to have been based on an informal Latin letter from John Carpenter..."

⁷⁰ "Gregory's Chronicle: 1427-1434, pages 161-177," in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*; John Lydgate, "Henry VI's Triumphal Entry," see lines 156, 190, and 204-22 for the song.

⁷¹ Letter Book K, *CL*, 125: *Iohannem eiusdem vrbis Secretarium indignissimum* (and translated, 1158).

⁷² Letter Book K, *CL*, 121, and translated, 1154, emphasis mine.

St Thomas' Chapel on London Bridge.⁷³ (That the song was led by a cleric makes the participation of girl singers even more unlikely; other accounts of royal entries that are described in chapter 3 do, however, confirm unambiguously the participation of girl singers as well as boys.) Lydgate's verse also claims to record the song's text, but his version is substantially different from the copy of the text that was left in the civic records.⁷⁴ (*Gregory's Chronicle* also mistakenly reports that it was 14 February, whereas it was in fact 21 February 1432.⁷⁵)

Chronicles therefore must be read very closely for the details that they do record about musicians and musical performance. Where chronicles and other antiquarian evidence have been used here—including the *Survey of London* written by John Stow, although his credentials as an historian are well established—care has been taken to name the source or the type of source in the text itself (in addition to the citation), so that it is clear where another interpreter has intervened. The last decade of the period under examination is richly described in the diary of Henry Machyn, a Londoner and a commoner, and, as for chronicles, the text is careful to name him as the source of information that is being presented.

⁷³ Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 127, and translated, 1160: "Likewise paid to eleven hired choirboys singing in their order, each one taking 4*d.*, 3*s.* 8*d.*; for three singing boys hired, 3*s.*" [for a total of fourteen singers].

⁷⁴ See Caroline M. Barron, "Pageantry on London Bridge in the Early Fifteenth Century," in *'Bring Furth the Pagants': Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*, eds. David N. Klausner and Karen Sawyer Marsalek (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), n.58, "This song, or poem, deserves recognition in its own right. It has been swallowed up in Lydgate's adaptation, where it has been considerably altered to suit Lydgate's own choice of metre."

⁷⁵ Anne Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 188.

Finally, reference has sometimes been made to the testaments of London's musicians, which are preserved among the records of the Archdeaconry and Commissary Courts, and survive today at the London Metropolitan Archives. "Wills" and "testaments" are different legal instruments in London: a will, being concerned with tenements and other immovable property, was much less likely to be left by a commoner or a musician, who instead bequeathed their "chattels," or moveable possessions, in a testament.⁷⁶ The records of these courts have been indexed by Marc Fitch,⁷⁷ and within his books, indices sorted by occupation have allowed the identification of a number of London's minstrels and musicians that have otherwise not been revealed in the documents described above.

Outline of this Study

This study is comprised of four chapters, which introduce the city's musicians, then the music they made (when, where, for whom, and why), and the surviving repertory of songs from late medieval London. Chapter 2, "Minstrels and Musicians in Late Medieval London," introduces some of the city's musicians that were met in the archival documents. It first examines the literature specifically concerned with the identities of musical people in London, and, like each of the subsequent chapters, it begins with a relevant literature review. Here, it identifies a lacuna in the scholarship concerning the minstrels and musicians of London in this period, which is addressed by the roll of late medieval

⁷⁶ See Shona Kelly Wray and Roisin Cossar, "Wills as Primary Sources," in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 61.

⁷⁷ Marc Fitch, ed., *Index to Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court of London*, 2 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969-74); Marc Fitch, ed., *Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London*, vol. 1 (London: British Record Society, 1979).

musicians in London given in appendix 1. While this dissertation is only tangentially concerned with the biographical details of these musicians—it has been necessary to identify them before they can be investigated—this chapter offers some conjecture about the prominent individuals who are attested in the records over a long period of time, such as the “Thomas with the Trump” who appears in the mid-fifteenth century. Chapter 2 describes the standards of musicianship expected of London’s musicians and the regulations of the Minstrels’ Company that were designed to enforce them; it also considers the terminology of “minstrels” and “musicians” more generally.

Chapters 3 and 4, which form the center of this dissertation, address the music heard “In the Streets and on the River Thames” and “In the Churches,” respectively, by identifying those occasions that brought the London commoner into contact with music and musicians, first in the daily and nightly soundscape of the city, then at individual events, such as the Midsummer Watches, the processions of the city’s mayors and sheriffs, and the royal entries into London and receptions for other important visitors. The music made on these occasions could be heard by Londoners of any social degree, and the musicians making it were mostly Londoners themselves. The examination of music in the churches begins with a description of the role of music in the liturgy, and of the people who provided it, and considers the evidence for the organ, which after the human voice, was probably the next most commonly heard instrument in the Middle Ages. It then turns to the more specific events—particular feasts and liturgical observations—that emerge in the documents as especially musical or important.

In streets and churches alike, the London commoner also encountered music that was not made by other commoners: in the churches, of course, the clergy, who were

socially distinct from the commoners, functioned as musicians alongside them; and Baillie, Lloyd and Kisby have shown that there was also contact between the Chapel Royal choir with the London parish of St Mary at Hill, and between the choir of St Paul's Cathedral and the royal court. These intersections are not ignored, and are examined here (with due deference to previous writers) in the context of the "total experience" of music in the city, wherein they, like the singing of mensural polyphony, emerge mostly as exceptions to a musical rule. And sometimes music in the city was made also by non-Londoners (called foreigners).

As much as music was a means by which Londoners worshipped God, impressed and flattered the King, or expressed their civic pride, it was also something that Londoners, like us today, simply enjoyed for its art and beauty (this, of course, is the reasoning that saw important feast days decorated with the singing of polyphony): sections about "Private Music in Barges," in chapter 3, and music at "Company Feasts and Dinners," in chapter 4, consider also the evidence for music making that served no other recognizable purpose than to enrich Londoners' lives.

The overwhelming majority of the music examined in chapters 3 and 4 was never written down, however. Chapter 5, which examines the music that was recorded "In Books and on Paper," surveys the surviving notated music from London, and, more significantly, considers the notated music—including sources of polyphony, and music for the organ—that is now presumably lost. Chapter 5 also examines the evidence for the private ownership of musical notation in London, and shows that some Londoners did acquire for themselves books of song and of instrumental music, though the evidence for the latter emerges only at the end of the period.

This dissertation concentrates on the period between the earliest appearance of London's written records pertinent for the music being described here and the death of Henry VIII; the changes to musical culture in the city brought by the Reformation and separation from Rome, and the new liturgy of the Church of England, are considered in the conclusion, which also identifies some of those musical Londoners who were witness to these events. The terms of this dissertation's emphasis (and of its title) are fully explained below.

“Musicians” and “Commoners”

“Piers Plowman” divided society into its three classes of *clerkes and knyghtes and comuners*, and the last of these—the class of commoners—can itself be divided: *Gregory's Chronicle* records an audience of “*worthy commons*” at Henry VI's entry into London in 1432,⁷⁸ and the civic records often refer to the *commune* or the commonalty interacting with the officials of the city government.⁷⁹ That some commoners might be called “worthy” indicates social stratification, and of course not everyone participated in the practice of city government. But Plowman's “commoners” does not exclude the poor, who existed in a social estate alongside the very wealthy; the city's mayors and sheriffs, for example, were

⁷⁸ “Gregory's Chronicle: 1427-1434, pages 161-177,” in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, emphasis mine. In 1429, the chronicle also refers to the *worthy comynerys of the cytte of London*, for example.

⁷⁹ For example, Court of Common Council, Journal 5, *CL*, 943, and translated, 1232: “Today it was decided by the mayor (and) aldermen [...] *at the petition of the commonalty* [...]” (1452/53), emphasis mine.

themselves commoners, but they were in possession of enough wealth to afford the expenses associated with those offices.⁸⁰

That part of the commonalty from which officers of the city government were drawn were citizens, though the privilege of citizenship was not extended to everyone: to be a citizen of London, and thereby to enjoy the associated privileges (participating in elections, for example) and carry the associated responsibilities (of taxation), one had to hold the “freedom of the city,” which was gained by qualifying for full membership in one of its trade companies on the completion of an apprenticeship, or by redemption (by paying a fee to the council chamber, which then “bought” that citizen membership of a particular company).⁸¹

Commoners can thus be divided into those who were citizens and those who were not, and in a mobile society, those who were Londoners and those who were not. Not all Londoners were citizens, and not all who were resident in London were Londoners: those who came to the city from outside but who were nevertheless subjects of the king were “strangers” or “foreigners”; those from abroad were “aliens.” And the commonalty could also be divided by age: membership of companies, for example, could be divided into the “Livery” (the more longstanding and senior members, named for their distinctive dress),

⁸⁰ One of the financial obligations of the city’s sheriffs in the fifteenth century appears to have been a contribution towards the cost of musicians at their inaugural procession: see “Processions of Civic Officials,” chapter 3.

⁸¹ For “numerical estimates of the population,” see Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948), 41-52. A. H. Thomas concluded that “it would probably be safe to say on a conservative estimate that for every freeman in London from 1300 to 1537 there were at least three adult men unenfranchised”: see “Introduction: Redemption, women and the unenfranchised, pages xlvi-liv,” *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 2, 1364-1381*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929), *BHO* (accessed 11 February 2020).

the “Yeomen” or “Bachelors” (the Liverymen’s juniors), and apprentices (who had not yet earned full membership). Society was also stratified by occupation, and the city’s companies coexisted according to an order of precedence.⁸² The term “commoners” in this dissertation encompasses all of these people, and includes women and children; it excludes only those people that “Piers Plowman” separated from the commoners: the clergy and the nobility.

If “commoners” here is broadly defined, so too must “musicians” be. In the chapters that follow, the term “musician” is freely applied to anyone whose livelihood was connected to music: it thus includes instrument makers as well as instrumentalists; copyists as well as singers; and amateurs, whose lives probably only occasionally involved music making, as well as professionals, whose livelihoods depended on it.

Though this dissertation appears to separate “musicians” and “commoners,” the terms are dependent on one another: the musicians examined here were themselves commoners, and mostly enjoyed none of the prestige that came with being attached to grand institutions like the Chapel Royal;⁸³ when church or company accounts record payments to organ players, singers, or minstrels, those funds came from the tithes that parishioners gave to their churches and the fees that members paid to their companies (and

⁸² Of which the first “twelve Great Companies of London” were: the Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Taylors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners, Clothworkers: see Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 7-8, and Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility: Civic Culture in Late Medieval London* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 107.

⁸³ And there must have been prestige and grandeur associated with such positions: Fiona Kisby has identified that the wages of royal employees were comparatively low compared to those of other members of society; there were obviously other prestigious benefits that flowed to the musicians in royal service that made those posts attractive. See Kisby, “The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel,” 93-103. The rate of pay for the chaplains and the gentlemen of the chapel remained unchanged between 1318 and the seventeenth century: see *ibid*, 94.

kept in what was called the “common” box); when the city funded extravagant welcomes for royal visitors or paid wages to civic musicians, those funds were raised by the taxes paid by London’s citizens.⁸⁴

The Meaning of “Late Medieval”

In his classic work on *Music in Medieval Britain*, Frank Harrison wrote: “both in liturgy and music the end of the Latin rite marks the close of the medieval period, for English music was intimately bound up in the ritual tradition...”⁸⁵ This understanding of “the close of the medieval period” in the mid-sixteenth century is used here to bring the study to an end. The term “late medieval” in this dissertation thus refers broadly to the period that is bookended at the beginning by the appearance of a comprehensive archive of documents (listed in the front matter) that emerges around the middle of the fourteenth century and becomes increasingly detailed in the fifteenth century,⁸⁶ and at the end by the suppression of the Latin liturgy. Of the events that occurred within the time-span of this dissertation—the reconstruction of society after the Black Death, the Hundred Years’ War, the defeat of Richard III by Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field—all of which could equally mark the

⁸⁴ See the discussions in chapters 3 and 4.

⁸⁵ Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 4th ed. (Frits Knuf: Buren, The Netherlands, 1980), xi.

⁸⁶ Therefore this dissertation mostly excludes reference to the London Puy, which emerges and disappears from the historical record in the second half of the thirteenth century, contemporary to (but not mentioned in) the very earliest documents studied here (Caroline Barron has written that it was only “in the thirteenth century that the city of London moved from government by memory to government by written record,” see Barron, *London*, 5). For the London Puy, see the scholarship of Anne F. Sutton: “Merchants, Music, and Social Harmony: The London Puy and its French and London Contexts, circa 1300,” *London Journal* 17, no. 1 (1992): 1-17; and “The *Tumbling Bear* and its Patrons: A Venue for the London Puy and Mercery,” in *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Julia Boffey and Pamela M. King (London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1995), 85-110. The prize-winning song from the London Puy attributed to Renaud de Hoilande (identified by Helen Deeming), is listed in the table 5.1, chapter 5, however.

division between the “medieval” and “Renaissance,” none had so great an impact on musical culture in England than the passing by Parliament of the *Act of Uniformity 1549* (2 & 3 Edw. 6 c. 1), on 21 January 1549, that established the *Book of Common Prayer* as the only legal liturgical rite in the country and required its use by the feast of Pentecost that year.⁸⁷ This event must have been felt by the common makers and hearers of music much more than a change in dynasty;⁸⁸ because of this and other changes to the law in the late 1540s, a great many musicians found themselves in want of work when chantries—through which many priests and other personnel were employed to sing masses for the soul of a deceased individual—were made illegal.

No attempt is made here to distinguish between the “medieval” and the “Renaissance” period or the “medieval” and the “early modern” period (the last of these terms has only very recently entered discourse about music or music history⁸⁹). The general use of “medieval” and “Renaissance” in musicology—which itself has favored the Continent over England—generally divides the two periods in the early fifteenth century,

⁸⁷ See Gordon Jeanes, “Cranmer and Common Prayer,” in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, eds. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 25. See also “The Making of the *Book of Common Prayer: Medieval Liturgy and the Reformation*,” in Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xvii.

⁸⁸ Of the Edwardian Reformation, H. B. Walters wrote there was no other time “in which such momentous and far-reaching changes ever took place” in London before the Great Fire (of 1666): see H. B. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1939), 1.

⁸⁹ See, for example, Tess Knighton and Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, eds., *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018); some of the essays in that volume are included in the bibliography here.

with the greatly increased acceptance on the Continent of thirds and sixths as consonances, but that had been established by theorists and used in practice in England long before.⁹⁰

The City of London

The term “London” here refers to the City of London, which, in the later Middle Ages, was that area which fell under the jurisdiction of the mayor of London. Most of the city was enclosed within the city wall to the north, east, and west, and was bordered by the River Thames to the south. Most importantly, the “City of London” as it is used in this dissertation does not include Westminster; the definition of “London” in use here is stricter than that of Hugh Baillie, Richard Lloyd, and Fiona Kisby, who often mingled London with the city of Westminster, which lay to the west, accessible by road and water, and Southwark, at the southern end of London Bridge. A significant part of this dissertation describes music that was heard on these routes, but that is music that was made by and for Londoners; no attempt is made to include the music of churches, like St Stephen, Westminster, for example.

⁹⁰ For example, Theinred of Dover (*fl.* 12th century): see John L. Snyder, “Theinred of Dover [Theinredus Doverensis],” *GMO* (accessed 10 February 2020) and “Theinred of Dover on Consonance: A Chapter in the History of Harmony,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 5 (1983): 110-20. Walter Odington’s (*fl.* 1298–1316) *Summa de speculatione musice* observed “that the major and minor 3rds, since they approach the ratios of 5:4 and 6:5, are sometimes considered consonances, and are in performance altered to mathematically perfect consonances”: see Frederick Hammond, “Odington, Walter [Walter Evesham; frater Walterus de Otyngton monachus de Evesham],” revised by Peter M. Lefferts, *GMO* (accessed 10 February 2020). Outside of musicology, it is also possible to find the term “medieval” and “later Middle Ages” applied even in the sixteenth century: for example, Doreen Sylvia Leach, “Carpenters in Medieval London, c. 1240 – c. 1540” (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2017), and Barron, *London, op. cit.*, appendix 2 of which lists civic office holders well into the sixteenth century. Note also that C. L. Kingsfold wrote of John Stow’s (c.1525-1605) life, “in his day he witnessed the passing of mediaevalism and the birth of the modern capital”: see C. L. Kingsfold, “Introduction” to John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. by C.L. Kingsfold (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1:xxix; for Stow’s dates, see 1:vii, xlv.

The population of London fluctuated considerably in the period examined here: in 1300, it numbered possibly 80,000; it was diminished by as much as half after the Black Death reached London in 1348 and, by 1400, it perhaps numbered only 40,000; in 1500, 50,000.⁹¹ The sixteenth century especially experienced massive population growth, and by 1600 the city numbered some 200,000 inhabitants.⁹²

Though it is not the purpose of this study to compare the musical environment of London with that of other late medieval cities, it should be noted that London had an exceptional number of parish churches, especially for so small a geographic space—Caroline Barron calls the city “a small domain of three square miles”⁹³—and there were more than one hundred in the later Middle Ages, and this inevitably affected the musical culture of the city.⁹⁴ The cathedral, St Paul’s, lay in the city’s west; the cathedral precinct itself was larger than some of the city’s parishes.

⁹¹ Barron, *London*, 4, see also chapter 10, especially 237-42.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Barron, *London*, 147.

⁹⁴ This is different from the usual model in Western Europe, which preferred few parishes with larger churches: Gibbs, *Five Parishes in Late Medieval and Tudor London*, 7.

II. Minstrels and Musicians in Late Medieval London

The documents described in the introduction are surprisingly rich and have revealed the identities of more than 300 minstrels and musicians in London, who are listed in the roll transcribed in appendix 1. In total, the roll spans from the early fourteenth century and continues comprehensively to 1549, the year Edwardian reforms to the English church brought with them reforms to musical practice. Appendix 1 further includes additional names of musical people whose deaths were recorded soon thereafter, such as William Peryman, “Musician of London,”⁹⁵ who died in 1569: Peryman practiced his craft in London alongside the musicians whose names appear in the sixteenth-century documents (some of his children, too, were evidently musical, and are also named in appendix 1).

There has as yet been no exhaustive attempt to identify the musicians of late medieval London, though there is existing literature that complements the roll in appendix 1. Walter Woodfill (1953⁹⁶) identified many of London’s Waits, beginning with John Wikes in 1495 and continuing to 1645,⁹⁷ though the focus of his work was Elizabethan, not late medieval, London. Hugh Baillie (1957,⁹⁸ 1962⁹⁹) listed several of the

⁹⁵ Testament of William Peryman, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/015, 337v: *I william peryman of the parishe of St leonard in foster lane beinge of St martyn de graunde in london muzision do make this my testamente and laste will [...]*.

⁹⁶ Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

⁹⁷ Woodfill, *Musicians*, see especially 247-51.

⁹⁸ Hugh Baillie, “London Churches, Their Music and Musicians, 1485-1560” (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1957), “Appendix Three: Some biographical notes on London musicians, (1485-1560),” 255-94.

⁹⁹ Hugh Baillie, “Some Biographical Notes on English Church Musicians, Chiefly Working in London (1485-1560),” *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 2 (1962): 18-57.

musicians named in the churchwardens' accounts (Baillie was mostly interested in the clerks); Baillie (1958¹⁰⁰) also examined in detail the biography of one such church musician, Nicholas Ludford. Constance Bullock-Davies (1978¹⁰¹) brought out of anonymity more than 100 minstrels who were present at a royal feast in 1306, whose names are preserved in a parchment payroll; she suggested that some of these might be identified as musicians who were living in London, though some also enjoyed the privileges of royal appointment.¹⁰² Fiona Kisby (1996,¹⁰³ 1997¹⁰⁴) has examined the royal musicians who lived in the regions surrounding London, and Mio Ueno (2011¹⁰⁵) has identified secular minstrels in the city—31 in total—whose testaments in the Archdeaconry and Commissary Courts were indexed by Marc Fitch,¹⁰⁶ and offered some observations about the patterns that emerge in those documents. Recently, Michael Fleming and John Bryan (2016¹⁰⁷) have

¹⁰⁰ Hugh Baillie, "Nicholas Ludford (c. 1485-c. 1557)," *The Musical Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (1958): 196-208.

¹⁰¹ Constance Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978).

¹⁰² See the examples in Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo*: William de Gayton, taborer (for Guillot Le Taborer), 97-98; William le Sautreour (for Guillotin le Sautreour), 98-104.

¹⁰³ Fiona Louise Kisby, "The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel, 1485-1547" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996), see chapters 6 and 7, and appendices 1 and 5, especially.

¹⁰⁴ Fiona Kisby, "Royal Minstrels in the City and Suburbs of Early Tudor London: Professional Activities and Private Interests," *Early Music* 25, no. 2 (1997): 199-219, and especially table 2, 210-12, which includes Westminster; Westminster is also the subject of her article, "Music and Musicians of Early Tudor Westminster," *Early Music* 23, no. 2 (1995): 223-40.

¹⁰⁵ Mio Ueno, "Minstrels in Late Medieval London," *Haskins Society Journal Japan* 4 (2011): 58-64.

¹⁰⁶ Marc Fitch, ed., *Index to Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court of London*, 2 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969-74); Marc Fitch, ed., *Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London*, vol. 1 (London: British Record Society, 1979).

¹⁰⁷ Michael Fleming and John Bryan, *Early English Viols: Instruments, Makers and Music* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), see especially chapter 6, 185-253.

identified several instrument makers in Elizabethan and post-Elizabethan London who were previously unknown.¹⁰⁸

It is true that many musicians worked for kings, queens, and churches; their identities have been uncovered. But a great many did not:¹⁰⁹ the existing scholarship has left a gap in which many of the musicians of late medieval London have lain dormant: some, like Thomas the trumpeter (discussed below) have remained heretofore undiscovered but were clearly renowned in their days; others, like John Howe, the sixteenth-century organ maker, who is easily the most attested musical name in the documentary evidence, are found in musicological literature, yet the article on *Oxford Music Online* runs only to 225 words and encompasses three generations of his family.¹¹⁰ A very recent book of essays about *Medieval Londoners* contains no musicians at all.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Relevant literature that pertains especially to musicians in places other than London (in addition to those books cited in chapter 1, above) includes Timothy J. McGee, *The Ceremonial Musicians of Late Medieval Florence* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009); Kenneth Kreitner, “The City Trumpeter of Late-Fifteenth-Century Barcelona,” *Musica Disciplina* 46 (1992): 133-67, and others.

¹⁰⁹ And note that the regulations of the Minstrels’ Company, in sixteenth century, separated the London minstrels from the royal minstrels or minstrels of Parliament: see “The Minstrels’ Company and Regulations for Minstrelsy,” in this chapter.

¹¹⁰ Stephen Bicknell, “Howe,” *GMO* (accessed 12 January 2020). The entry in the *ODNB* is more than twice the length of that in *GMO*, see David Mateer, “How, John (d. 1571),” *ODNB* (accessed 7 February 2020).

¹¹¹ Elizabeth A. New and Christian Steer, eds, *Medieval Londoners: Essays to Mark the Eightieth Birthday of Caroline Barron* (London: University of London Press, Institute of Historical Research, 2019).

These are those whom Woodfill called “ordinary, uncelebrated, professional musicians,”¹¹² but they are celebrated here: together, the lives of the musicians listed in appendix 1 span more than two and a half centuries; they made, sang, or played a variety of musical instruments (some both sang and played); they practised their craft in a variety of contexts, indoors, outdoors, and on the River Thames. Some, like William Peryman and his children—including his daughters, Elinor and Elizabeth—owned books of, and could read, notated music; others, like Thomas Tallis, who sang at St Mary at Hill in 1537/38 and 1538/39, became famous composers of music. Others probably could not read music at all, but that did not matter, since their musicianship was independent of musical literacy. Their musical and professional standards were upheld by the Minstrels’ Company. Unlike the modern musician, who may be proficient in only one instrument, the late medieval minstrel was often proficient in many: the payment recorded by the Vintners at their feast in November 1557 “to a Scottish woman that sang and played upon the lute”¹¹³ is probably representative of the different kinds of musicianship that the many undescribed “minstrels” found elsewhere in the accounts were qualified to offer. Musicianship was likewise not limited to one form of expression in the churches, where organ players sang and choirboys played the organ.

This chapter first considers the term “minstrel” as it appears in the documents, and offers some observations about the extent to which it is synonymous with “musician”; the

¹¹² Woodfill, *Musicians*, xiv. Caroline Barron has described “the search for the small people and the marginal people of medieval London,” see Caroline Barron, “Searching for the ‘Small People’ of Medieval London,” *The Local Historian* 38, no. 2 (2008): 83-94.

¹¹³ Vintners’ Master and Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 839-40.

same section notes a trend in the documents, increasingly from the mid-fifteenth century, to describe minstrels' instruments, as well as early technical discussion of musical instruments in London. It then describes the foundation and early history of the city's Minstrels' Company,¹¹⁴ founded at the beginning of the sixteenth century to protect the craft and practitioners of minstrelsy in London (documents detailing its regulations, which among other reasons were designed to uphold the high standards of musicianship in the city, are reproduced here from *CL* as appendix 3). Finally, the chapter introduces some musicians who reappear throughout the following chapters: the Waits, who received their salary and their livery from the city itself, and a renowned trumpeter, Thomas, himself possibly also salaried by the city.

“Minstrels” and Instruments

In the earliest documents examined here, the term “minstrel” could be given as much to an official or a servant as to an entertainer;¹¹⁵ the term itself is ultimately derived from the

¹¹⁴ I am here referring to them mostly as the “Minstrels’ Company” because that is how I refer to other companies, all of which had their own official names. The Minstrels’ Company was officially called, from 1500, the Fellowship of Minstrels and then in the seventeenth century the Worshipful Company of Musicians: Richard Crewdson, *Apollo’s Swan and Lyre: Five Hundred Years of the Musicians’ Company* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2000), 13.

¹¹⁵ See for example, Letter Book E, *CL*, 5: *Item solutum [...] diuersis Nuncijs & Menestrallis domini Regis & Regine, c s.* (1334/35); Letter Book F, *CL*, 6: *Item Nuncijs Regis [...] & Ministrall’ lxvij s. viij d.* (1334-36); Letter Book F, *CL*, 6: *Item Menestrall’ & Custod’ Palefridorum domini Regis, vj li.* (1336/37); see also Lancashire’s endnote, *CL*, 1234-35: “These may be, more generally, officials or servants, not specifically minstrels.” Constance Bullock-Davies notes that of the roll of minstrels from the early 1300s that she describes, “all were rewarded for ‘making their minstrelsy,’” but that “numbers of the people named in it were serving in the household in other capacities and received court wages for duties far removed from singing songs, playing a musical instrument, or acting in plays”; she notes also that what is “ostensibly a cash account relative to ‘entertainers’ [is] actually a record of money given to various domestic servants”: Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo*, 25.

Latin *minister*, a servant, or attendant.¹¹⁶ When the name of *william Trumpour* appears among the first extant payments for a civic procession, in 1369, he is listed as one of the minstrels who receives wages and a livery hood;¹¹⁷ the context of similar payments in later documents reveals that he and the other men were almost certainly musicians. The gradual shift in the documents from “minstrel” to a more precise musical term, such as “trumpeter,” can be seen in tables A2.1 and A2.2 in appendix 2: the documents detailing payments at these civic processions exclusively use “minstrel” until 1419, when specific instruments are first listed;¹¹⁸ in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, it becomes common for the same accountant to refer to “minstrels” but also to specific musical instruments in the same records;¹¹⁹ from c.1450, the records refer more often to “trumpeters” alone, and from 1489, neither the expenses for wages for musicians nor their livery hoods employ the word “minstrel” at all. And, as the data in appendix 2 shows, it is possible to track that the average amount paid to those individuals for their services does not change; the only

¹¹⁶ See *OED*, s.v. “minstrel, n.”; see also Crewdson, *Apollo’s Swan*, 14. Note also the use of the word *Ministre* [minister] as a verb in n.59, chapter 1.

¹¹⁷ Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 10, and translated, 1056: [...] *a ix Mynstrales cestassauoir Iohan Drake Iohan wayte & william Trumpour & lour compaignons* [...]. I acknowledge and thank Lisa Jefferson for confirming for me via paleographical evidence that this “Trumpour” is indeed a surname and not a title (hence the record cannot be read “William the trumpeter.”)

¹¹⁸ See appendix 2, table A2.1, s.v. 1419.

¹¹⁹ For example, Mercers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 143, and translated, 1170: *Item paie pure xvij trumpettes* [...] *Item xvij chaperons a eux mynstralles* [“Likewise paid for sixteen trumpeters ... Likewise seventeen hoods for those minstrels”] (1437); Mercers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 152, and translated, 1173: *Item pur viij chaperons pur les mynstrelx, viij. s. Item paie a viij. Trumpettes pur les viscountz, liij. s. iij. d. Item pur boire as ditz mynstrelx, xvij. d.* [“Likewise for eight hoods for the minstrels, 8s., Likewise paid to eight trumpeters for the sheriffs, £2 13s. 4d., Likewise for drink for the said minstrels, 1s. 4d.”] (1441). The data in appendix 2 makes clear that the hoods were intended for the trumpeters, here also called minstrels.

change appears to have been to the terminology used in the records, not to the musicians and musicianship being recorded.

Even some of the earliest documents do use musical terminology, though not with reference to people: civic documents record that Londoners celebrated the news of the birth of Prince Edward (later Edward III) in 1312 “accompanied by trumps and other minstrelsies,”¹²⁰ and that they later “held dancing [or carolling] in the church of St Paul’s with trumps.”¹²¹ The records of the Goldsmiths’ Company indicate that they owned musical instruments by c.1380, and regularly they record the handover from outgoing to incoming wardens of *trompes* [i.e., trumps].¹²² The Goldsmiths’ account of the receipt from minstrels in 1390/91 of “newly-made trumps, clarions and pipes”¹²³ suggests a technical distinction between species of the same instrument (trumpets and clarions); the same document records the instruments’ weights, revealing that the trumps were heavier, and therefore probably larger.¹²⁴ (The Goldsmiths’ records for 1420 also include a detailed

¹²⁰ Letter Book D, *CL*, 4, and translated, 1051: [...] *oue Trompes & autres menestraucies*.

¹²¹ Letter Book D, *CL*, 4, and translated, 1051: *Et apres la Messe menerent la karole en le Mouster de seint poul od trompes* [...].

¹²² The repair of trumps (*Trompes*) is recorded in the Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 15, and translated, 1061 (c.1380-82); they are also recorded in 1383 in the Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 25, and translated, 1071, *et passim*. Note that Lisa Jefferson, in her edition of the same, translated *trompes* as “trumpets”: for example, Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, ed. Jefferson, 208-09; the same edition also translates the name of *william Trumpour* as “William Trumpeter.”

¹²³ Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 31, and translated, 1076.

¹²⁴ Other records are not concerned to offer such technical distinctions, and the terms “trumpeter” and “clarioner” are apparently also used interchangeably in the documents. For example, for the records of the sheriffs’ procession in 1437, the Mercers’ accounts record a payment to “trumpeters” (calling them also “minstrels”) and the Merchant Taylors’ accounts record a payment to “claironers” (calling them also “minstrels”), but it would be assumed that both companies provided the same minstrelsy for that event, as is discussed in “Processions of Civic Officials,” chapter 3: see Mercers’ Wardens Accounts, *CL*, 140, and

description of four trumps and four clarions: the trumps were made of seven pieces, each marked by a letter of the alphabet; the clarions, of eight pieces, also marked by letters of the alphabet.¹²⁵)

Though the word “minstrel” is linked etymologically to “servant” and became associated with disreputable behaviour in the sixteenth century,¹²⁶ minstrels were respectable members of society, and the service of music itself was probably considered a reputable occupation: Hugh Baillie cited the example of William Andrews, minstrel, who served as warden of St Margaret Pattens in 1551;¹²⁷ the most frequently attested musical person in sixteenth-century London, John Howe the organ maker, also served as warden in his parish church.¹²⁸

The word “minstrel” did not fall into disuse as the records increasingly employed more precise terminology to describe musicians, and it is frequently found in the documents throughout the entire period under examination here: in the fifteenth century,

translated, 1169; Merchant Taylors’ Accounts, *CL*, 140, and translated, 1169; see also appendix 2, table A2.2, s.v. 1437.

¹²⁵ Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 76. This record is fascinating for the distinction that it draws between “trumps” and “clarions”: see the discussion by Jeremy Montagu, in which he uses the same record to draw the first conclusions about the distinction between these two instruments that are both “frequently referred to in medieval literature” but for which no apparent distinction is widely accepted: Jeremy Montagu, “Medieval Woodwind Instruments of Silver,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 60 (2007): 224-228, especially 226. A reproduction of the Goldsmiths’ accounts book, showing the receipt by the wardens in 1391/92 of the new instruments, is also found on 226.

¹²⁶ Crewdson, *Apollo’s Swan*, 14, and chapter 3.

¹²⁷ Baillie, “London Churches,” 38, 255.

¹²⁸ Of St Stephen Walbrook in the 1530s: see CWD, 120v/8v for example, where Howe signs the account: *by me John howe churchewardyn* (1534/35). His father, John Howe the elder, was also a churchwarden there, as in 1518/19; see CWD, 44r/1r: *the accompt of John how the furst* [“the first” is superscript] *fro the Annunciacon of owre Lady anno 1518 vnto the same feste by one hole yere*; and 53v/10v, where he signs *John hoo the fyrste*.

“clarioners” and “trumpeters” are simultaneously called “minstrels” in the same record;¹²⁹ the city Waits, who were known to be musicians, were called “minstrels” in 1515;¹³⁰ in 1544 a document of the city council uses the term “minstrely” still to refer to “music” and “musicians,” specifying “minstrely *other than* the Waits of the city and the trumpets.”¹³¹ Certainly by 1500 when the Minstrels’ Company presented their ordinances before the city, the description of the craft that the company itself gave refers specifically to musicians and musical instruments.

The Minstrels’ Company and Regulations for Minstrely

There was evidently a Minstrels’ Company in mid fourteenth-century London, whose ordinances are extant, but its history is otherwise little known.¹³² This Company later ceased to operate, because by 1500, when the ability of London’s minstrels to earn their living and find employment was apparently hindered by the presence of foreign minstrels—that is, from outside of London—they had again formed a company. In 1500, the minstrels of the new London company presented themselves, with a bill of complaint, before the Court of Common Council: the bill gives a picture—perhaps exaggerated deliberately in order to win the sympathy of the court—of country minstrels pressing their way into Dedication feasts and other church holy days, at weddings, or appearing,

¹²⁹ See n.124, above.

¹³⁰ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 3, *CL*, 320: [...] *And ouer that x li. towards the Relieff of the wages of the Mynstrelles waytes of this Citie* [...].

¹³¹ Court of Common Council, Journal 15, *CL*, 677, emphasis mine.

¹³² This document, which concerns the governance of the company and the use of its common funds, is given as appendix 3.1, taken from the transcription given in Clifford B. Edgar, ed. *Handbook of the Worshipful Company of Musicians* (3rd edition. London: 1915).

sometimes five or six in number, at tournaments, all to the grievous annoyance and “great grief and displeasure of the citizens.”¹³³ The complaint records that the city’s own minstrels were falling into “such poverty and decay that they be not of power or ability to bear charges to pay lot and scot”¹³⁴ [i.e., their municipal taxes¹³⁵], and so they petitioned to be recognized as a company—The Fellowship of Minstrels—whose ordinances would regulate the practice of minstrelsy in the city.

The bill of complaint and its ordinances were accepted by the city: it first addressed the issue of non-Londoners earning wages in the city, and decreed that no foreigner was permitted to sing or play upon any instrument in the city on church feast days, or at weddings and the like, or else pay a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.* The bill also addressed apprenticeship (without setting a limit to the number of apprentices that a member could take), requiring every freeman of the Fellowship to present each of his apprentices to the warden of the craft within a month of taking him on, at which time the apprentice was to pay 1*s.* 8*d.* to the craft. (The minimum and usual term for apprenticeship was seven years before the mid-fourteenth century, and nearer to ten in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹³⁶) No member of the fellowship was permitted to teach or instruct another person in minstrelsy, except his own apprentice(s), on pain of a £1 fine; he could, however, provide instruction to “any

¹³³ The following is based on the full ordinances of the Minstrels’ Company, the transcriptions of which from *CL* are given in appendix 3.2.

¹³⁴ Court of Common Council, Journal 10, *CL*, 258.

¹³⁵ *OED*, s.v. “scot, n.2.”

¹³⁶ Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 135-36.

gentleman or merchant” who was disposed to learn the craft for his own pleasure.¹³⁷ (Late medieval London, then, drew a distinction between amateur and professional musicians—people learning music for the joy of it, and people learning music for their livelihood.)

The ordinances also addressed the behavior of members towards one another and the governance of the company: members were to gather on quarter days (or else be fined for absence) and for the annual election of wardens;¹³⁸ if those elected refused the office, they were to be fined £1, of which half went to the city and half was kept in the common box; the wardens were to have custody of the common box, and every freeman or brother of the craft was to pay 1s. per year into it in quarterly installments. None of the items in the act of ordinances were to apply to royal minstrels or the minstrels of Parliament, who were all permitted to continue to “use and occupy the feat of minstrelsy within the same city as they did or ought to do,” so long as they were not continually resident or present there.

The ordinance that prevented a non-Londoner from singing or playing their instrument is interesting in that it refers specifically to “church holy days or dedication days, churchings [i.e., the public appearance at church of a woman after childbirth, to give

¹³⁷ In November 1547, the Minstrels’ Company had cause to bring a complaint against the Weavers’ Company to the Court of Aldermen, because of *one wylliam pyke & one william tayllour* [members of the Weavers’ Company] *which occupie mynstralsye onely and take dyuerse apprentyes contrarye to the ordenaunces of the felowshyp of the mynstrelles*; the Court of Aldermen transferred the membership of the two Williams to the Minstrels’ Company: see Court of Aldermen, Repertory 11, *CL*, 711-12; see also Baillie, “London Churches,” 36.

¹³⁸ At least in 1510/11 and 1511/12, the Minstrels’ Company hired the Pewterers’ Hall, in Lymestrete near St Dionis Backchurch for their company dinner: see Pewterers’ Audit Book, *CL*, 306, 312. (Interestingly, the Pewterers’ Hall seems to have been a favoured place for music-making and musicians; between c.1540-52, the Pewterers infrequently received payments from a stranger (sometimes called a Spaniard) for using their hall as a dancing school: see Pewterers’ Audit Book, *CL*, 643, 681, 724, 736, 757, and see also Lancashire’s endnote, *CL*, 1380-81. Perhaps his name was *Iesper Cvrtes* [Jasper Cortez?].

thanks for the safe delivery], weddings, or brotherhoods.” This would seem to exclude street music and musicians, like those minstrels described in “London Lickpenny,” mentioned in the introduction.¹³⁹ It did not hinder the parish clerks and choirboys from going through the streets singing for money;¹⁴⁰ it also seems to allow for a culture of amateur musicianship, and, as described in the next chapter,¹⁴¹ there appear to have been occasions at which Londoners of other trades—barbers and pewterers, for example—earned payments for playing drums and other instruments in civic festivals.

In January 1518, the master and wardens of the Minstrels’ Company—John Olyver, and John Chamber and Robert Strachy, respectively—came to the Court of Common Council with a request that revisions to the minstrels’ ordinances be accepted for the “better maintaining of the fellowship,” which the city granted.¹⁴² The elections of the company’s master and wardens were now to be held every two years, instead of annually; other revisions concerned ordinances about members’ behavior towards one another and prohibited members from suing one another or being “disobedient, much obstinate and contrarious” toward the master and wardens. A member was also prohibited from supplanting another who was already hired to play at “triumphs, feasts, dinners, suppers, marriages, guilds or brotherhoods or any such other doings,” so that no minstrel, already

¹³⁹ See also Crewdson, *Apollo’s Swan*, 7: “It is interesting to note that the restriction on making music was limited to special occasions. ‘Busking’ on an ordinary working day seems to have been excluded.” Note, however, that Crewdson sees even busking regulated in the ordinances of 1553, discussed below; see Crewdson, *Apollo’s Swan*, 48.

¹⁴⁰ See “Boy Bishops,” chapter 4.

¹⁴¹ See “The Midsummer Watches,” chapter 3.

¹⁴² The transcription of this record from *CL* is given in appendix 3.3; there is also useful commentary in Crewdson, *Apollo’s Swan*, 41-44.

spoken for, would lose part of their living; in effect, it became illegal for one minstrel to steal the work of another once an agreement had been reached.

Major revisions and addenda made in 1518 concerned the nature of apprenticeship: whereas the ordinances of 1500 apparently did not limit the number of apprentices that a member of the company could take, now it was restricted to one at a time, “to the intent that the same apprentice may the better be applied, learned, and set to work,” and no member was to entice or procure another’s servant or apprentice from the service of their current master while they were retained by him. An apprentice was also prohibited from “using or occupying his instrument openly or privately, within any tavern, hotel or alehouse within the city, or at any feasts, guilds, marriages, dinners, suppers or such other” until such time as the apprentice was examined by the master and wardens, and considered by them “able to use his instrument in the form aforesaid for the honor of the city,” and the good reputation of the company. The standard of musicianship was evidently high and maintained. (City accounts, which would have recorded the admission to apprenticeship of a number of minstrels, are lost, but evidence for musical training by a master does survive elsewhere: John Howe, for example, very probably had a “servant”—a different class of pupil¹⁴³—assisting him in his work at the city’s organs in the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁴)

¹⁴³ See Hanawalt, *Growing Up*, chapter 10, 173-98.

¹⁴⁴ Howe is probably the “organ maker” whose servant is mentioned in the churchwardens’ documents, for example: St Dunstan in the West CWD, 40r: *Item payd to the organmaker for rememeyng off them and tewnyng off them, xx d. Item payd to hys seruant for mendyng off a key off the organs, vj d.* (1523/24); St Martin Outwich CWD, 41v: *payd to the orgenmaker seruant for scoryng of the pypes of the organs, iiij d.* (1525/26); St Alphage CWD, 40r: *paid to the organ makers seruant, xij d.* (1535/36).

Clearly by March 1553, company members were failing to observe the restriction to keep only one apprentice at a time, and regulations were again recorded by the city stipulating that a member was to keep “in his service at once but only one apprentice,” again that they “may the better be applied, learned and set to work.”¹⁴⁵ (Whereas, in 1518, current and former masters of the company were given the privilege of two apprentices, this was in 1553 extended to current and former wardens as well.) By then the “poor minstrels” [i.e., members of the Minstrels’ Company] were again recorded suffering “great loss and hindrance” because of foreign minstrels practicing their craft in the city, and again the city regulated against any non-Londoner singing or playing on any instrument “in any common hall, tavern, inn, alehouse, or any other like place or places within the city”; this time, the regulation did not specify particular events, and so probably prohibited those musicians from earning any money in the city. These ordinances were more prohibitive generally for music making in London: no one was permitted any longer to keep a dancing school; any person, whether a full member of the Minstrels’ Company or not, was prohibited from playing their instrument in the streets, lanes, and alleys after 10 p.m. and before 5 a.m.; and the singing of *thre mens songes* [freemens’ songs¹⁴⁶] was also banned. These lively, secular part songs in three (or occasionally four) parts were popular in the sixteenth century, even with amateur musicians:¹⁴⁷ the bill records “tailors, shoemakers

¹⁴⁵ The transcription of this record from *CL* is given in appendix 3.4. There is useful commentary in Crewdson, *Apollo’s Swan*, 47-49, but note that he gives the date of the ordinances as 2 March 1554, whereas *CL* gives it as 1553; other scholarship included in the bibliography here also gives the date as 1554, but because the citation is to Crewdson; the dating from *CL* is followed here.

¹⁴⁶ *OED*, s.v. “freemen’s song, *n.*”

¹⁴⁷ See *ibid*, and for later references, see also B. J. Sokol, *Shakespeare’s Artists: The Painters, Sculptors, Poets and Musicians in his Plays and Poems* (London, New York: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2018), 157 (“Many Elizabethans, including artisans, were capable of singing three-men’s songs”); see also J. H. P.

and such others leaving the use and exercise of their crafts and manual occupations, and giving themselves wholly to wandering abroad, riot, vice and idleness” and to singing such songs in taverns, alehouses and inns, and at weddings and feasts; those artisans were banned from doing so, again to prevent loss of income to the minstrels themselves.

Collectively the 1500, 1518 and 1553 ordinances indicate the times when a minstrel, whether apprenticed or a full member of the company, might be employed to practice their craft, and when Londoners’ lives could be enriched with the craft of music: in the churches, on holy days, and dedication days, and at weddings or churchings; at feasts, dinners, and suppers (especially those of the city’s guilds and brotherhoods [i.e., its companies and fraternities]); in taverns, hotels, and alehouses; and in the city’s streets, lanes, and alleys.

The Waits

London’s Waits, a select group of musicians given a livery and later a salary by the city, emerge from the documents of the mid-fifteenth century. Variants of the term “wait,” however, are found in the documents of the late thirteenth century: “waits” were watchmen, charged with the security of the city, before they were civic musicians. As early as June 1287, the city commanded that the sergeants living at the gates should each have one *woyte* at their expense;¹⁴⁸ it is unclear whether the *woyte* to which the record refers is the

Pafford, “Music, and the Songs in *The Winter’s Tale*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1959): 161-75, especially 162-63.

¹⁴⁸ Letter Book A, *CL*, 3, and translated, 1050.

instrument [i.e., a wait pipe], or the watchman who played it.¹⁴⁹ In the fifteenth century, English towns began to regard their waits primarily as musicians and only secondarily as watchmen,¹⁵⁰ but exactly when this became the case in London is unclear: one *Iohan wayte* is named among the minstrels who played at the mayor's procession in October 1369,¹⁵¹ but around that time—the middle of the fourteenth century—surnames shifted from being descriptions of occupations to inherited names,¹⁵² so it is unclear whether this *Iohan* was a wait by name only, by occupation, or both.

In the absence of evidence it is difficult to detect, much less describe, any transition of the Waits from watchmen to civic musicians, or their earliest activities.¹⁵³ Probably the change in function occurred by the mid-fifteenth century: in November 1442, nine men calling themselves the “Waits of the city,” comparing themselves to the Waits of other

¹⁴⁹ In his *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London*, Reginald Sharpe suggested that *woyte* should be understood in the sense of a watchman: see “Folios 110b - 135b, pages 207-230,” *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: A, 1275-1298*, ed. Reginald R Sharp (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), BHO, n.75; see also Lancashire's endnote, *CL*, 1234. Richard Rastall has written that the word *wait*, in the late thirteenth century, could refer specifically to that small pipe as well as to its player, and has suggested that this particular record probably refers to a watchman: see George Richard Rastall, “Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England” (PhD diss., Victoria University of Manchester, 1968), 159, and 214, where he writes, “The man is meant, I think, not the instrument: his duty would have been to watch from the city wall and give the gate-keeper a signal at the approach of anyone for whom the gate would have to be opened. This watchman was not a minstrel, and the appropriate instrument for making such a signal was likely to be a horn rather than a wayt.”

¹⁵⁰ Woodfill, *Musicians*, 33.

¹⁵¹ Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 10, and translated, 1056. *Iohan wayte* is given as John Wayte in appendix 1.

¹⁵² Caroline M. Barron, “Sources for Medieval Urban History,” in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, edited by Joel T. Rosenthal (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 169.

¹⁵³ More records of their activities survive for the Elizabethan period, and for that, see Woodfill, *Musicians*, chapter 2, and Helen Green, “The Waits of Elizabethan London: City, Court and Town” (MA thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2001).

(unnamed) cities and towns,¹⁵⁴ presented a petition before the Court of Common Council at the Guildhall suggesting that they could not remain “of power *to continue* in service” to the city without the city’s recognition and a livery with the city’s coat of arms, as other cities’ Waits had.¹⁵⁵ The Waits also petitioned to remain in the service for “the term of their lives,” or until they “were unable to do service as they ought to do,” but when the petition was approved, it was on the conditions that they occupied their positions “as long as it seems good to the mayor and aldermen,” that they would appear in service to the city government when assigned, that the mayor held the right to make appointments when vacancies arose (suggesting that their number was designed to remain fixed at nine), and that the Waits were to swear an oath to the mayor.¹⁵⁶ That the Waits’ petition concerned their *continuing* in service indicates that they were already established before they were recognized formally by the city in November 1442, when they were granted a livery and the right to wear the city’s coat of arms, though no earlier date is readily apparent in the surviving documents.

It is possible from November 1442 date onwards to chart some of the early activities of London’s Waits. In February 1454, the city decreed that the Waits were to go “with their minstrels” through the streets at night “for people’s refreshment [or relief] and to avoid

¹⁵⁴ Waits had been instituted at Beverly, in east Yorkshire, in 1405, and at Norwich, in Norfolk, in 1408, for example: see Richard Rastall, “Wait [wayt, wayte] (from old Fr. *gaitte*, a watchman),” *GMO* (accessed 22 January 2020).

¹⁵⁵ Letter Book K, *CL*, 153-54, and translated, 1174, emphasis mine.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

robbery”:¹⁵⁷ perhaps this is an indication of the “continuing service” to which the Waits alluded in their petition of twelve years earlier (music heard in the streets, including at night, is considered in the next chapter). Though the city’s decree seems to separate the Waits from minstrels,¹⁵⁸ it suggests by its word order that the Waits had become more associated with (musical) entertainment than with the city’s security, which was the duty of the police who were appointed at the meetings of the city’s wards.¹⁵⁹ From 1455, the Merchant Taylors recorded payments “to the Waits of London” for participating in their company feast-time celebrations (which, at least in 1455, involved a procession through the city’s streets to St John’s Hospital).¹⁶⁰

By that time, the endorsement of the city had evidently secured the Waits employment elsewhere as musical entertainment. In May 1456, the Grocers recorded payments to the Waits, minstrels, and a tumbler for entertaining at their feast-time

¹⁵⁷ Court of Common Council, Journal 5, *CL*, 173-74, and translated, 1181: “Today [1 February] it was decided that each alderman in his ward shall consult with the constable with respect to the keeping of the peace, that each person staying within his ward shall have sufficient armour in their house for the defense of the city and their neighbours, and that no one shall attend on any lord on one side or the other, but only be prepared at the order of the mayor or alderman, and that each person shall hang lighted lanterns outside the windows each night on pain of four pence, and that each night the waits shall walk with their minstrels [*cum ministrallis suis*] for peoples’ refreshment/relief [*pro Recreacione hominum*] and to avoid robbery, etc.” This record and its mention of “minstrels” is particularly challenging to interpret. There is no confirmation that the Waits had apprentices at this time: probably that privilege would not have been extended to them until they were members of a guild, which they apparently were not until 1502 (see below). Walter Woodfill ignored the clause “with their minstrels” when he cited the same document and wrote that “in 1454 the common council adopted, among various measures designed to maintain the peace, an order that the Waits were to perambulate each night for the recreation of the people and to prevent robberies,” see Woodfill, *Musicians*, 45.

¹⁵⁸ The record seems almost to suggest that the Waits themselves were not necessarily musical, but that they kept company with musicians; however, as described, the Waits were very soon thereafter being hired to go—playing?—in the feast-day processions of the Merchant Taylors.

¹⁵⁹ Woodfill, *Musicians*, 45.

¹⁶⁰ See Merchant Taylors Accounts, *CL*, 177 and translated, 1182, *et passim*, to AD 1484.

supper,¹⁶¹ and over the next century, London's Waits are named in the feast-time records of many of the city's companies and guilds.¹⁶² (The Waits are also attested in the Christmastime records of the Inns of Court, though the Inns of Court are not examined here.¹⁶³)

In October 1475, the city decreed that there should be "only six minstrels called Waits," that they were to be well trained, and that they were to receive annually their livery and £1 6s. 8d. in wages from the Chamber.¹⁶⁴ (It is fortunate that the amount was recorded in the council's journal; the account books of the city themselves would have recorded the transfer of money.¹⁶⁵) Richard Rastall has written that "no town could give its Waits enough work to keep them fully occupied all the year round," so they supplemented their income by playing at other events, including the company feasts mentioned above, sometimes causing friction with local minstrels.¹⁶⁶ This is true of London, where in 1502,

¹⁶¹ Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 178.

¹⁶² Those companies include the Bakers, Carpenters, Goldsmiths, Grocers, Merchant Taylors, Vintners, and Wax Chandlers (see "Company Feasts and Dinners," chapter 4); the Waits also played to advertise the feasts of the Jesus Guild, see "Company Feasts and Dinners." (For the record of the Jesus Guild, see n.181, below.)

¹⁶³ See for example, "Furnival's Inn Accounts in a History of Lincoln's Inn," in Alan H. Nelson and John R. Elliott, Jr, eds. *Records of Early English Drama: Inns of Court*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 17, and translated, 827 (Christmas 1481); 19 (Christmas 1485), *et passim*.

¹⁶⁴ Court of Common Council, Journal 8, *CL*, 214, and translated, 1193.

¹⁶⁵ The account of the chamberlain's clerk, extant for 1535/36, suggests the detail that has been lost, as quarterly payments throughout the account that names the Waits: "[To] the 6 Waits: John [Richard] Strachon 20s., John Frith 20s., Thomas Bell 20s., Edmund Dier 20s., Robert Norman 20s., Richard Bacon 20s., [summa] £6." Some of the Waits named in this payment have not been identified in previous scholarship. The account also includes expenses for embroidering the Waits' sleeves. See "Appendix: Account of the Chamberlain's Clerk, 1535-6," *Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Betty R Masters (London: London Record Society, 1984), BHO (accessed 11 February 2020).

¹⁶⁶ Rastall, "Secular Musicians," 237.

the Waits complained to the Court of Common Council that the Minstrels' Company would not suffer the Waits to "occupy and buy and sell" their craft unless they enjoyed full membership of that company, which they were not sufficiently resourced to buy; the Waits thus asked that that the city grant them full membership of the Minstrels' Company without any charge.¹⁶⁷ The petition was granted, and in November 1527, John Waren, who had served as a wait for a year, was given the freedom of the city in the Minstrels' Company "according to an act therof made the 12th day of April 17 Henry VII, in the time of John Shaa," the city's mayor in 1501/02.¹⁶⁸ (One wonders about the relations between the Waits and the city's other minstrels: they were apparently tense in July 1548, when the city granted the Waits permission to keep two apprentices each,¹⁶⁹ which was a privilege only extended to former masters and wardens of the Minstrels' Company; in March 1549, the Minstrels' Company petitioned the City that "the common Waits were licensed to take one apprentice a piece more than the rules [of the company] allowed them," but this petition was denied.¹⁷⁰)

In the early sixteenth century, the city and its government continued to show concern for the wages of the Waits: in 1515, John Tate, sometime mayor of London, left a bequest of £10 towards the Waits' wages, to be paid in £1 installments for ten years;¹⁷¹ in

¹⁶⁷ Court of Common Council, Journal 10, *CL*, 267-68.

¹⁶⁸ Court of Alderman, Repertory 7, *CL*, 463. For Shaa, see *MSL*, 1029.

¹⁶⁹ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 11, *CL*, 713.

¹⁷⁰ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 12(1), *CL*, 730-31.

¹⁷¹ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 3, *CL*, 320; his total bequest to the city was £30, of which the other £20 was given to the mayor and aldermen to dispose of as best as they saw fit (note, the only specification of the bequest to the city concerned the Waits' wages.) John Tate, a mercer, had served twice as mayor, in

April 1524, the city agreed to increase their wages by £2—presumably now their annual wage was £3 6s. 8d.—when the Waits lost the opportunity to play at the different Dedication feasts of the city’s churches the year before,¹⁷² and in October 1536, because the number of feast days observed in the city had been reduced, their wages were increased to £6 each per year.¹⁷³

Participation at civic events would have been expected of musicians to whom the city granted a livery and annual salary, and indeed the Waits appear in the accounts of the city’s companies when those companies were responsible for organizing the musicians for various civic events.¹⁷⁴ But, probably because they were salaried by the city, the Waits are not recorded as being in receipt of wages for playing at those events: rather, the companies most often record the expenses of the livery given to the Waits and other musicians, alongside the wages paid to the other musicians, excluding the Waits. The calendar of data in appendix 2 shows that between 1482-1550, for example, there are 31 civic processions at which the participation of the Waits is recorded by the city’s companies; they receive

1496/97, and briefly in 1514, finishing the term of William Browne, another mercer, who died in office in June 1514: see MSL, 1028, 1031.

¹⁷² See “Dedication Feasts and Feasts of Patron Saints,” chapter 4.

¹⁷³ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 9, CL, 547: *Item the byll of petition of the waytes of london was Redde towchyng somme ayde & relyeff to be gyven yn consideracion that diuerse halydayes be abrogate & made voyde* (September 1536) [...] *It ys agreed that the waytes of thys Cytye shall have of thys Cytye vj li. A peace for theyre ffee as longe as they shall well & honestly behave them selffes* (October 1536). In July and August 1536, the holy days of the harvest time and the law terms were abolished, except those of the Apostles, the Virgin Mary, St George, and the feasts of the Ascension, the Nativity of St John the Baptist, All Saints, and Candlemas: see Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 55.

¹⁷⁴ See the Waits’ appearances in “The Midsummer Watches,” “Processions of Civic Officials,” and “Royal Processions,” chapter 3.

some of kind of payment from the companies in only seven of those years,¹⁷⁵ and these payments are generally much smaller than those recorded to the other musicians.¹⁷⁶ Evidently, the city's companies were not required to remunerate the Waits for marching with the other musicians whom the companies hired and paid at civic events, on the understanding that their wages were paid by the city itself. On the other hand, when the companies hired the Waits to play at their feast day celebrations or at company dinners, they were rewarded financially; evidently these were company, and not city, occasions (when the Waits played at the Inns of Court, they were also paid.)¹⁷⁷

Sometimes the wages of the Waits that are recorded for their participation at company events are comparable to those recorded for other minstrels or musicians;¹⁷⁸ at times, payments to them are grouped together with "other minstrels" in the accounts.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ See appendix 2, table A2.1, s.v. 1492, 1518, 1546, 1550 (for the mayor's procession), and table A2.2 s.v. 1503 (Nov.), 1511, 1513 (for the sheriffs' procession).

¹⁷⁶ An example is the procession of Thomas Mirfyn, skinner, in October 1518, for which expenses are recorded in Skinners' Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 362-63: *Item paid to ffraunces knyff Marchall of the kynges Trompetours for xij trompettes for the Clothyng And x trompettes for the Bachelers And for theyre drynkyng mony And for A hatt and typett for the said Marchall whan my lord Mayer Mr Mirfyn went to Westminster, vj li. v s. viij d. Item paid for hattes and typettes for the said Trompetours, xxxij s. vj d. Item paid to the waytes of london for theyre fee, vij s. Item paid for vj Crymsyn hattes and vj typettes for them, viij s. vj d.* The payment of £6 5s. 8d. to twenty-two trumpeters and their marshal included "their drinking money and a hat...for the said marshal"; the actual average (including costs) is slightly more than 5s. 5d. (65d.) per musician, including the marshal. Assuming there were six Waits, the payment to them averages only 1s. 2d. (14d.) each. In 1550, the total sum paid collectively to the Waits by the Skinners for their participation in the mayor's procession equals what a single trumpeter apparently earned, on average, in the late fifteenth century.

¹⁷⁷ A recent discussion of civic musicians intermingling with other city musicians (including amateurs) on the Continent is Helen Coffey, "City Life and Music for Secular Entertainment During the Reign of Maximilian I," in *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound and Listening in Europe, 1300-1918*, eds. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 171-85.

¹⁷⁸ For example, at an obit and dinner in 1523, the Vintners paid 8d. to the Waits and 8d. also to minstrels; in 1527, they paid the Waits 8d. and Bowbank, the minstrel, and his fellow, 8d.: Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 419, 462-63.

¹⁷⁹ For example, the Vintners recorded a payment of 2s. 4d. to the *mynstrels that day and the waytes* at their company dinner in July 1540: see Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 615; the Merchant

The amounts paid to the Waits for participating in the company feasts and dinners vary considerably, from 4*d.* to 10*s.*¹⁸⁰ From the beginning of the sixteenth century and into the 1530s, they were paid 10*s.* yearly by the Jesus Guild to go through the streets of London, playing their instruments, “to give warning and knowledge to the people” of the feasts of the Transfiguration and the Name of Jesus.¹⁸¹ At dinners, too, they could have been further rewarded with food and drink.

The Waits’ instruments, in their earliest days, were probably the pipes from which their title came. In October 1526, the Court of Aldermen recorded that city would provide the Waits with a sackbut;¹⁸² Walter Woodfill suggested that the sackbut might have been “quite new to the city,” for the secretary “had much trouble in writing the name” of the instrument, which he first spelled *hakbusshe*, then crossed it out; *Sakbutte* is written above

Taylor's paid 13*s.* 14*d.* to the *Waytes and other mynstrelles* at their feast in June 1546: see Merchant Taylor's Accounts, *CL*, 697.

¹⁸⁰ 4*d.*, for example, at the Vintners’ dinners in July 1508 and July 1509: Vintners’ Master and Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 287, 290; 10*s.*, for example, at the Merchant Taylor's feast in June 1455: Merchant Taylor's Accounts, *CL*, 177, and translated, 1182. (Note that the different number of Waits that can be assumed at this time is not proportionate to the different amounts that these payments record.)

¹⁸¹ Supplementary Ordinances for the Jesus Guild, *EL*, 43: *ffor the waites Also it is ordeigned that Six waits yerely shall goo in al the Stretys of london and subbarbs of the same before the ffestis of the Transfiguracion of oure lorde and de nomine Iesu with there Instrumentes plaieng to gif warnyng and knowlege to the people of the seid ffestys. And they shall haue amongest them all Six for their laboure ten shillinges provided alwey that yf ther wante enny of the same numbre of vj that than there shalbe abated of the same somme after the rate of the persone or persones so wanytyng. And that the wardenis or their deputie shall deliuer vnto the seid Six waites for every of them a banere pictured with the conisuanis of Iesus. And also a livery of Iesus browdred. All the whiche baners and lyveries the seid waytys shall redeliuer vnto the seid wardeyns in the ende of the seid ffestis.* (c. 1506).

¹⁸² Court of Aldermen, Repertory 7, *CL*, 445: *Item yt ys agreed at humble peticion of the Mynstrelles waytes of this Citie That the Chamberleyn shall at the Costes of the Chambre pay for an Instrument called an ~~hakbusshe~~ a Sakbutte* [“a sackbut” is written superscript] *for the waytes of this Citie to the worship of the same* (October 1526).

the line.¹⁸³ This is the only recorded purchase of an instrument for the Waits in the period under examination here, though later purchases of instruments were also recorded by the city.¹⁸⁴

Thomas the Trumpeter

Before the Waits begin to appear in the records of civic processions or in companies' feast and dinner expenses, the documents refer repeatedly to a certain Thomas, a trumpeter, following much the same pattern as described for the Waits: that is, he is recorded receiving payments for some company events, but was apparently unpaid at civic occasions. He first appears in the Mercers' accounts of the sheriffs' procession in 1430, wherein one *Thomas Trompere* (Thomas Trumpeter) receives a livery hood for the procession, but is apparently there in addition to the seven clarioners and trumpeters to whom the Mercers paid wages.¹⁸⁵ Between 1430 and his last recorded appearance in 1461, he appears in thirteen separate accounts of civic processions, once as "Thomas Trumpeter," earlier mentioned, and otherwise as "Thomas with the trump."¹⁸⁶ A fourteenth account, recording simply a certain *Thome*, who receives a livery hood in addition to eight paid clarioners in 1437,¹⁸⁷ probably refers to this same individual.

¹⁸³ Woodfill, *Musicians*, 35, n.3 (but note that Woodfill transcribes it as "*Hakbush* or *hakbussh*"; the transcription of *hakbusse* is taken from *CL*, 445, see n.182, above).

¹⁸⁴ See Woodfill, *Musicians*, 34-36.

¹⁸⁵ See appendix 2, table A2.2, *s.v.* 1430.

¹⁸⁶ For the appearances of this "Thomas Trumpeter" and "Thomas with the trump," (and the exact French and English by which he is referred), see appendix 2, table A2.1, *s.v.* 1433, 1448, 1452, 1457, 1461, and table A2.2, *s.v.* 1430, 1433, 1434, 1448, 1456, 1458, 1460, 1461.

¹⁸⁷ See appendix 2, table A2.2, *s.v.* 1437.

This Thomas was apparently not connected to any one company: in the records of the sheriffs' processions, for which the expenses for minstrels and musicians were often shared equally between the two companies to which the incoming sheriffs belonged,¹⁸⁸ the cost of Thomas's hood was shared between the two companies, as the frequent records by both companies, each paying for half of his hood, indicate.¹⁸⁹ Contemporary with the records that point to Thomas's involvement in civic processions, fourteen more accounts from different companies (from 1431 through 1469) also record payments for one more livery hood than the number of minstrels or musicians that they record:¹⁹⁰ an example in English is the Grocers' account for the mayor's procession in 1460, which records a payment for sixteen trumpeters, but a payment (to another Thomas—Thomas Cryffie, tailor) for the making of seventeen hoods for the minstrels.¹⁹¹

This Thomas was probably not an apprentice, because he, unlike other musicians, is recorded by name, and continues to appear in the records with much the same description for thirty years, considerably longer than the usual term for apprenticeship.¹⁹² More likely, he was an experienced and prominent musician in the city: probably he was the *Maistir Trumpet* whom the Mercers rewarded with a payment of 8*d.* at the sheriffs' procession in

¹⁸⁸ See "Processions of Civic Officials," chapter 2.

¹⁸⁹ See appendix 2, table A2.2, *s.v.* 1430, 1433, 1434, and on.

¹⁹⁰ See appendix 2, table A2.1, *s.v.* 1431, 1437, 1439, 1444, 1450, 1455, 1460, 1466, 1468, 1469, and table A2.2, *s.v.* 1438, 1446, 1455, 1468.

¹⁹¹ Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 188: *Payd the same day [i.e., 29 October 1460] ffor xvj trompettes be ffor the Meyre, v li. vj s. viij d. [...] Payd ffor xj yardes off Rede ffor the mynstrellis hodes ij s. ij d. ayard, xxij s. x d. Payd ffor blanket to make Rowlyys ffor xvij hodes, iij s. iiij d. Payd to Thomas Cryffie taylur ffor the makyng off xvij hodes, v s. viij d.*

¹⁹² Hanawalt, *Growing Up*, 135-36.

1448 (a nominally small payment, when other trumpeters were paid 6s. 8d. each); the same year, the Grocers' accounts indicate that Thomas was present.¹⁹³

Taken together, the evidence suggests that Thomas, if he was a “master trumpeter,” may have been employed by the city. His wages must have come from somewhere, but they were not paid by the city's companies—so, too, must the wages of the unidentified minstrel/trumpeter have been recorded in accounts that are now lost. The city's own account books are lamentably not extant; in them would have been recorded payments to any musicians who served the city before the Waits were established as an institution in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁹⁴ (There is archaeological evidence of a city trumpeter—or, at least, a trumpeter prominent in the city—in the thirteenth century: the marble coffin tomb of *Godfrey le Troumper* [Godfrey the trumpeter], which has a long trumpet and a cross carved into it, was buried inside the chapel of the Guildhall, in the south aisle.¹⁹⁵)

¹⁹³ See appendix 2, table A2.2, *s.v.* 1448. Note that both companies record payments of wages to eight trumpeters each, and that the Grocers' account indicates that “Thomas with the trump” was present but in addition to those eight trumpeters; the Mercers' accounts for that year do not record the number of livery hoods made and given to the musicians so it is not possible to determine whether the “Master trumpeter” was one of the eight trumpeters to whom they paid wages, or additional to them. In other years, however, it is explicit that there is an additional trumpeter not in receipt of wages.

¹⁹⁴ Civic musicians and especially city trumpeters were a fact of late medieval urban life, but are little studied: see Kreitner, “The City Trumpeter,” 134: “Of all the musicians of the middle ages and renaissance, trumpeters remain at once among the most ubiquitous and the most mysterious. Evidence of trumpet players abounds in cities and courts all over Europe...” Also for city trumpeters, see Helen Green, “Defining the City ‘Trumpeter’: German Civic Identity and the Employment of Brass Instrumentalists, c.1500,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 136, no. 1 (2011): 1-31.

¹⁹⁵ The inscription reads “Godfrey the trumpeter lies here, God have mercy on his soul.” See David Bowsher, Tony Dyson, Nick Holder and Isca Howell, *The London Guildhall: An Archaeological History of a Neighbourhood from Early Medieval to Modern Times*, 2 parts (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007), 141, 144-45, 376. A drawing of the coffin is found on 145.

Thomas and this other, unidentified musician—who may be Thomas, or, more likely, another trumpeter salaried by the city¹⁹⁶—disappear from the records at the end of the 1460s, soon after the first records emerge of the Waits, and in the 1470s, the records begin to describe trumpeters and their “marshal” (probably these were royal musicians, as described in “Processions of Civic Officials” in the next chapter). When the city’s Waits begin to appear in the records in the 1480s, the pattern established by Thomas and the unidentified trumpeter continues: the Waits, who were salaried by the city, are very often unpaid by the companies for their involvement in these civic events. When a “Thomas with the trump” appears among the expenses of the companies for their feasts and dinners, he, like the Waits, was remunerated for this service, because these were private, company events and not for the entire city.¹⁹⁷

The feast-time expenses of the Merchant Taylors record a payment to “Thomas Reymer with the trump.”¹⁹⁸ This is the only record in the documents of “Thomas with the trump” that offers a probable surname, but there were other trumpeters (and minstrels who were likely trumpeters) named Thomas active in London at the same time: in a civic procession in 1431, the Grocers recorded a payment to one *thomas ou le staffes* [Thomas

¹⁹⁶ Probably the city required at least two, in case one was unwell: there were two trumpeters in Toulouse by 1340, for example: see Gretchen Peters, *The Musical Sounds of Medieval French Cities: Players, Patrons, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 49-50.

¹⁹⁷ At company feasts and dinners, “Thomas with the trump” appears alongside the Waits in the Merchant Taylors’ records in 1455, paid 1s.; in 1457, alongside other trumpeters, paid 1s. 8d.; and in 1458, when he was rewarded for his hood and performed alongside other trumpeters: see Merchant Taylors’ Accounts, *CL*, 177, 182, 183-84, and translated, 1182, 1184, 1185. He appears in the Grocers’ accounts for 1457, where he with other minstrels was paid 5s. 8d.; in 1458, where he, other minstrels and a *tregetour* [a magician, conjurer, or juggler] were paid 5s. 4d.; and in 1461, where he was paid 4d., and two other minstrels were paid separately: see Grocers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 181, 184, 188. For *tregetour*, see *OED*, s.v. “tregetour, n.”

¹⁹⁸ Merchant Taylors’ Accounts, *CL*, 177, and translated, 1182: *Et soluit Thome Reymer with the Trumpe*.

with the staffs], but the scribe separated him from the other musicians who were also paid;¹⁹⁹ a *thomas ou le staffes* also appears among the Grocers' expenses for the royal entry of Henry VI in February 1432.²⁰⁰ In 1437, the Mercers paid £2 13s. 4d. "to Thomas Chatirton, minstrel, for eight trumpeters" at the sheriffs' procession;²⁰¹ he may be the same "Chaterton, trumpeter" to whom the Mercers paid 3s. 4d. alongside another trumpeter, Bryan, "for their labour for the minstrels" at the coronation entry of Queen Margaret in May 1445.²⁰² But for that entry, the Mercers recorded a separate payment to the sixteen minstrels, so it is possible that this Thomas Chatirton was being rewarded for organizing the minstrels on behalf of the company.

Thomas Reymer is the only individual who is described in the documents "with the trump." Imagining for a moment that he was the same "Thomas with the trump" who was probably on the civic payroll, then the documents leave us a glimpse of some thirty years of this professional musician's career in late medieval London, during which he participated in many of the significant musical events in the city that are described in the following chapters.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ See appendix 2, table A2.1, *s.v.* 1431.

²⁰⁰ Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), *CL*, 129, and translated, 1162.

²⁰¹ See appendix 2, table A2.2, *s.v.* 1437.

²⁰² Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 162, and translated, 1178.

²⁰³ In the indices of London's Archdeaconry and Commissary Courts, there is no will or testament enrolled under "Thomas Reymer," nor is there a "Chaterton" or "Chatirton": see the indices of testamentary records in London courts, edited by Marc Fitch, in the bibliography.

III. Music Heard in the Streets and on the River Thames

Sound and music filled late medieval London's streets. "London Lickpenny," a satirical fifteenth-century poem,²⁰⁴ describes the scene in the city's streets from the perspective of a visitor from Kent. Among the cries of merchants advertising and selling their wares are musicians, some singing *of Jenken and Julian*—a possible trace of fifteenth-century song²⁰⁵—and other minstrels with *harpe, pipe and sawtry* [i.e., psaltery]. Though the speaker cannot afford to pay a minstrel for their craft, he is still overwhelmed by the sounds of the city's streets, where clattering pewter pots mix with the hawking of merchants, which were much later set to music.²⁰⁶ To these can be added a number of other, musical sounds, each with its purpose: the city's bells, for example, rang out, announcing to Londoners the hour of the day or conveying specific messages, like curfew; trumpeters caught the attention of nearby commoners when a proclamation was about to be made;²⁰⁷ rebels

²⁰⁴ "London Lickpenny," in *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. James M. Dean (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), 222-25. For the soundscape of London's streets, see especially line 65 and onward.

²⁰⁵ See Dean, *Medieval English Political Writings*, 242, n.94, where he writes: "Evidently a song or songs by itinerant beggars."

²⁰⁶ Consider for example *The Cryes of London* by Orlando Gibbons (1585-1625), "a witty combination of vendors' common street cries sung by solo voices with the high polyphonic tradition of the instrumental *In Nomine* played by viols": see Peter Le Huray, "Gibbons, Orlando," revised by John Harper, *GMO* (accessed 28 January 2020).

²⁰⁷ For example, in August 1529, two *of the Kynges Trumpettes* were paid 3s. 4d. each for *proclaymyng of the peax perpetuell* ["peace perpetual"; i.e., the Treaty of Cambrai] *betwene the kyng oure Soueraigne lorde on the oon partie And Themperoure on the other partie*: Court of Aldermen, Repertory 8, *CL*, 471, and Lancashire's endnote, *CL*, 1341; in September 1534, the city recorded the payment of £1 15s. *that the haroldes At armes & the trompetters shall have for theyre labours for proclamyng of the peas betwene the kynges highness And the kyng of Scottes* [i.e., the peace Henry VIII and James V of Scotland, concluded in May 1534]: Court of Aldermen, Repertory 9, *CL*, 518, and Lancashire's endnote, *CL*, 1355. Henry Machyn often mentions *haroldes and a trompet blohyng*, as, for example, when they went through Cheppes Syed to Fletestrete, proclaiming Lady Jane Grey as queen in July 1553: *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and*

gathered people together by using drums, horns, pipes, hand-held bells, and other instruments;²⁰⁸ street cleaners blew horns outside Londoners' doors to remind them to put their waste into the streets before 5 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays;²⁰⁹ outside the walls, trumpeters played their instruments to warn that shots were about to be fired during game hunting;²¹⁰ the city Waits went through the streets playing their pipes to advertise upcoming feasts.²¹¹ Other music did not serve a practical function but was made for pleasure: the Waits, with their minstrels, played in the streets, even after curfew, for Londoners' recreation,²¹² and on certain feasts choirboys and clerks went through the

Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563, edited by John Gough Nichols (New York, London: Camden Society, 1848), 35.

²⁰⁸ The use of instruments for this purpose was specifically banned in the mid-sixteenth century: see *A Proclamacion set furth by the kynges Maiestie [...] for the executing of a Lawe Martiall for paine of Death against rebelloures and other vpstyrrors*, Court of Common Council, Journal 16, *CL*, 728-29: *And that also no maner of Subiect, of what degre, Condicion, kynde, or estate soeuer he or they be, shall from hensforth by dromme, tabret, pype, or anye other instrument, striking or sounding bell or belles rynging [...] call, gather, assemble, congregate & muster [...];* see also "Proclamation for the punishment of rebels," Court of Common Council, Journal 16, *CL*, 738: *Item yf eny person vnleiffullye by rynginge of belles or sownynge of trompett droome horne or other instrument [...] do raise anye persons to the number of xij or aboue [...]* (May? 1550).

²⁰⁹ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 9, *CL*, 546-47: *Item that the Raker yn euery warde that ys to say wekely euery Munday wedyns day & saturday shall have a horne & blowe at euery mannes doore that they may have warnyng to lay owt theyre offal of theyre howses ynto the open streates euery day afore v of the clokke afore nyght* (November 1536); see also the command from the mayor to the aldermen, Court of Common Council, Journal 13, *CL*, 545-46, which specifies that the Raker shall have the horn delivered to him; see also the same in Court of Common Council, Journal 14, *CL*, 560-61 (May 1537).

²¹⁰ See, for example, the proclamations recorded in Court of Common Council, Journal 12, *CL*, 376-77 (August 1521), and Court of Common Council, Journal 17, *CL*, 825-26, marked *When the gamers be assembled together* in the margin (August 1557).

²¹¹ For example, from the beginning of the sixteenth century into the 1530s, the Jesus Guild paid the city Waits to advertise their feast of the Holy Name of Jesus; see n.181, above, and the subsequent payments to the Waits in the Jesus Guild's accounts, beginning 1514/15: Jesus Guild Wardens' Accounts, *EL*, 49, *et passim*.

²¹² See Court of Common Council, Journal 5, *CL*, 173-74, and translated, 1181 (February 1454); see also "Music at Night and at the Night Watches," in this chapter.

streets and offered their songs for a small fee.²¹³ The everyday musical soundscape in London's streets that so overwhelmed the Kentishman of "London Lickpenny" was sometimes punctuated by processions—civic, royal, disciplinary—and marching watches.

The music that the London commoner (and the speaker of "London Lickpenny") heard in the city's streets is the subject of this chapter. The city's soundscape and the musical sounds and activities of the streets have not been examined in a focused study,²¹⁴ but the royal processions and civic festivities that punctuated that daily soundscape and brought thousands of Londoners into the streets have been studied by scholars of English literature, theatre, and history, including Anne Lancashire,²¹⁵ Gordon Kipling,²¹⁶ Robert

²¹³ This was an ongoing custom, and it is fortunate that small payments to the *Episcopo sancti Nicholai & eius Clericis* [i.e., the boy bishop and his clerics] should survive as early as 1411: Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 57, and translated, 1101, *et passim*. In 1416, the payment in the accounts specifically records that this involved singing (*aduenientibus [...] & cantantibus*): *CL*, 69, and translated, 1111. Payments are also found from 1501 onward in the Brewers' Wardens' Accounts, see *CL*, 270, *et passim*. The clerks apparently sang in the Brewers' Hall (*CL*, 465: *Item to the Clarkes on Seynt Nicholas nyght in our haule*), though probably they also went door to door, and it is possible that they sang on doorsteps as well as in grander company halls.

²¹⁴ Scholarship on London has largely concentrated on its institutions and events; the article on *GMO*, for example, considers "Religious Institutions," "Music at Court," and the "Inns of Court"; the section on "Musical Life: up to 1660" does not refer to music out of doors. See Nicholas Temperley, et al, "London (i)," *GMO* (accessed 28 January 2020). As yet no work has considered the soundscape of late medieval London comparable to, for example, Reinhard Strohm, "On the Soundscape of Fifteenth-Century Vienna," in *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Tess Knighton & Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 279-294.

²¹⁵ See "Appendix A, Royal and other entries 1400-1558" in Anne Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 185-94, which lists, as a work in progress, "all major royal entries into London...and a few selected other entries (ones of special interest to entry pageantry, providing examples of different levels of ceremonial activity and display)." Lancashire's extensive notes provide cross references to chronicles, other evidence, and literature for each of the major entries.

²¹⁶ Kipling has made extensive use of civic records, chronicles, and other textual documents to analyze royal entries in London and elsewhere in Europe. For London, see Gordon Kipling, *Enter The King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), especially for the entry of Henry V in 1415, see 201-09; Margaret of Anjou in 1445, see 188-201; Katherine of Aragon in 1501, see 209-21; and others, listed in the index, s.v. "London, c.t.," see 387. Kipling has also edited a textual account of Katherine of Aragon's 1501 entry: *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, ed. Gordon Kipling (Oxford: Published for the Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press, 1990). See also Gordon Kipling,

Whithington,²¹⁷ and others,²¹⁸ who have been interested in the theatricality of such events; elsewhere, civic ceremony and custom, such the annual processions of civic officials, and the city's marching watches, have been examined as means through which hierarchical and oligarchical social structures were reinforced.²¹⁹ These were not exclusively musical events, but music was one part of a whole that could include theatre and pageants—moveable, constructed theatrical displays—and other ceremonial events. But the musicians who were a part of them, and the sounds that they made and that other Londoners heard, have been only tangentially examined, if at all.

The chapter begins by examining London's "Bells" and "Music at Night and in the Night Watches." For some time city bells have caught the attention of urban historians;²²⁰

"The Design and Construction of Royal Entries in the Late Middle Ages," *Medieval English Theatre* 32 (2010): 26-61, and especially 32-42, which considers the London entries of Henry VI (1432) and Henry VIII and Charles V (1522).

²¹⁷ Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918-20), see especially 1:124-195, "Chapter 3: The 'Royal-Entry,' 1298-1558," which compiles descriptions of key royal entries into London (and elsewhere in England) from various sources, including chronicles. Like Lancashire's, Withington's extensive footnotes usefully direct the reader to the extant primary sources.

²¹⁸ Especially worthy of note is Anne F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond, eds., *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1983), which compiles the extant documentary evidence of that event, and extrapolates biographical data from it. Coronations of English monarchs took place in Westminster, not in London; only the very elite of the city's population would have been in attendance, and thus the coronation services themselves are excluded from this study. The coronation was preceded, however, by an entry into London and a procession through the city toward Westminster, see "Royal Occasions," in this chapter. Also worthy of note is Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), especially 56-97, "The London Pageants for the Reception of Katharine of Aragon."

²¹⁹ Most recently by Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility: Civic Culture in Late Medieval London* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), see especially the introduction, 1-9; and Sheila Lindenbaum, "Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 171-88.

²²⁰ David Garrioch, "Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns," *Urban History* 30, no. 1 (2003): especially 5-6, 9-14.

only very recently have they attracted the attention of urban musicologists,²²¹ who have recognized them as musical instruments, tuned to specific pitches, and, as is described, sometimes capable of playing familiar melodies.²²² Their dynamic made them the loudest regular sound produced in the pre-modern European city, and their individual timbres and the patterns of their ringing were recognized by everyone.²²³ The soundscape of London at night, punctuated by the sounds of instruments played both for security and enjoyment, has also not been studied.

Music making in the processions that went through London's streets is discussed next, in sections addressing "The Midsummer Watches," "Processions of Civic Officials," and "Royal Occasions." The fact that music was a part of these processions is nothing new—music, a powerful element in civic display, has not escaped discussion in studies of civic drama and pageantry, though it has never been their primary focus—but these sections particularly emphasize the roles of music in these processions, and the musicians, who were Londoners, who made it—not just as an assumed accompaniment to ceremony or pageantry but as an art in itself, borne out of the musicians' finely-honed craft, and relied upon by the civic officials in planning such events. The evolution of these events throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries is examined, as are the changing roles of the musicians who played and sang at them.

²²¹ For example, see Strohm, "On the Soundscape," especially 283-86; see also Andrew Kirkman, *Music and Musicians at the Collegiate Church of St Omer: Crucible of Song, 1350-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in press). Reinhard Strohm did consider bells in his introduction, "Townscape—Soundscape," to his *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 2-4.

²²² As they did at a Conduit in London; see "Bells" in this chapter.

²²³ Bells were the loudest regular sound heard in the pre-modern city: see Garrioch, "Sounds of the City": 9.

The topic of royal processions through London is vast and, as described above, already well documented in literature. Here a general overview—that follows the geography of the city’s processional route, rather than a chronological survey—of the evidence is given, with particular emphasis on the roles and identities of musicians; this section reveals that women, men, girls, and boys all sang songs and made other music in praise of their city and their monarch. The evidence also reveals what some of that music was: traces of songs that were sung for kings and other important people have been indirectly recorded,²²⁴ though no surviving notated music that would have been sung in the streets has yet been identified. Some processions associated with sacred feasts—including Palm Sunday and Corpus Christi—are described in chapter 4; other events, such as music at military musters, are also vast topics, but though the military might have been present within the city wall of London, it was not based in London, so it remains outside of the scope of this dissertation.

Though these events were grander, they were also rarer. When musical instruments directed the attention of a Londoner to a procession in the streets, it was far more commonly to the “vile minstrelsy” of “ludicrous and strident-sounding instruments” that were played when a criminal was led to the pillory, described in “Punishment and Crime.” The role of music and musical instruments in medieval punishment has only been tangentially described in previous scholarship,²²⁵ but here the timbre of the music making in these processions and the identity of the musicians themselves are considered as a frequent

²²⁴ Two such examples are discussed in “Lost Vernacular Songs,” chapter 5.

²²⁵ See Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 82, 100-03, and Lancashire, Introduction to *CL*, lxii.

example of amateur musicianship in the city's streets. A final section on "Private Music in Barges" considers the small body of evidence for Londoners simply enjoying music for its own sake when the city staged spectacular and bombastic welcomes and processions for royal and other visitors to the city.

Key Streets, Sites and Processional Routes

Medieval London, like all pre-modern cities, was a network of narrow alleys and lanes, which provided access to houses, yards, and shops, and which intersected with wider, principal thoroughfares.²²⁶ A major London thoroughfare, on which much of the city's ceremony was centered and throughout which were many sites that were prominent in music making, was a series of streets that ran one into another, parallel to the Thames, connecting Aldgate in the east with Newgate in the west. From Aldgate, this route ran westward along Cornhill [i.e., Cornhill] and intersected Graschestret [Gracechurch Street] at the Standard (a tall monument, like the nearby Cross), which, taken southward, connected to Briggestrete [Bridge Street] and then to London Bridge and across the Thames. Following Cornhill west past the Standard, it eventually turned into Cheppes Syed [Cheapside] and then reached the city's cathedral, passing along the way the conduits (sites where water could be gathered), the cross, and the pillory, all of which were sites that featured music making.

Fig. 1 (overleaf). Map of late medieval London, showing streets and key sites (except parish churches) named in this dissertation.

²²⁶ See Gareth Dean, "Urban Infrastructure" in *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, eds. Christopher M. Gerrard and Alejandra Gutiérrez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 340-51, and especially 340-42. For a description of a London lane, see figure 19.1 (page 298) in John Schofield, "Urban Housing," in the same volume, 297-311.

Bells

John Stow, in his *Survey of London*, described a mechanical chime of “sweet sounding bells” on the tower above a cistern in Fletestrete [Fleet Street], in the city’s west, which, “diverse hours of the day and night, chimed such a hymn as was appointed.”²²⁷ These bells must have chimed monophonic plainchant hymns that were drawn from the liturgy and appropriate to the liturgical season, which Londoners would have recognized from their familiarity with the liturgical repertoire.²²⁸

Like those bells that played plainchant hymns, the bells in church steeples could also be tuned,²²⁹ perhaps in pitch classes (like hexachords) to reproduce the pitches of a musical scale; it was possible, then, that they could “play” familiar tunes in addition to chiming in recognizable pitch patterns, like a peal.²³⁰ Some Londoners gave money to their parish churches to replace their older bells with “tuneable” ones: Sir William Eastfield,

²²⁷ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsfold (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 2:41.

²²⁸ Stow seems to suggest that the bells were visible to the passerby (he notes that they were “before” the angels that decorated the lower part of the tower), but the mechanism that drove the chiming must have been hidden within the tower itself (see Stow, *Survey*, 2:41.) That the bells were placed in front of the tower’s decoration also suggests that they were likely not very large, and perhaps therefore the sound they produced was not especially loud. Garrioch has noted that bells also played familiar tunes above a water-pump in medieval Paris: Garrioch, “Sounds of the City”: 10.

²²⁹ The sound of the ringing—made under the steeple roof, by a clapper striking the inside of the bell—was not intended for the people inside the church, but rather those outside; the pealing of church bells was also intended for people outside, and those gathered within the church would have heard a muffled, distorted sound; see George Richard Rastall, “Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England” (PhD diss., Victoria University of Manchester, 1968), 173. Small bells were sounded for liturgical purposes inside the church, too.

²³⁰ See Percival Price, “Bell (i) (Fr. *Cloche*; Ger. *Glocke*; It., Sp. *campana*),” s.v. “4(v), History, Europe,” *GMO* (accessed 7 February 2020): “In the 14th and 15th centuries the impetus to relate the pitches of tower bells to short scale segments came from a desire to use fragments of liturgical melodies on tower clocks in abbeys, or to suggest such fragments in the interplay of notes in swinging peals.” The four bells of Saint-André des Arts, Paris, were pitched to a tetrachord, C-D-E-F, see Garrioch, “Sounds of the City”: 10.

benefactor of St Mary Aldermanbury,²³¹ built the steeple there and “changed their old bells into five tuneable bells” sometime before his death in 1446;²³² Stow also records that the testament of Sir William Littlebery, who died in 1487, provided for the bells of St Thomas the Apostle to be replaced by four new bells of “good tune” (though apparently this was never performed).²³³ Of the city’s other bells, Stow records that the bells of St Michael Cornhill were considered “the best ring of six bells [...] for harmony, sweetness of sound, and tune” in England,²³⁴ and that there were six bells also “in a tune” at the Augustinian priory of St Bartholomew, northwest of the city wall (when the priory was surrendered during the dissolution, these bells were sold to the nearby parish church of St Sepulchre without Newgate).²³⁵ The Priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate, had nine “well-tuned” bells before the 1530s, when four were sold to Stepney, to the northeast of the city, and five to St Stephen Coleman Street.²³⁶

On all but three days of the year,²³⁷ church bells rang to signal to the clergy and parishioners that offices and masses would soon begin, and to mark key points in the

²³¹ For the locations of these and other churches described in this chapter, see *A Map of Tudor London*, eds. Caroline M. Barron and Vanessa Harding (The Historic Towns Trust, 2018).

²³² Stow, *Survey*, 1:293. For Eastfield, see George Holmes, “Eastfield, Sir William (d. 1446),” *ODNB* (accessed 27 April 2019).

²³³ Stow, *Survey*, 1:246: *sir William Littlebery, alias Horne, (for king Ed. the 4. so named him) because he was a most excellent blower in a horne [...] was buried in this Church, hauing appointed by his testament the Bels to bee chaunged for foure new Bels of good tune and sound, but that was not performed.*

²³⁴ Stow, *Survey*, 1:196 (see the marginalia).

²³⁵ Stow, *Survey*, 2:28.

²³⁶ Stow, *Survey*, 1:142.

²³⁷ The bells were silent on the “Great Three Days” of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday: Garrioch, “Sounds of the City”: 14.

liturgy, such as the moment of the elevation of the consecrated Host, as a signal for people outside of the church that Christ had been made present in the elements of the bread and wine.²³⁸ As noted above, bells also rang to indicate the hours of the day. The bell of St Martin le Grand was signaling the city's curfew before 1282, when it was recorded that every parish should ring the curfew in like manner;²³⁹ in the fourteenth century, curfew was announced by the bells of St Mary le Bow, All Hallow's Barking, St Bride Fleet Street, and St Giles Cripplegate.²⁴⁰ At least from 1430, the "Rus" bell—named for its benefactor, William Rus, an alderman and Goldsmith of London—was rung nightly at 8 p.m. in the steeple of St Michael Cornhill,²⁴¹ and St Mary le Bow, All Hallow's Barking, St Bride Fleet Street, and St Giles Cripplegate are noted again ringing curfew at 9 p.m. in a civic record dating from 1469,²⁴² which especially mentions the great "Bowbell": evidently, this

²³⁸ Andrew Kirkman writes that "The ringing of such elevation bells would serve as an announcement to anyone in the environs of the church, who could then rush into the building in time to view their maker, and to instruct those working roundabout to pause, face the church and worship the risen Christ being made present within its walls.": Kirkman, *Music and Musicians*, chapter 5. See also (via Kirkman) John H. Arnold and Caroline Goodson, "Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells," *Viator* 43, no. 1 (2012): 122-23; see also Toni Mount, *Everyday Life in Medieval London from the Anglo-Saxons to the Tudors* (Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2015), 192. For an example of a "Sanctus" bell (to be rung at the elevation) hanging in a steeple, see St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 61v: *Item payde the xvij day ffebruare to Wyllyam Wolston bellfowndre far a new sanctus belle now hangyng vp on the stepull weying iij xx. lb* [i.e., 66 lb] [...] (1461/62).

²³⁹ "Memorials: 1282, pages 21-22," *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1868), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020). The College of St Martin le Grand continued to ring the curfew; it is further mentioned in in 1321, see "Memorials: 1312, pages 93-107," *Memorials of London*, and thereafter; in 1353, taverners were reminded to shut their doors at the same curfew: see "Memorials: 1353, pages 270-273," *Memorials of London*.

²⁴⁰ "Roll A 21: 1375-76, pages 206-230," *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 2, 1364-1381*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020).

²⁴¹ Stow, *Survey*, 1:196.

²⁴² "Folios 61 - 70: March 1469-, pages 83-91," *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: L, Edward IV-Henry VII*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912), BHO, s.v. "Folio 63b" (accessed 12 February 2020).

bell could be recognized by Londoners, and was known well into the next century, when the author of the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars* recorded that every church in London rang a peal “after the Bow bell was rung,” in celebration of when Richard de la Pole, claimant to the throne, was killed in February 1525.²⁴³ The beginning of the day, the hour of Prime (around 6 a.m.), was signaled by the bell at the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre,²⁴⁴ and at least in the fourteenth century, noon was announced by a bell of St Paul’s Cathedral.²⁴⁵

Londoners had to recognize the timbre and pitch of specific bells,²⁴⁶ because different bells told the different hours of the day, and they also recognized the meanings of different rhythmic patterns of ringing: one pattern signaled that it was the time for everyone to stop and pray the *Angelus*,²⁴⁷ whereas a rapid, irregular ringing of a particular bell signaled alarm.²⁴⁸ Because church bells were so loud—the fortissimo of a bell tower sounding its peal would have numbered amongst the loudest of all sounds in the medieval

²⁴³ “The Chronicle of the Grey Friars: Henry VIII, pages 29-53,” *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. J. G. Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1852), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020). For Richard de la Pole, see Sean Cunningham, “Pole, Richard de la (d. 1525),” *ODNB* (accessed 7 February 2020).

²⁴⁴ “Memorials: 1312, pages 93-107,” *Memorials of London*; see also “Folios cxii -cxx: Sept 1318 -, pages 134-143,” *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: E, 1314-1337*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1903), BHO, s.v. “Folio. cxx.”

²⁴⁵ This is the “Dunstan” bell: see below.

²⁴⁶ The unique interactions of partials produced when a bell is rung produces this recognizable timbre. In the 1950s, a government commission allowed “only those bells with partials reasonably in tune to be rung, [and] every bell in a city sounded alike and could be distinguished only by its direction and pitch”: see Price, “Bell (i),” s.v. “2. Timbre and tuning,” *GMO* (accessed 7 February 2020).

²⁴⁷ Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 3; see also Strohm, “On the Soundscape”: 283, where he writes “Using only four different bells, bell-ringers could distinguish, for example, when the Mass of the day began, when Vespers began, even when the transubstantiation happened within the service.”

²⁴⁸ Garrioch, “Sounds of the City”: 12

world²⁴⁹—their dynamic made them, more than trumpets or horns, the best instrument with which to sound an alarm: William and Gilbert, clerk and sub-clerk of St Peter Cornhill, were charged with raising the alarm inappropriately in February 1343.²⁵⁰ Bells were rung in times of triumph, such as the 1415 victory of Henry V over the French at Agincourt, which was announced by the ringing of all of the bells in each of London’s churches,²⁵¹ and when the king rode through the city, ringing from the various bell towers indicated where the king was along the processional route, as they did for the coronation procession of Edward VI in October 1547.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Garrioch, “Sounds of the City”: 9. And the bells were indeed loud: one chronicler recorded that the ringing of bells at St Paul’s made such noise that they could no longer hear speech in the churchyard in December 1554: “A London Chronicle: Mary, pages 27-43,” *Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (London: Camden Society, 1910), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020): *And then comynge to his prayers he prayed for the spiritualtye, the temporalltye, & the sowles departyd, prayenge for the pope as the supreme heade. Aftar this the belles in Paules began to ryнге, & in othar churchis, whiche made souche noyse that I coulde not vndarstond iij wordes togethar.* The ringing that was made in the tower of St Stephen Walbrook, must have been particularly loud for one Isabel, widow of a John le Leuter [John the lute-player?], on whose wall the bell tower rested, and who attempted to have the bell tower’s reconstruction halted in 1330: “Misc. Roll DD: 19 Aug 1328 - 15 Oct 1339 (nos 299-348), pages 69-85,” *London Assize of Nuisance, 1301-1431*, eds. Helena M. Chew and William Kellaway (London: London Record Society, 1973), BHO, s.v. “308.” (Construction on the bell tower was allowed to proceed.)

²⁵⁰ “Roll A 5: (ii) 1341-45, pages 198-223,” *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 1, 1323-1364*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1926), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020), s.v. “Membr. 17b.”

²⁵¹ “Gregory’s Chronicle: 1403-1419, pages 103-128,” *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Camden Society, 1876), BHO (accessed 12 February, 2020): *Onne the morne aftyr Syn Symonnys day and Jude [...] come tydyngys to London of the batayle above sayde by the Byschoppe of Worseter, that tyme beyng Chaunceler, for he come to London erly in the mornynge, and warnyd the mayre. And thenne thorowe London they lette ryнге the bellis in every chyrche and song Te Deum; and at Powlys, at ix of the clocke, the tydyngys were oppynly proclaymyd to alle the comeners of [th]e cytte and to alle othyr strangerys.* See also the *Bradford Manuscript Chronicle*, in *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing, with an Annotated Edition of Bradford, West Yorkshire Archives MS 32D86/42*, ed. Mary-Rose McLaren (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 190-91.

²⁵² The bells rang in the city’s east at St Benet Gracechurch and St Michael Cornhill where the procession moved off London Bridge and into Graschestret, and at St Dunstan in the West, in Fletestrete, where the King’s procession passed on its way to Westminster after making its way through the central thoroughfare: see St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 22-23, and *EL*, 110-111; St Michael Cornhill CWD, *EL*, 111; St Dunstan in the West CWD, 134r, and *EL*, 111. The accounts of St Benet Gracechurch also include a payment for

The ringing of bells also announced the recent departure of a soul from this world for the next,²⁵³ or the anniversary of a Londoner's death.²⁵⁴ Churchwardens' documents sometimes detailed the costs to Londoners of having the bells rung at a burial, or on the anniversary of death: in 1450, the wardens, priest, and parishioners of St Peter Westcheap recorded the costs for ringing "knells" (the slow, solemn ringing of a bell after death or at the time of burial; it is sometimes paired in the churchwardens' documents with the cost of the burial itself²⁵⁵) and "minds" (an anniversary of death). The costs for ringing at St Peter Westcheap increased according to the bell's weight: the heavier the bell, hence the louder and lower the tone, the greater the cost for its ringing.²⁵⁶ In 1526, also at St Peter Westcheap, costs "for ringing of knells and minds" varied according to the weight of the bell and whether it was tolled for one hour or six hours.²⁵⁷ In 1527, the costs for "the pit and knell" (that is, a burial plot, and the bellringing) were recorded at St Andrew Hubbard;

bellringing at the time of Mary's first entry into London after her proclamation as Queen in 1553: St Benet Gracechurch CWD, *EL*, 124. The suggestion that the churches rang their bells in sequence with the movement of the procession is an extrapolation based on the use of the expression *when the kinges grace came by* or *when the kinges maiestie cam bie*: see St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 22; St Dunstan in the West CWD, 134r. Note, however, that the descriptions in chronicles of music in royal processions also record that the various stations of musicians made their music when the King approached.

²⁵³ By a slow, solemn ring: such is the description in the records of St Andrew Hubbard, which refer both to a "solemn peel" and a "knell" [the latter is "the sound of a bell rung slowly and solemnly," see *OED*, *s.v.* "knell, *n.*"]: St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 122.

²⁵⁴ Examples include the payments made by the Mercers "to the church sexton for [ringing] the bells" at obits: see Mercers Wardens' Accounts, ed. Jefferson, 748-49, for an example from a mid-fifteenth century account.

²⁵⁵ See for example, the costs for "to the clerk for the pit and knell" at St Andrew Hubbard in 1526/27: St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 122.

²⁵⁶ As at St Peter Westcheap, for example: see CWD, 224v-225r (1449/50): see the costs of *the bellys of the same churche as for ryngyng of knyilles and myndes* (224v), and *the weyght of the Bellys* (225r).

²⁵⁷ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 182 (1526); the clerk there was at liberty to set prices at his discretion for "strangers" [presumably, non-parishioners].

one bell, called the “alms bell,” was to remain free of charge for the poorer members of society.²⁵⁸ It is interesting that three churches—St Peter Westcheap, St Andrew Hubbard, and St Michael le Quern—should all record the costs of bellringing in the late 1520s.²⁵⁹ The revenue raised from bellringing was evidently incumbent upon the priority given to it: at St Martin Outwich, it was recorded that the choice of parishioners to be buried outside of their parish meant that the church lost the “advantage” of the knell towards the necessary repairs of the church, and in August 1546 the parish recorded that no one resident within the parish who died within its boundaries was to “be conveyed or carried out of this parish in to any other foreign parish as a place to buried.”²⁶⁰

Some of the earliest people in the London records whose livelihoods can be confidently connected with music are bellfounders. In late April 1312, Richard de Wymbisshe, a potter and citizen of London, was contracted to make a bell for the Augustinian Priory of the Holy Trinity at Aldgate, which was to be “well-sounding, and as nearly in tune [...] with the greater bell of the church,” which de Wymbisshe had previously made.²⁶¹ Though the agreement between the prior and the bellmaker gives no indication of either bell’s pitch, if indeed they were pitched to a specific note of the scale, it does record that the new bell was to weigh 2820 pounds and be of good metal, and that the work would

²⁵⁸ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 122.

²⁵⁹ For St Michael le Quern, see CWD, 37v (1528); for St Peter Westcheap and St Andrew Hubbard, see n.257 and n.258, above.

²⁶⁰ St Martin Outwich CWD, 8r. The decision was reached *by the assent ande consent of the moste parte of the discrete parishenors*.

²⁶¹ “Memorials: 1312, pages 93-107,” *Memorials of London*, s.v. “Agreement made for founding a bell, for the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity.”

take at most three months to complete.²⁶² (The earlier bell was delivered back to de Wymbisshe so that he could tune the new bell accordingly;²⁶³ this is the same priory that, by the sixteenth century, had a complement of nine “well-tuned” bells, mentioned above.)

Among the earliest extant testaments of a Londoner whose livelihood was connected to music is that of the bellfounder William Burford, who died in early 1391.²⁶⁴ Burford is also among the earliest musical Londoners for which it possible to reconstruct some biographical detail, and Caroline Barron especially has written about his widow: he and his wife Johanne lived in the parish of St Botolph without Aldgate; his testament names his son, Robert Burford, whose own testament, proved a generation later, names him as a bellfounder and indicates that he took over the family profession.²⁶⁵ On Robert’s death, another bellfounder, Richard Hill, may have moved from his smaller foundry into Burford’s. From here, Caroline Barron’s study of two widows in fifteenth-century London continues the history of Burford’s bellfoundry:²⁶⁶ it was later run by Richard Hill’s widow, Johanna, and later still by John Sturdy and, after his death, by his wife Johanna; and there is evidence that this Johanna herself guaranteed not just the workmanship of the foundry, but also the “good accord” of a new bell with an “old mean bell” already in place in a

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Testament of William Burford, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, 230v-231r.

²⁶⁵ Testament of Robert Burford, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, 12v-13r.

²⁶⁶ Caroline M. Barron, “Johanna Hill (d. 1441) and Johanna Sturdy (d. c. 1460), Bell-Founders,” in *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500*, eds. Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London and Rio Grande: Hambleton Press, 1994), 99-111, especially 102, 108-10.

church.²⁶⁷ (The new bell was thus to share as much of the overtone color as possible with the “mean” bell, whose pitch would have been in an intermediate range or register between treble or bass.²⁶⁸) It was for this same purpose that the existing bell of the Priory of the Holy Trinity was delivered to Richard de Wymbisshe in 1312, as described above.

After they were made, bells were hallowed or baptized, and given the names of saints.²⁶⁹ Lisa Jefferson, in her edition of the Goldsmiths’ accounts, was the first to note that one of the bells of St Paul’s Cathedral—apparently the noon bell—was named Dunstan, which the Goldsmiths paid to have rung on St Dunstan’s Day in May, the company’s feast day, throughout the fourteenth century.²⁷⁰ In December 1449, the bells of St Peter Westcheap were hallowed, taking the names of Trinity, Mary, St Peter, and St Michael;²⁷¹ churchwardens’ documents from St Nicholas Shambles record five bells,

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 110.

²⁶⁸ See Owen Jander, “Meane [mean, mene] (from Old Fr. *moien*, or *meien*: ‘middle’),” *GMO* (Accessed 28 January 2020). I acknowledge and thank Professor Peter M. Lefferts for his advice on this topic.

²⁶⁹ See the lecture given by Christopher Page, “Medieval Music: The Lands of the Bell Tower,” St Sepulchre without Newgate, 5 May 2016, available at <https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/medieval-music-the-lands-of-the-bell-tower> (accessed 12 February 2020). I thank Professor Page and acknowledge our correspondence on this topic. The custom of hallowing bells is documented in Europe in the eighth century; see the overview in Kirkman, *Music and Musicians*, chapter 5.

²⁷⁰ See Jefferson’s introduction to *Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes*, ed. Jefferson, xxxv-xxxvi. The earliest account to include expenses for bellringing is for the year 1336/37 (not included in *CL*, but see *Goldsmiths’ Wardens Accounts and Court Minutes*, ed. Jefferson, 7); the last payment for ringing the Dunstan bell on the Goldsmiths’ feast was in May 1402, (see *Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts*, ed. Jefferson, 269, and the same in *CL*, 39, and translated, 1083), after which the bells of St Paul’s were removed and recast (see Jefferson, *Wardens’ Accounts*, xxxvi).

²⁷¹ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 225r: *Be hit [remembered] that in the begynnyng of the monyth of decembre in the yere [of] the reigne of kyng henre the vjth xxvij [...] the bellys were halowyd the grete bell in the name of trinite the secunde bell in the name of our lady and the iij bell in the name seynt petre and the iiij bell in the name of seynt myhell.*

which were hallowed, with singing, in 1468 and given the names Thomas (after Thomas Becket), Margaret, Trinity, Mary, and Nicholas.²⁷²

Music at Night and in the Night Watches

Two references in the documents refer explicitly to music making in London's streets at night: in February 1454, the Court of Common Council ordered that the Waits—who at that time probably numbered nine²⁷³—were to walk through the city's streets and alleys with their minstrels each night, “for the people's refreshment and to avoid robbery”;²⁷⁴ a longer record, from March 1553 (concerning the ordinances of the Minstrels' Company), banned the playing of instruments in the open streets between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m., but provided an exception for the Waits, who were instructed still to “play and keep” the watch during the night.²⁷⁵

At least between the mid-fifteenth century and beyond the middle of the sixteenth century, the noise of the city's streets at night was punctuated with the sound of the Waits' instruments—their pipes, from the beginning; then probably their sackbut, after the city

²⁷² St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 12v: [...] *maister John pygge suffrigan of London halowed solemly be note in the churche of seint Nicholas in the ffleshamelys v bellis now hanging in the Stepill of the seid Church the which v bellis be halowed and named like as it apperith here folowyng be writyng. The leste bell is halowed and named Thomas in the wurship of seint Thomas of [scored out]. The ijd belle is named margarete in the wurship of seint margarete. The iijd belle is named the Trinite in the wurship of the blessid trinite And the iijth belle that is to sey the mene bell is named marie in the wurship of our blessid lady. And the vth belle is named Nicholas in the wurship of seint Nicholas. And the litell houslyng belle is named Ihesus in the wurship of the holy name of Ihesu.*

²⁷³ As they had from 1442, see “The Waits,” chapter 2.

²⁷⁴ Court of Common Council, Journal 5, *CL*, 173-74, and translated, 1181; for this record, see n.157, chapter 2.

²⁷⁵ See appendix 3.4.

acquired one in 1526.²⁷⁶ And one must also imagine the music of other instruments, played by other professional musicians, alone as well as in groups, since the ban refers explicitly to “every time that he *or they* shall so offend...”²⁷⁷ It is unclear in the document, however, whether the ban in 1553 on playing instruments in the streets at night (by musicians other than the Waits) was issued in response to a new problem; probably music making in the streets at night was a longstanding fact of London life that the city had only recently felt inclined to regulate.

The primary nighttime duty of the Waits, alongside which they played for Londoners’ enjoyment, was to ward against robbery; they were participants in the regular system of nighttime surveillance in the city. Nighttime security was a pressing concern in the Middle Ages, especially at times of revelry and festivity: in 1287, the warden and aldermen ordered the city gates to be closed and guarded on 28 June, the vigil of St Peter and St Paul;²⁷⁸ earlier still, in the 1250s, Henry III had ordered summer watches [i.e., patrols for surveillance] throughout cities in the kingdom.²⁷⁹ (The functional night watches kept during the summer vigil of St Peter and St Paul, together with the vigil of St John the Baptist on 23 June, became, in the later Middle Ages, one of the city’s greatest festivals.²⁸⁰) Other proclamations against antisocial behavior at night, such as the wearing of masks or

²⁷⁶ See “The Waits,” chapter 2.

²⁷⁷ See appendix 3.4, emphasis mine.

²⁷⁸ Letter Book A, *CL*, 3, and translated, 1050.

²⁷⁹ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 50.

²⁸⁰ See “The Midsummer Watches,” in this chapter.

walking without a light, were made in London from the 1330s to the 1390s;²⁸¹ one record specifies that the regulations applied after 9 p.m.²⁸² In September 1389, the Court of Common Council instructed the aldermen to arrange night watches to keep the peace throughout a season of revelry and jousting,²⁸³ and in the early fifteenth century, they issued commands almost annually for watches to be kept in all of the city's streets and alleys nightly at Christmastide, "in ways customary before now."²⁸⁴ (These were probably additions to the city's ongoing regulations for peacekeeping year-round.)

An order of 1287 concerning the city gates specified that the sergeants guarding them were to have one *woyte* [i.e., wait or watchman] each, provided at the sergeant's expense.²⁸⁵ Such a watchman may have had some kind of small horn used to sound the alarm or signal that someone was approaching the gate.²⁸⁶ That there was a need for different messages—to indicate an approach or a cause for alarm—must indicate that there was a need for different, recognizable musical formulae to convey them,²⁸⁷ like the

²⁸¹ See for example the ordinances that forbade the wearing of masks in the streets: Letter Book E, *CL*, 5 and translated, 1052 (AD 1334), and Letter Book G, *CL*, 6, and translated, 1052-53 (1352); Letter Book H, *CL*, 11, and translated, 1057 (1376). Other proclamations were concerned with masks and Londoners going through the city streets at night without a light; see for example Letter Book G, *CL*, 11, and translated, 1057 (1372), *et passim*.

²⁸² Letter Book H, *CL*, 32, and translated, 1077 (1393). For a nonresident of London, the hour is earlier still, at 8 p.m.

²⁸³ Letter Book H, *CL*, 30, and translated, 1076.

²⁸⁴ Between December 1404 and 1436: see, for example, Letter Book I, *CL*, 43 and translated, 1087-88 (AD 1404), *et passim*.

²⁸⁵ See the discussion of this record in chapter 2, especially n.149.

²⁸⁶ Rastall, "Secular Musicians," 214.

²⁸⁷ The formulae must have conveyed different messages: whether the person approaching was known or unknown, or whether there was a threat of fire, or invasion, for example, would have solicited different actions from the other people on the ground. (Henry Holland Carter noted that Waits also sounded an "all's

different patterns of bellringing described above. In 1302, in Walbrook ward (to the southeast of Cheppes Syed) the sound of a horn raised attention in the neighboring wards for help to come when six men attacked those who were keeping the watch that night.²⁸⁸

One can only wonder how frequently the sounds of horns or pipes punctuated the night, sounding an alarm or conveying other messages, just as one is left to imagine how often and how loudly other musical instruments were being played in the city's streets at night before that kind of music making was banned in 1553 (to say nothing of what actual music would have been played). How often a musical instrument was sounded as an alarm obviously depended on the frequency of criminal activity, and while crime was recorded, the actual sounding of the alarm, like so much other sound and music in daily or nightly life in late medieval London, was most often not recorded, perhaps because it was understood by Londoners as an unremarkable part of city living.²⁸⁹

The Midsummer Watches

The watches that were kept on the evenings of 23 and 28 June (the vigils of the feasts of St John the Baptist, and of St Peter and St Paul) were originally, like the night watches

well”: see Henry Holland Carter, *A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 549.

²⁸⁸ “Calendar: Roll E, 20 November 1301 - 20 December 1302, pages 119-141,” *Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls: 1298-1307*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1924), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020), s.v. “14 June 1302.” The incident is cited also in Rastall, “Secular Musicians,” 215.

²⁸⁹ For example, the *Bradford Manuscript Chronicle* describes in 1414 “a great watch that night” by the aldermen and the wards after the mayor was given warning that John Oldcastle had broken away from prison and intended to murder the King and his lords; and in October 1426, the chronicle refers to a “strong and great watch [...] in saving and keeping the king's peace.” In both records, the sounds of the watch are undescribed. See *Bradford Manuscript Chronicle*, 187, 200.

described in the previous section, pragmatic and concerned with security.²⁹⁰ Henry III, in 1252, ordered summer watches to be kept in cities throughout the kingdom, though watches held specifically in London may well predate that order.²⁹¹ For London, there is evidence of watches on Midsummer as early as 1263 in the plea rolls of the London Eyre, which record that one John de Brittany was walking through the city at night, and for a while joined the mayor and some citizens who were patrolling the streets and ensuring that the watch was being kept.²⁹² The functional surveillance of the watches at Midsummer, however, became ceremonial in or by 1378, for which year a civic proclamation concerning the watch that specifies the manner of dress, and the order of precedence in the march, is extant.²⁹³ The pragmatic function of the earlier watches—the security of the city—had evidently developed into something that resembled civic ceremony, in which dress and procession were a part. The evolution of the Midsummer Watches in London coincides with a general increase in attention, in London as well as elsewhere, to urban ceremony from the late fourteenth century.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ Yet the spectacular civic Watches described in this section still retained features of the police patrols: see Lindenbaum, “Ceremony and Oligarchy,” 173.

²⁹¹ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 50.

²⁹² “Crown Pleas: 45 Henry III - 47 Henry III (nos 108-147), pages 31-41,” *The London Eyre of 1276*, ed. Martin Weinbaum (London: London Record Society, 1976), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020), *s.v.* “Pleas of the crown 46 Henry III [1261–2], no. 146.”

²⁹³ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 51-52; for the record itself, see Letter Book H, *CL*, 12-13, and translated, 1058-59.

²⁹⁴ Lindenbaum, “Ceremony and Oligarchy,” 178.

In his *Survey of London*, John Stow described the “pleasures and pastimes in watching by night.”²⁹⁵ Specifically for the nights of Midsummer, Stow described

*a marching watch, that passed through the principal streets, to wit, from the litle Conduit by Paules gate, through west Cheape, by the Stocks, through Cornhill, by Leaden hall to Aldgate, then backe downe Fenchurch streete, by Grasse church, aboute Grasse church Conduite, and vp Grasse church streete into Cornhill, and through it into west Cheape againe [...] The marching watch contained in number about 2000 men, parte of them being olde Souldiers, of skill to be Captains, Lieutenants, Sergeants, Corporals, &c. Wiflers, Drommers, and Fifes, Standard and Ensigne bearers, Sword players, Trumpeters on horsebacke [...] there were also also diuers Pageants, Morris dancers, Constables, the one halfe of which was 120. On S. Johns Eue, the other halfe on S. Peters Eue [...] and euery one [...] his Hench man following him, his Minstrels before him [...] the Waytes of the City [...] the Mayor himselfe well mounted on horseback [...] his Giant [...] the Sheriffes [...] their Giances [...]*²⁹⁶

Stow’s description of the Midsummer Watch in the sixteenth century, with trumpets, drums, the Waits, dancers, pageants, and giants—built of wooden frames, their weight borne by several men in the procession²⁹⁷—is complemented by the account of another eyewitness, Lodovico Spinelli, secretary of the Venetian ambassador to England, who described the Midsummer Watch in 1521 in a letter to his brother. Spinelli wrote that

²⁹⁵ Stow, *Survey*, 1:101.

²⁹⁶ Stow, *Survey*, 1:102-03. Stow notes in the marginalia that there were *more than 240 Constables in London the one halfe of them ech night went in the marching watch, the other halfe kept their standing watch in euery streete & lane*; note also that each of the 120 constables described in the Watch each night had “his minstrels before him.”

²⁹⁷ See Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 254, n.9: “The giants of popular processions [are] often built upon wooden frames carried (at some physical cost) by bearers, and are only capable of a stately promenade.”

“the entertainment lasted from 11 p.m. until 2 in the morning,” and included armored men “followed by drummers with a very tall canvas giant.” He described bands of musicians separating companies of men in armor, as well as pageants (one pageant “accompanied by musicians”) and choristers, chanting, and dancing. Spinelli, like Stow, counted some 2000 people in the Watch, and Spinelli also noted the crowd of onlookers “of both sexes, who were very great in number,” that was made up of London’s commoners and probably visitors to the city, like himself.²⁹⁸ Stow and Spinelli describe the festivities as they took place in the 1520s and 1530s; Spinelli’s account is specifically concerned with the watch in 1521, but Stow’s is something of a general recollection, rather than an account of any one specific year.²⁹⁹ (Stow, born c.1525,³⁰⁰ was recalling the watches of his own childhood in the 1530s.³⁰¹) Archival documents—especially the accounts of the city’s companies, since the companies with a mayor or sheriff in office funded the music and pageantry that year³⁰²—corroborate and elaborate on Stow and Spinelli’s accounts, and offer some evidence for music and ceremony in the Midsummer Watches a half-century earlier.

²⁹⁸ “Letter from Lodovico Spinelli, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in England, to his brother Gasparo, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in France” [1 July 1521], in Rawdon Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. 3 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1869): 136-37.

²⁹⁹ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 156.

³⁰⁰ C. L. Kingsfold, “Introduction” to Stow, *Survey*, 1:vii.

³⁰¹ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 154.

³⁰² See Lancashire’s introduction to *CL*, xviii. The privilege of providing musical entertainment in the Watches was not reserved only to those companies who had a mayor or sheriff in office, however: there was no baker mayor or sheriff in 1508 or 1511, when the Bakers’ Company provided pipers or taborers: Bakers’ Audit Book, *CL*, 286, 303.

The Drapers' account for 1477, when the mayor was a draper,³⁰³ record that his company provided a Morris dance and a pageant for the watch.³⁰⁴ Pageants, which are described below, could feature music, but the Drapers' account gives no detail about it except the costs of materials used for construction "and other diverse things belonging to the pageant."³⁰⁵ The Morris dance included music, usually offered by a "pipe and tabor player," the description given to the frequent pairing of the tabor with a duct-hole flute, played by one musician;³⁰⁶ the earliest versions of "Morris tunes" were not written down until the end of the sixteenth century, but probably those versions preserve something of a persistent musical idea that was known throughout England.³⁰⁷ That musical idea could well be like the music of the Morris dances that are mentioned with some regularity in the Watch records between 1477 and 1541.³⁰⁸

The reference to the Morris dance in 1477 implies the presence of a musician. The earliest explicit references to musicians—drummers—in the records of Midsummer Watch appear in the next decade: the Ironmongers paid 3s. to a tabret player for both nights of the

³⁰³ The mayor was Ralph Josselyn: see MSL, 1025.

³⁰⁴ Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 217.

³⁰⁵ Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 217. In 1472, when a grocer was mayor, that company's wardens asked allowance of 17s. *for diuerse Costes made for Mr Aleyn [John Aleyn] beyng Shiref on Seint Iohn & Saint Petres evyns*; these expenses could have included some manner of music or even a pageant: Goldsmiths' Wardens Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 207. For John Aleyn, see MSL, 1025.

³⁰⁶ John M. Ward, "The Morris Tune," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 2 (1986): 297. The "pipe and tabor" were frequently paired together and played by one musician, see Anthony C. Baines, "Pipe and tabor," revised by H  l  ne La Rue, *GMO* (accessed 5 February 2019).

³⁰⁷ Ward has written, "It is not a question of different tunes resembling each other but of a single idea of a tune taking different forms": Ward, "The Morris Tune": 321; see also 331.

³⁰⁸ They were also enjoyed at company feasts and dinners; see chapter 4.

Watch in 1485.³⁰⁹ [The tabret is a diminutive of the tabor, a small drum, with a snare.³¹⁰] Another tabret player was paid 2s. at the Watch in 1504,³¹¹ and there were two taborers in 1511,³¹² though the names of these musicians are not recorded. William Chepman, of Stratford, was paid 18*d.* by the Drapers to play the tabor on horseback during both nights of the Watch in 1516.³¹³

The common “pipe and tabor” pairing has already been mentioned; in the records of the Midsummer Watches, the tabor is also frequently paired with other instruments. In 1521, for example, John Wolnor, taborer, was paired with Robert Watson, who played the fiddle;³¹⁴ in 1523, a taborer and a rebec [a stringed instrument typically with three strings, played with a bow³¹⁵] player led the Watch.³¹⁶ The tabor also frequently appears in the records paired with a kit [a small fiddle³¹⁷], as in 1525, when the Drapers arranged for

³⁰⁹ Ironmongers’ Register, *CL*, 235.

³¹⁰ OED, *s.v.* “tabret, *n.*”; Carter adds, “usually provided with a snare”: Carter, *Dictionary*, 486.

³¹¹ Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 279.

³¹² Bakers’ Audit Book, *CL*, 303.

³¹³ Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 328.

³¹⁴ Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 384.

³¹⁵ OED, *s.v.* “rebec, *n.*”

³¹⁶ Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 415: *Item for a taberer & a rebek bifore the watche for our half parte of ij yelu hattes price xx d. & iiij s. iiij d. in money for bothe nyghtes Summa iij s.* (Note that the Drapers recorded that they paid “our half part” of the costs of these two musicians that led the Watch; probably, the company to which the other sheriff in 1532 belonged—the Skinners—paid the other half, though their accounts for that year are not detailed. A tabret and rebec appear together in 1536: Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 550: *Agreed with Iohn harnesey Mynstrell dwelling at alhalowes in londone wall with A Tabrett and Roger higgenson with A Rebeck for bothe nyghttes besides their brekefast money for iij s. iiij d.*, but the record of payments suggest that at least the rebec was played before a pageant: Drapers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 555: *Item paid to [...] Roger hyggenson with A Rebeck [...] for bothe nyghttes playing aboutt the Assumpcion* [pageant].

³¹⁷ OED, *s.v.* “kit, *n.2.*”

Thomas Frysdon and his son Thomas to go with a tabret and a kit (the arrangement, like many arrangements for musicians and minstrels at the Watches, was recorded more than a week in advance).³¹⁸

The marching Watch also featured, at least from 1519, a large Giant and his wife, and the Skinners paid a certain Hans 1s. 8*d.* to go before them on both nights with a *tomrell*³¹⁹ [a timbrel, like a tambourine³²⁰], and in 1521 the Waits, whom Stow recalled, are found in the Drapers' records for the Watch, though they probably participated in the Watch from much earlier, as part of their civic duty. (The Waits must have participated in 1521 at the expense of the city; the Drapers did not record payments to them in 1521, nor in 1525, only their presence.³²¹) In 1536, the Waits of Calais—John Eton, Thomas Bukhurts, and William Umfreye—were in London, and together were paid 8s. by the Drapers for participating in the Watch.³²² Trumpeters on horseback, which Stow also

³¹⁸ Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 439: *the xix day of Iun Aggreed with Thomas ffrysdon for bothe nyghtes for hym & his sonn Thomas goyng with a taberet & j kytt iij s. viij d. & there brekefastes money.* There are earlier records of a tabor/tabret and kit. Before he marched with his son (perhaps before his son was old enough?), Thomas Frysdon went in the watch with Laurens Spencer; see Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 385: *Item to Thomas fforsdon taberer & laurens Spencer with a kytt riding bothe nyghtes [...]* (1521). Several pairings of tabrets and kits are also recorded in 1522 (see Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 402), *et passim*, into the 1530s.

³¹⁹ Skinners' Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 363.

³²⁰ *OED*, s.v. "timbrel, *n.1.*"

³²¹ Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 381: *Also the Maisters had a morysdance bifore the wates* (1521); and 440: *The order of the Maires wathe Sir william Bayly draper Anno 1525 [...]* *A mores daunce with there own mynstrell [...]* *Constables & there hanchemen vppon ij C with there own Mynstrelles & lyghtes The waytes The Maires sergeantes [...]* (1525).

³²² Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 551: *Agreed with Iohn Eton Thomas Bukhurst & william vmfreye the waightes of Cales ffor Master shreves wathe for bothe nyghttes for viij s.* This entry only records the agreement; there is no subsequent record of actual payment (as there usually is) transcribed in *CL*. Calais (also spelled *Calyce* in the margin) had been under English possession since the mid-fourteenth century, and was ceded to France in 1558.

mentioned in his description of the Midsummer Watches, are attested in the Skinners' expenses for the 1535 Watch.³²³ Choristers also marched, as Spinelli described them (in 1521) wearing liturgical dress, "on foot" in the Watch, before a pageant of Mary, with "four boys, also in white surplices, chanting 'lauds.'"³²⁴

Pageants [tableaux or representations of a familiar scene, sometimes on a fixed stage, but in this case carried, or on a wagon³²⁵] were provided for the Midsummer Watches by the companies to which the city's mayor or sheriffs belonged.³²⁶ Pageants were often accompanied with music,³²⁷ though the earliest archival references to pageants in the Watch do not record details of music accompanying them. Pageants are first recorded at the Watch in 1477 and continue to appear thereafter, sometimes in a great number (in 1504, for example, the Drapers spent £38 13s. 10½*d.* on thirteen pageants³²⁸). Some of the subject matter of the tableaux recorded in the London pageants included reenactments of themes

³²³ Skinners' Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 542: *Item payd to hery Cowper sadelere for the making of vj houses for horses that ys to say iij for the standard bevers & Trumpetours & for the hyre of gyrtes [i.e., girdles] sadelles [...]*.

³²⁴ "Letter from Lodovico Spinelli," 137.

³²⁵ *OED*, s.v. "pageant, *n.* and *adj.*," see 2.

³²⁶ The Drapers provided pageants in 1504, 1508, 1510 and 1512, and drapers held the offices of mayor or sheriff at Midsummer in those years; so it was too for the Grocers in 1505 and 1508, and the Mercers in 1514, for example: see Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 278, 286, 297, 310-11; Grocers' Memorandum, Ordinance, and Account Book, *CL*, 281, 287; and Mercers' Acts of Court, *CL*, 319. For the mayors and sheriffs, see *MSL*, 1029-31 (noting that the Midsummer Watches occur in the second half of the mayoral year).

³²⁷ Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 7.

³²⁸ Drapers Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 278. Note however that this may be exceptional: by comparison, in 1510, the Drapers provided five pageants (four by the Livery at a cost of £19 12s. 2*d.*, and one by the Bachelors of the Company, for which the records are not extant), and in 1512, four (the total cost for three of those pageants, including the Morris dance, was £12 17s. 9*d.*; the fourth pageant was provided by the Bachelors and no record of those expenses is extant): see Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 297, 311.

from Scripture, including the Visitation (Luke 1:39–56) and Christ and the doctors in the Temple (Luke 2:41–52); others were drawn from the liturgical calendar, such as the pageant of the Assumption; some drew on the hagiography of the saints;³²⁹ others were based on secular imagery.³³⁰

The music that accompanied the pageants is first recorded in 1519: two minstrels, John Pycard and Thomas Olyff, were together paid 8*d.* for playing in the pageant of the Visitation,³³¹ and in the same year thirteen children played “God Almighty and his twelve apostles,” probably in the “Maundy” pageant to which the record also refers.³³² Children were employed because their lighter weight made pageants easier to carry,³³³ but perhaps these may have been choristers, though there is no payment to an instructor that year, as

³²⁹ For example, St Blythe: Drapers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 311: *Item for the Charges of iij pagentes that is to say Saynt Blythe Achilles and thassumpcion* (1512); St Thomas Becket: Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 364–65: *Item paid to the wardeyns of seynt Gyles for hyryng of a pagent for the Martyrdom of seynt Thomas And for havynge home ageyne of the same pagent, vij s.* (1519); and St Margaret: Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 628–29: *Bargaynyd with christofer nedham and christofer feelohn painters to make thre pageauntes [...] the iijd of Saint Margaret [...] Item to Robert Golder for the teching of iij childer angelles in the margaret, viij s.* (1541).

³³⁰ The pageant of Achilles that the Drapers provided in 1512 (see n.329, above) may have been a nod to name of the city’s mayor, Roger Acheley, also a draper (see *MSL*, 1030). Other secular pageant imagery could include the monarch: see Skinners’ Payments and Receipts, *CL*, 539: (which appears to refer separately to pageants representing “King Solomon” and “the one representing the king,” note also the expenses for two crowns); and castles: see Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 380: *the Maisters made iij pagentes that is to say the Castyll of Werre [...]*; see also 383: *Item to iijor children in harnes of siluer paper lyned with canvas in the castell of werre the first nyght for there wages at iij d. a pece but one of them had viij d. be cavs he was hurt with gonpowder, summa xx d.* (1521); Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 549: *Agreed bye All the said Assemble that Master Monmoth shreve [Humphrey Monmouth, sheriff] shall have ij pagentes That is to saye the Assompcion And the Castell of Monmoth [...]* (1536). For Monmouth, see *MSL*, 1034.

³³¹ Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 365. (This follows a payment to *to ij Maydens that were in the pagent*, who perhaps played Mary and Elizabeth.)

³³² Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 365. [The “Maundy” pageant perhaps represented the Last Supper, commemorated on Maundy Thursday in Holy Week. It probably depicted Christ and the twelve apostles.]

³³³ Lancashire, Introduction to *CL*, xxxvii.

there is in 1535, for example, when the Ironmongers paid 14*s.* to Thomas Caters, clerk of St Dunstan in the West, and to five children for playing and singing in the pageant of the Virgin Mary and St Elizabeth [i.e. of the Visitation].³³⁴ (Earlier, on the second night of the Watch in 1523, the Drapers paid a total of 1*s.* 4*d.* to four singing children dressed in surplices who were apparently suspended above the pageant of the Assumption, probably in the place of the four harp and lute players on the first night.³³⁵)

Later accounts offer other details about the music that accompanied the pageants. In 1534, a harp and a lute were played before each of the pageants of St Christopher and “Lady M,”³³⁶ and a certain Norfolk was paid for attending to the virginals in the “Lady

³³⁴ Ironmongers’ Register, *CL*, 535. The “Caterer” of the record has been identified as Thomas Caters, clerk at St Dunstan in the West, by Mary Erler (editor of *EL*): see Lancashire’s endnote, *CL*, 1360. In 1519, the Skinners recorded a payment of 8*d.* to Ryley for waytyng on the Maundy pagent bothe the nyghtes, and though that pageant included thirteen children, he has not been identified as a choirmaster (see Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 365).

³³⁵ Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 414-15: *Item to ij harpers & ij luters in albys with wynges & crownys abowte thassumpcion, v. s. iiij d. Item to iiijor childryn in surplices singing the last nyght vppon thassumpcion, xvj d.* In 1536, the Drapers paid a joiner to “keep the winch” of the Assumption pageant; perhaps these angels were indeed suspended above it: Drapers Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 555: *Item to the Ioyner that kept the wynche of the same pagent of the Assumpcion bothe nyghttes, xiiij d.* There are other records beyond those mentioned here of payments to children that may have been for musical participation, though this is not specified. See for example, Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 540: *Item payd to the Chyldren which played in the afforsayd pagentes fore bothe the nyghtes of seynt Iohn And seynt petur in the seyde wacche, v s. Item payed to the mastere of the scole for his dylens [diligence?] that dyd teche the sayd chyldryn whiche dyd playe in the sayd pagentes, iij s. iiij d.* (1535) (but note that the same account later records payments to a singing man and to children specifically for singing, see *CL*, 541); see also Ironmongers’ Register, *CL*, 535: *Item payd to iiij Chylderyn In the Castell for ther labore for boyth nyghtes, ij s. viij d.* (1535). Elsewhere, the records show that children did not just sing in the pageants, but could also act or give speeches: for example, Drapers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 637: *Item for teching the Childer that were in the iij pageauntes for makyng of ther speses & viij d. a pece to euery of theym, xxxv s.* (1541).

³³⁶ Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 523: *Agreed the same daye [15 June] with Iohn Draner with A lute and his felowe Thomas willes with A harpe to playe Afore the pagent of seynt christofre bothe nyghttes eche of them to have ij s. besides their brekefast moneye. Agreed with Iohn peretre with A harpe & Roger Tredwyn with A lute to playe bothe nyghttes before the pagent of ladye M besides their brekefast money summa ij s. iiij d.* (the actual payments to these musicians are recorded in *CL*, 521). The pageant of “Lady M” is described in the same record as *A pagentt of A ladye havyng A Romain M gilt in her hond or A dyademe iiij sqware with A grete M at euerye corner*, see *CL*, 523 and for its possible political connotations see Lancashire’s endnote, *CL*, 1357.

M” pageant;³³⁷ in 1535, a child played the organ, and Thomas Eve, “singing man,” and six children sang in the pageant depicting the Corpus Christi, earning 10s. 4d.;³³⁸ In 1536, two rebecs, two harps, a shawm, and a lute were played before the Assumption pageant on both nights, for which each musician was paid 1s. 8d.,³³⁹ and the Drapers agreed to pay William Stodern, a parish clerk, 8d. per night and a further 6d. each per night to four of his children for singing in the pageant of the Assumption that year;³⁴⁰ in 1541, William Turke and five other minstrels were paid 2s. 8d. each for playing harps and shawms before the Drapers’ pageants,³⁴¹ which depicted Christ “disputing with the doctors in the Temple,” a *Rocke of Roche Alam*, and St Margaret and the Dragon.³⁴²

Given their many liturgical themes, music from the liturgy itself would have been appropriate accompaniment for these pageants. The imagery of the lute and harp players,

³³⁷ Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 523: *Item to Norfolk for trimmyng of the virginalles whiche wer in the pagent of ladye M, iiij d.* Perhaps this refers to John Northfolke, who was active in the 1520s at St Mary at Hill as an organ player and a singer, with responsibilities for the boy choristers (see appendix 1). Children were also present in the pageants: The Drapers’ payment to this Norfolk immediately follows a payment to *Alice Baker for her labour in gevyng Attendaunce of All the Riche apparell of the children in the pagentes bothe nyghtes*, see *CL*, 523.

³³⁸ Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 541. Organs are also recorded in 1535, when the Ironmongers paid 5s. to John Clembow, organ maker, and his fellow for setting up and maintaining the portative organs, and another person was paid 1s. to blow the bellows of them on both nights of the Watch: Ironmongers’ Register, *CL*, 535.

³³⁹ Drapers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 555.

³⁴⁰ Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 551. (When the payment to him is recorded in the accounts, William is called a parish clerk; see Drapers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 555.)

³⁴¹ Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 632: *Payd to william turke for vj mynstrelles wythe harpes & shalmes for bothe nyghtes goyng in our Iornettes before the pageauntes at ij s. viij d. a pece, Summa xvj s.* The record of the payment itself indicates that Turke was one of total of six minstrels: Drapers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 637: *Item to the goodman Turke for hym & other mynstrelles bothe the nyghtes, xvj s.*

³⁴² Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 628. For *Roche Alam*, *OED* gives “rock alum,” “crystalline alum of high purity”; see also Ian Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 189. Perhaps the pageant is a tribute and play on the name of the mayor, who at that time was William Roche, draper; see *MSL*, 1034.

with albs and wings, and four singing children dressed in surplices, all suspended above the Drapers' pageant of the Assumption in 1523 described above, recalls the text of a versicle and short responsory from the Sarum liturgy for the Assumption, *V. Exaltata est sancta Dei genetrix, R. Super chorus angelorum ad celestia regna*. This chant, with its reference to Mary "above the chorus of angels," must have been music known to the clerk, William Stodern, and the boy singers with him.³⁴³ The association of pageants and the themes of liturgical chant has been described by Kipling,³⁴⁴ and Spinelli's account of the Midsummer Watch in 1521 referred specifically to liturgical chant, noting the presence of four boys in liturgical dress "chanting Lauds," the office sung at daybreak. One might also imagine that chants from the Maundy Thursday and Corpus Christi liturgies would have been appropriate for the "Maundy" and "Corpus Christi" pageants too.

Music for the Midsummer Watches involved the city's most professional musicians—parish clerks and child choristers, and the Waits—and may also have involved more amateur musicians:³⁴⁵ in the sixteenth century, for example, Eles Gates was paid to go in the Watches with a drum, though he is described in the records as a pewterer;³⁴⁶ in

³⁴³ See *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, 3 vols. eds. Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth (Cambridge: Almae Matris Academiae, 1879-86), 3:698.

³⁴⁴ For example, see Kipling, *Enter The King*, 201-09, for a discussion of the pageants at Henry V's entry into London in 1415 and their themes drawn from the Office of the Dead (see especially 207).

³⁴⁵ See the discussion of professional and amateur musicianship, and the regulations of the Minstrels' Company concerning who was permitted to earn money from minstrelsy and when, in chapter 2.

³⁴⁶ Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 484: *Item paid to Eles gates peutrer on this side Charyng crosse with A drume bothe nyghttes in A velvet Blak cote of his own goynges besides brekfast money of the Shreve, ij s.* (1530). Gates is also paid to play the drum in 1529 and 1536, though those records do not call him a pewterer: Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 474, 551. It is possible that Gates simply had membership of the Pewterers' Company but was himself a musician, not a pewterer, but this was something the courts acted against, as they did against the Weavers in November 1547; see n.137, chapter 2.

1536, William Bradley, a shoemaker in Southwark, agreed with the Drapers to beat a drum for 3s. alongside Joysce Qwyntyn, who played a flute;³⁴⁷ the same year, John Twyllie, barber, agreed to play the flute for 2s.³⁴⁸

Stow wrote that London's Midsummer Watches were long enjoyed annually until 1539,³⁴⁹ when the Watch (for that year) was cancelled by order of Henry VIII.³⁵⁰ But the city had already taken measures to regulate it before then: in 1537, it was recorded that only the mayor, and no longer the sheriffs, would be led in the Watch with shawms, trumpets, or the Waits, and the number of pageants was also limited.³⁵¹ In May 1539, the city had held a military muster that was modeled on the Midsummer Watch,³⁵² and in June 1539, Henry VIII wrote to the Court of Common Council, proposing that the city "convert both the same watches...into a general muster to be yearly made."³⁵³ By August, the city

³⁴⁷ Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 551: *Agreed with william Bradley Cordener in southwerk with A drwm & Joysce Qwyntyn with A fflute for iij s. A pece for bothe nyghttes.* [*Cordener* is an archaic spelling of "cordwainer," a shoemaker: see *OED*; note that Joyce is probably a man's name: consider, for example, St Joyce, son of the King of Brittany.]

³⁴⁸ Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 551.

³⁴⁹ Stow, *Survey*, 1:103: *This Midsommer Watch was thus accustomed yearly, time out of mind, vntill the year 1539 the 31st of Henry the 8.*

³⁵⁰ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 161.

³⁵¹ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 9, *CL*, 562.

³⁵² Planning for the muster is described in Court of Aldermen, Repertory 10, *CL*, 583-85; the muster itself is mentioned in the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, see "The Chronicle of the Grey Friars: Henry VIII, pages 29-53," *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, *op. cit.* As a military event, it is not included in *CL*; a description of it was recorded by the city, see LMA, COL/CC/01/01/014 (Court of Common Council, Journal 14), 166r-167v.

³⁵³ Court of Common Journal 14, *CL*, 580-81; it is with this same letter that the King "discharges" the city of the responsibility to hold a watch for that year.

had decided against the King's request to replace the Midsummer Watch altogether;³⁵⁴ among the concerns that the council cited in their reply to the King was the potential loss of the "great honour, price and estimation" that the Midsummer Watches brought upon London "throughout all the realms of Christendom."³⁵⁵ Spinelli, himself a Venetian and thus from one of the farther "realms of Christendom," who was perhaps a more impartial observer than the Court of Common Council, wrote that nowhere else in the world was a similar rejoicing usual.³⁵⁶ Moreover, the Midsummer Watch had become one of the city council's own standards by which civic rejoicing, pageantry, and music were measured: in 1525, when the city gave orders for street festivities to celebrate the capture of the King of France, the instructions went out for street fires and a solemn watch to be held, "after the best manner like to Midsummer night."³⁵⁷

The Midsummer Watch continued into the 1540s—the records for 1541 indicate that it was splendid in that year, and included those musical instruments, pageants, and minstrelsy that both Stow and Spinelli had described in the 1520s³⁵⁸—but it declined in

³⁵⁴ The deliberations are recorded in Court of Common Council, Journal 14, *CL*, 582-83.

³⁵⁵ Court of Common Council, Journal 14, *CL*, 582. Another reason given by the council is that the Midsummer Watches offer work to the poorer people of the city by the bearing of lights *and many other wayes*, of which, the above has shown, music was a part.

³⁵⁶ "Letter from Lodovico Spinelli," 136.

³⁵⁷ Letter Book N, *CL*, 429. The record also orders minstrels with their instruments "and other melodious minstrelsy" to play at each of the said fires, along with the parish clerks and their singing children "there to sing ballads and other delectable and joyful songs"; perhaps this, too, was understood to be part of the usual Midsummer Watch custom.

³⁵⁸ In that year the Drapers provided a Morris dance with its minstrel, a tabor, drums, and flutes, as well as pageants of the Temple, the Rock, and St Margaret, in addition to a full complement of harnessed men, as in the entries of the 1520s and 1530s: Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 628-34: *The charges of mydsomer wetche by this hows in the tyme of sir william Roche being mayre* [...], see especially 632.

that decade and did not outlast the reign of Henry VIII. Anne Lancashire has shown that the reasons for the final demise of the Midsummer Watch at this time were primarily financial,³⁵⁹ and the expenses that had otherwise gone towards civic pageantry and music making were needed to fund Henry VIII's military activities, especially in France.³⁶⁰ By 1550, when night watches on the evenings of 23 and 28 June were ordered by the city, the records specifically stated that they were to be “without any manner of minstrelsy or light.”³⁶¹

Processions of Civic Officials

The elections of the city's mayor and sheriffs were significant events in London's calendar, and the citizens who ascended to these offices did so amid ceremony in the city's streets. These officers ran and reinforced the city's bureaucracy: of London's mayor, Caroline Barron writes that “within his small domain of three square miles he was a king with many of the powers and some of the prestige of that office.”³⁶² Londoners elected him without interference from the sovereign—they had won the privilege to do so from King John in

³⁵⁹ Anne Lancashire argues that the Midsummer Watch did not come to an end in the face of uprising Protestantism, with its objections to such pageantry and minstrelsy, as was previously believed to be the case: Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 158-70, and especially 167.

³⁶⁰ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 165. The Watches had indeed become grand: Sheila Lindenbaum has observed that the Drapers spent more than five times as much on the Watch in 1521 as they did in 1477 (in both years, a draper held the office of mayor): see Lindenbaum, “Ceremony and Oligarchy,” 177.

³⁶¹ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 12(1), *CL*, 740. When the night watches were further ordered in 1555 and 1556, it was to be kept *in goode and quyete manour withoute* [...] *Anye kinde of noyse or mynstrallyce*: Court of Common Council, Journal 16, *CL*, 799 (1555), see also 809 (1556).

³⁶² Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 147.

May 1215, a month before he affixed his seal to *Magna Carta*³⁶³— so he was, from then, also the personification of the city’s self-government and a symbol of London’s importance to the kingdom; he was the city’s spokesman and most important person,³⁶⁴ holding a noble rank, albeit temporarily, equivalent to that of an earl.³⁶⁵ Beneath the mayoralty but still of great importance were the city’s two sheriffs, one appointed by the mayor, the other elected by the people.³⁶⁶ The sheriffs’ office was more ancient than the mayor’s, and Londoners had been appointing men to that office for nearly a century before they won the right to elect their mayor.³⁶⁷

The sheriffs were elected on 21 September and took their oaths at the Guildhall on 28 September,³⁶⁸ the mayor was elected on 13 October³⁶⁹ and took his oath at the Guildhall

³⁶³ But the privilege continued at the pleasure and discretion of the sovereign, who could revoke London’s right to self-government when he saw it fit (or expedient) to do so, as in 1392, when Richard II deprived the city of its elected officers: see Caroline M. Barron, “The Quarrel of Richard II with London, 1392–7,” in *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack*, eds. F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron (London: The Althone Press, University of London, 1971), 184–85.

³⁶⁴ Barron, *London*, 156, 172.

³⁶⁵ Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 2, 34. See also Barron, *London*, 156, for “the emergence of the mayor’s esquire (as any knight would have a squire to serve him).”

³⁶⁶ Barron, *London*, 159, and especially n.79: “Usually the mayor chose an alderman and the commonalty chose a commoner—often a man on his way to an aldermanry.”

³⁶⁷ Barron, *London*, 159. After the institution of the mayoralty, the sheriffalty continued to be a role of great importance: in the thirteenth century, Arnald Fitz Thedmar began each year of his chronicle—in which two pieces of London music were also kept (see chapter 5)—by recording the names of the sheriffs and not the mayors: Barron, *London*, 171. The actual right to participate in the election of the mayor was apparently given at first to representatives from each of the city’s wards, who constituted “a broad spectrum of all freemen in the early thirteenth century,” but was given over to “the respectable citizens represented by the members of the common council and the wardens and Liverymen of the companies by the end of the fifteenth century”: Barron, *London*, 150, 232.

³⁶⁸ Barron, *London*, 159 (see also here for the people’s participation in the sheriffs’ election).

³⁶⁹ Barron, *London*, 147.

on 28 October.³⁷⁰ On the morning after they took their oaths, they went—the sheriffs on 29 September, the mayor on 29 October—from the Guildhall with minstrels to Westminster, where they were presented and took their oaths again before the King or his representatives, the Barons of the Exchequer.³⁷¹ Leaving the Guildhall at 9 a.m.,³⁷² these processions to Westminster went initially by road on horseback, but from 1389 it was decreed that the sheriffs’ procession should go by water to reduce the costs of it, and from 1453, the mayor’s procession also went by water.³⁷³ (Londoners came to know a song about the mayor’s procession on the water, though it has not survived in musical notation

³⁷⁰ Barron, *London*, 151. Though these are civic occasions, it is worthwhile to note that the mayor’s election coincided with the Feast of the Translation of St Edward the Confessor, 13 October, and his swearing-in at the Guildhall on 28 October with the Feast of St Simon and St Jude. The presentation of the sheriffs at Westminster, described below, coincided with Michaelmas, 29 September.

³⁷¹ Barron, *London*, 159; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 171. If the King was absent, the mayor would take his oath in front of the King’s representatives at Westminster and then be presented to the monarch at another time. Such an occasion occurred in March 1541, for example, and it was recorded that the mayor was presented before the King *with Mynstrelsye As hath been Accustomed in tymes passed* (but at the cost of the city): Court of Aldermen, Repertory 10, *CL*, 619.

³⁷² The fifteenth-century *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, common clerk of London, describes the route of the civic processions; the route is depicted visually in Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 20 (fig. 1.2). From the Guildhall, the procession went along Saint Laurens Lane, turned right into Cheppes Syed, and continued west through the Shambles, passed through Newgate and went south along the Old Bailley, before turning right into Fletestrete near Ludgate, and continuing westward along Fletestrete and the Strondway [the Strand] to Westminster. When the mayor’s procession returned to London, the incoming mayor hosted a dinner, then went to St Paul’s Cathedral where he prayed at the tomb of St Thomas Becket’s parents (Becket was himself a Londoner) and then finally rode again along Cheppes Syed, by torchlight if it was late, to the church of St Thomas of Acre and made offerings there, which brought the ceremony to a close: see *Liber Albus: The White Book of The City of London*, trans. and ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London: Richard Griffin, 1861), 22-24; Barron, *London*, 152; and Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 64-65. (For dinners, see “Company Feasts and Dinners” in the next chapter.)

³⁷³ Letter Book H, *CL*, 1224-25 (1388/89, for the sheriffs to go by water); Court of Common Council, Journal 5, *CL*, 1232 (1452/53, for the mayor). Infrequently, the civic officials were presented before the King or his representatives at the Tower, rather than at Westminster: these occasions are recorded in appendix 2, tables A2.1-2. If the usual dates of 29 September or 29 October fell on a Sunday, the procession was postponed for one day; these such occasions are listed by Lancashire in *CL*, 1038-45, appendix 8, “Mayors and Sheriffs of London: Sunday and Tower Oaths and Presentations.”

from the period.³⁷⁴) That the mayor's procession continued on land after the sheriffs' procession began to go by water confirms that, ultimately, the mayoral procession on 29 October was the more important of the two (it was the most important annual civic event in late medieval London); indeed, it was noted that the decision to send the sheriffs, from 1389, to Westminster by water was made "so that the common people can bring greater honour to the mayor,"³⁷⁵ who continued along the more expensive land route for another six decades. And when the mayor's procession also went by water, it remained the standard to which Londoners held themselves when planning rich and spectacular ceremony: in February 1463, when the city was given notice that Edward IV would come to the city by water, it was noted that "the mayor, alderman, and commoners would meet the king in their barges, decorated with the same gear in which they are usually decorated when the mayor takes his oath at Westminster."³⁷⁶

It is unclear when music and musicians became a part of these processions, if they were not from the very beginning. The first surviving record of music and musicians in a civic procession dates from October 1369, when the Goldsmiths paid 3s. 4d. each to John Drake, John Wayte, and William Trumpour and six other minstrels, alongside additional costs for the hire of horses for them, and for their livery hoods, for the mayor's procession.³⁷⁷ The first record of music at the sheriffs' procession dates from 1382 or

³⁷⁴ See "Row the bote Norman," chapter 5.

³⁷⁵ Letter Book H, *CL*, 1224.

³⁷⁶ Court of Common Council, Journal 7, *CL*, 194, and translated, 1187.

³⁷⁷ Goldsmiths' Wardens Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 10, and translated, 1056. See the discussion of these individuals in chapter 2.

1383,³⁷⁸ and there are other scattered records of payments for civic processions surviving from the fourteenth century, though the amounts recorded for minstrelsy, which sometimes itemize wages and other costs, fluctuate,³⁷⁹ and do not always record, for example, the number of minstrels being paid. These scattered payments are witnesses to what must have been a splendid culture of civic ceremony in London, at least from the late fourteenth century.

Appendix 2 provides a calendar of the data (drawn from *Records of Early English Drama: Civic London*, edited by Anne Lancashire) for the mayor's and sheriffs' processions that survive in the accounts of the city's companies. After the early and scattered records of the fourteenth century, the data of the archive become more voluminous and informative near the turn of the fifteenth century. Multiple companies' accounts survive to record the costs for minstrels at the mayor's procession in 1398, for example, and for later years too. The responsibility for providing minstrels with the mayor was shared between the city's companies, regardless of who was ascending to the mayoralty and to which company he belonged; none of the three surviving accounts from

³⁷⁸ Goldsmiths' Wardens Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 25, and translated, 1071; see also appendix 2, table A2.2 for the date.

³⁷⁹ The 6s. that the Goldsmiths spent on minstrels and associated expenses at the sheriffs' procession in September 1382 (or 1383) amounts to less than one quarter of the £1 7s. 3d. that the Grocers spent in September 1386; the Mercers recorded costs of £2 for minstrels in September 1391, but only £1 in 1393 and 1396. The amount spent by the Mercers for minstrels at the mayor's procession in October 1396 is less than one fifth of the total they paid in October 1393; the Goldsmiths spent more than five times on minstrelsy in October 1388 than in 1377. See Goldsmiths Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 13, 25, 30, and translated, 1059, 1071, 1076 (Oct. 1377, Sept. 1382/83, Oct. 1388); Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), *CL*, 28, and translated 1073 (September 1386); Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 31, 32, 33 and translated, 1077, 1078 (1391, 1393 Sept./Oct., 1396 Sept./Oct.)

1398 belonged to the same company as the mayor-elect.³⁸⁰ At the sheriffs' procession, however, it was apparently only the companies to which the sheriffs-elect belonged that provided minstrels at the procession each September.³⁸¹ The Mercers' account for 1425 suggests that the arrangement was that the incoming sheriffs' companies shared the responsibility and expenses for minstrels: it records an allowance of "half of the costs divisible between the Drapers and us for the riding of the sheriffs."³⁸²

As the fifteenth century progresses, the records increasingly reveal information about the numbers of minstrels at the mayor's and sheriffs' processions (the number for the mayor was generally greater³⁸³), the kinds of music that was heard, and the individual musicians who made it, including Thomas the trumpeter, then the Waits, and later still royal trumpeters.

At times the city felt it necessary to regulate the expenses of minstrelsy in civic processions: in October 1409, they decreed that minstrels were only to ride before the

³⁸⁰ The surviving accounts are those of the Grocers', Mercers' and Merchant Taylors' Companies (see appendix 2, table A2.1); the mayor elected and sworn that year was Drugo (or Drew) Barentyn, a goldsmith (see MSL, 1014). No doubt his company, too, provided minstrels.

³⁸¹ There are no records of companies paying costs for minstrelsy at a procession of the sheriffs unless a member of their own was ascending to that office (with the possible exception of 1382/83); the majority of extant records for the mayors' processions in the fourteenth century, at least, are accounts from companies other than that to which the incoming mayor belonged: see the data in appendix 2, table A2.1.

³⁸² Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 99, and translated, 1136.

³⁸³ In 1408, the Grocers, Mercers and Merchant Taylors each paid £2 6s. 8d. in wages to seven minstrels at the mayor's procession (an average wage of 6s. 8d. each), bringing the total number of recorded minstrels for the mayor to 21 (the number was probably higher still, because other city companies whose records from that year have not survived may also have hired minstrels for the procession, and additional musicians may have been present that were not in receipt of the monetary payments recorded). The Grocers' accounts of the 1407 sheriffs' procession record a total of seven minstrels; because only those companies to which the sheriff-elect belonged provided for minstrels, it can be assumed that the total number of minstrels at the sheriffs' procession was 14, two-thirds of the (recorded) number at the mayor's procession the following year: see appendix 2.

mayor in his procession, and no longer before any of the city's companies, apparently to reduce competition for elaborate ceremony between them;³⁸⁴ after 1409, only the company to which the incoming mayor belonged contributed minstrels for the procession.³⁸⁵ In 1521, the city declared that the sheriffs' procession was to go to Westminster "without any minstrelsy" at all.³⁸⁶ (1519 is the last year for which records of minstrels at the sheriffs' procession survive.³⁸⁷) These regulations were probably imposed in an attempt to curb the expense of the processions, in the same way that the decision to send the sheriffs to Westminster by water from 1389 was made "to reduce and lessen such costs as a relief for the commonalty."³⁸⁸ And it was the commonalty who bore the expense of the music described here: often the companies' accounts record the receipt of money either from

³⁸⁴ The decision was made "for the unity and honour...and for nurturing greater love between the crafts": Letter Book I, *CL*, 52, and translated, 1095.

³⁸⁵ But not 1409 itself: that year, the Mercers paid for seven minstrels, although it was an ironmonger, Richard Merlawe, who assumed the office of mayor (see appendix 2, table A2.1). Perhaps the Mercers had already made their arrangements with the minstrels for the 29 October procession before the ordinance was made on 13 October. For Richard Merlawe, see *MSL*, 1016. Because only the mayor's company provided minstrels after 1409, the number hired by that single company increased: thirteen in 1419; fourteen in 1418, 1420, and 1421; fifteen in 1423; sixteen in 1429, and the number of people paid for their minstrelsy remains between sixteen and eighteen between 1429-1470 (see appendix 2, table A2.1). While the number of minstrels provided by a single company was higher after 1409 than before it, the total number of minstrels was probably lower: it was noted above that in 1408, for example, there were at least twenty-one, and maybe more, minstrels in the procession. And in 1480, the city decided that the mayor's procession was no longer to feature a pageant being carried from the mayor's house to the water or vice versa, *like as it hath ben Accustomed Afore this*: see Court of Common Council, Journal 8, *CL*, 225.

³⁸⁶ Court of Common Council, Journal 12, *CL*, 375-76: *Item on Monday folowyng The seyde Sheryffes [...] shall cume to the Inner Chamber of the Guyhall [...] then from thens the Mayre Aldremen & Sheryffes withoute eny Mynstralyse* ["without any minstrelsy" is superscript] *to Ryde to the Crane in the vyntre the seyde ffelyshippis folowyng where shalbe ij Barges prepared [...]*. Note that the record is headed *Instruccion for Mr Bretyn & Mr Pargetter Electe Shireffes & others hereafter to be Chosen beyng Comoners & not Aldremen*.

³⁸⁷ There are no surviving data concerning minstrels in the processions of 1520 and the ordinance was made before the procession in 1521.

³⁸⁸ Letter Book H, *CL*, 1224.

specific individuals³⁸⁹ or from the membership at large³⁹⁰ towards the costs of minstrels at these processions.

The first year for which specific information about the kinds of music heard in these civic processions is recorded is 1419, Richard Whytyndone's third procession as mayor.³⁹¹ As may be expected for so significant and ceremonial occasion, the record attests to *haut* minstrelsy: the Mercers recorded payments for eight trumpeters, four pipers, and one kettle-drum player.³⁹² Throughout the fifteenth century, records increasingly mention trumpeters, and by the 1450s, more often the surviving records refer to "trumpeters" instead of "minstrels" (see the discussion in chapter 2). The first specific references to instruments in an account of the sheriffs' procession is in 1427, when the Mercers paid for eight clarioners and trumpeters. Clarions are also mentioned in companies' accounts for sheriffs'

³⁸⁹ See Lancashire's endnote, *CL*, 1250, where she notes that it was apparently the custom for a mercer sheriff-elect to give money towards the cost of the minstrels, and see, for example, the receipts of £2 recorded by the Mercers from the sheriffs-elect Geoffrey Feldyng (in 1445) and Richard Nedeham (in 1458): Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 162, 183, and translated, 1178.

³⁹⁰ For example, in 1433, the Drapers recorded the receipt of £2 7s. 8d. from 143 persons "for the minstrels for the mayor's riding" that year, and in 1434 £2 7s. from 141 persons "for the minstrels for the sheriffs' riding": Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 133-34, and translated 1164-65. Some accounts specify the amount that each company member was to contribute: the Drapers' Wardens' Accounts for 1423/24 records that it was 4d. from each man: *CL*, 97, and translated, 1134; the Mercers imposed a tax of 1s. 4d. on each member for the minstrels at the mayor's processions in 1437 and 1439, for example, see Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 143-44, 148, and translated, 1170-71. In 1409, Mercers also recorded that those of its membership who did not attend the mayor's procession that year paid a fine, which contributed to the costs of the minstrels: Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 54, and translated, 1098.

³⁹¹ Whytyndone, a mercer, strictly served four terms as mayor; his first term was June-October 1397, for which he had been appointed by Letters Patent after the death of the incumbent, Adam Bamme: see *MSL*, 1014. Though replacements to the office after the death of the incumbent were also required to travel to Westminster to take their oath (as did, John Perneys, sheriff for 1418/19, for example: see *MSL*, 1017), there is no record of his swearing an oath in June 1397: see Caroline M. Barron, "The Government of London and its Relations with the Crown, 1400-1450," (PhD diss., University of London, 1970), 6.

³⁹² See appendix 2, table A2.1. Drummers are not specified again in subsequent accounts, though they are described in the mid-sixteenth century in Henry Machyn's diary, see below and appendix 2, table A2.1.

processions in 1428, 1430, 1437 and 1442; trumpets are mentioned throughout the records after 1427 and into the sixteenth century.

Where the documents begin to record exact numbers of trumpeters and clarioners instead of minstrels in the fifteenth century, it is possible to calculate that the average wage paid to them was 6s. 8d.;³⁹³ an account for expenses at the sheriffs' procession in 1427 explicitly states that 6s. 8d. was paid to each trumpeter.³⁹⁴ (The calendar of data in appendix 2 indicates those years for which this average may be calculated.) It is possible to read further back into the records and imagine that the "minstrels" recorded in the earlier civic processions, before any suggestion of particular instruments was given in 1419, were also trumpeters: trumpets have a long association with heraldry and civic pronouncement, and, at least from 1398, for those years where the number of minstrels is recorded, it is possible to calculate that they were paid the same average wages as the later trumpeters. One of the first recorded musicians at a civic procession, William Trumpour (found in the records of the mayor's procession in 1369), possibly inherited his father's and grandfather's surname, but possibly also the profession from which, only a generation or so earlier, those surnames had come.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ Between the records for the mayors' and sheriffs' processions, there are more than fifty individual accounts for the years 1397-1475 where both the number of minstrels or trumpeters paid and the sum of their wages (subtracting other expenses such as food, drink, and livery) are recorded or can be unambiguously determined, where the minstrels'/trumpeters' average wage amounts to 6s. 8d.; this accounts for the overwhelming majority of all extant records for the period, as shown in appendix 2.

³⁹⁴ Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL* 107, and translated, 1142: "Likewise they ask allowance for external expenses paid by them, that is to say, for eight clarions and trumpets for Henry Frowyk, sheriff of London, 6s. 8d. for each trumpeter, sum: 53s. 4d. [...]."

³⁹⁵ Surnames tended to become inherited about the middle of the fourteenth century: see Caroline M. Barron, "Sources for Medieval Urban History," in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, edited by Joel T. Rosenthal (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge,

Thomas the Trumpeter, met in chapter 2, appears in the records of civic processions, first at the sheriffs' procession in 1430, when the Mercers listed expenses for the hoods of seven clarion and trumpet players alongside the costs of the hood for *Thomas Trompere*.³⁹⁶ The final record of Thomas at a civic procession is in 1461, when he appears in the Mercers' records of the September sheriffs' procession³⁹⁷ and the October mayor's procession.³⁹⁸ The unnamed minstrel/musician (possibly Thomas, or his colleague³⁹⁹) of whom the records leave a trace from 1437, continues to appear until 1469.⁴⁰⁰ In the mayor's processions, Thomas would have marched before the mayor, as did the other minstrels, according to the city's regulation of 1409 that minstrels were to go "before the mayor only."⁴⁰¹

From 1474, a "marshal" begins to appear in the records, first in the Goldsmiths' records of the sheriffs' procession.⁴⁰² This individual, unlike Thomas, was probably not in receipt of a salary from the city, and the records for the sheriffs' procession in 1478 indicate

2012), 169. William Trumpour's colleague, John Wayte, could equally have a surname that derives from a professional association with a horn or pipe.

³⁹⁶ Mercers' Wardens Accounts, *CL*, 115, and translated, 1148.

³⁹⁷ Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 190.

³⁹⁸ Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 193.

³⁹⁹ See "Thomas the Trumpeter," chapter 2.

⁴⁰⁰ After which the next appearance of a "half hood" is for the marshal of the trumpeters: see appendix 2, table A2.2, s.v. 1474.

⁴⁰¹ Letter Book I, *CL*, 52, and translated, 1095.

⁴⁰² Goldsmiths' Wardens Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 212-13: *Item paid for viij Trompetz to go to Westminster with the said Shiref & for viij White hattes & di., & for Saresenet for their tepetes & the Marchalles tipet & their drink, iij li. vj s. iiij d.*

that he was paid wages like the other musicians: the Goldsmiths' and Ironmongers' accounts for that year indicate that each company paid £2 16s. 8d., which was the wages of eight trumpeters and half the wages of the marshal (so between the two companies' accounts, the wages of sixteen trumpeters and the marshal were paid in full).⁴⁰³ The Goldsmiths' records from 1482 call him the "marshal of the King's trumpeters."⁴⁰⁴ From 1475 and to the end of the period, the archival documents record payments either to the King's trumpeters, with their marshal or sergeant,⁴⁰⁵ or to an undescribed band of trumpeters, also with a leader. Probably these were always royal trumpeters, though the records only occasionally articulate it: in September 1519, when the costs for the sheriffs' procession were split between the Drapers and the Grocers, the Drapers' account records a payment of £2 13s. 4d. to twelve trumpeters and their marshal, and the Grocers' account records a payment of the same amount to musicians whom the record calls "the king's trumpeters."⁴⁰⁶ Fiona Kisby has shown that, in the sixteenth century, the King and his

⁴⁰³ Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 221: *ffirst paid to viij Trompetz & half the Marchalles Wages to Westminster & home, lvj s. viij d.*; Ironmongers' Register, *CL*, 221-22: *Item Paid to the viij trompyttes and to the Marschall for their attendaunce vpon Master Scherofe at takyng of his Charge, lvj s. viij d.* Note that the average paid to each of the 17 musicians was 6s. 8d.

⁴⁰⁴ Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 229: *Item paid to the Marchall of the kynges Trompetz & to viij other Trompetz to go to Westminster & a gaine & beyng at the Mairs ffeste, iij li.* Royal trumpeters evidently did not serve the city free of charge, and elsewhere a payment to them by the city itself is recorded: see Court of Aldermen, Repertory 7, *CL*, 444-45: *Item the Chamberleyn shall geue vn to the kinges Trumpetours for the labours in the Citie at the Triumphes with ffyres & other Cerymonys don on Saterday last passed beyng the ffeste of Seynt Mathies day appostell in the honour of the Conclusion of the peas taken betwene the Emperour & the ffrensh kyng xiiij s. iij d.* (1526).

⁴⁰⁵ In the records of the mayor's procession, for both the "trumpeters" and the "King's trumpeters" the leader is called a "marshal" in the records until 1524 (inclusive); he is thereafter called the "sergeant"; the title of "sergeant" does not appear in the records for the sheriffs' procession, which run only to 1519. See appendix 2, tables A2.1-2.

⁴⁰⁶ Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 361: *Item to xij Trumpetoures & the Marshall for Mr Wylkynson Shiref, liij s. iij d.*; Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 368: *Item paid to the kynges Trumpettours going to Westmester with the sheryffes, liij s. iij d.*

household—and thus, the trumpeters who traveled with him—were increasingly to be found within a thirty-mile radius of London.⁴⁰⁷

Despite the increasing proximity of royal musicians and their participation in these events, Londoners did not surrender the responsibility for music at their civic processions entirely to royal musicians, and city musicians continued to play alongside them. In 1482, the Waits played at the mayor's procession (they are first mentioned in records of sheriffs' processions in 1501). As described in the previous chapter,⁴⁰⁸ it may be assumed that participation in these civic processions was an expected part of the Waits' duties to the city, from which they earned their salary and their livery; very often, their participation is recorded by the companies but they are remunerated only in small amounts, or not paid at all, for their services.

Though the earliest record of the Waits is their receipt from the Goldsmiths of livery hoods for the mayor's procession in 1482, it is likely that they were participating in civic processions before this, and the probability that the Waits were playing in civic processions from the 1470s would account for an apparent decline in the number of musicians hired by the companies: between the 1450s and 1470s, there were regularly sixteen or seventeen trumpeters recorded, but in 1477, only eight, with their marshal (though the numbers begin to rise again in the sixteenth century⁴⁰⁹). The additional musical forces provided by the

⁴⁰⁷ Fiona Louise Kisby, "The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel, 1485-1547" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996), 309.

⁴⁰⁸ See "The Waits," chapter 2.

⁴⁰⁹ As Lancashire writes, "The history of civic ceremonial and display in London to 1558 is one of a repeating cycle of modest beginnings, rising spectacle and costs, attempts to cut back, and rising spectacle and costs again": Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 148. Two exceptional records of expenses for music

Waits were surely considered by the companies as they planned for musicians in the civic processions.⁴¹⁰

The role and place of music and musicians in London's civic processions must remain open to question. Though John Carpenter describes the ceremonial in detail in his *Liber Albus*, he is not concerned with the trumpeters at all;⁴¹¹ chroniclers, who were more interested to record that which was out of the ordinary, offer little description of the event beyond noting the fact of the mayor's swearing-in as a regular event.⁴¹² In the late fourteenth century, one record of the Grocers' Company seems to suggest that minstrels were paid for two days' labor at the mayor's election, possibly indicating that they were present for his swearing-in at the Guildhall on 28 October as well as the procession to

deserve mention. In October 1518, the Skinners paid £6 5s. 8d. in wages and associated costs to twenty-two royal trumpeters, perhaps because Thomas Mirfyn, who was elected mayor that year, was the first skinner to hold the office since 1492: Skinners' Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 363, and *MSL*, 1031. In 1527, a vintner, James Spencer, was elected mayor, and was the first member of that company to hold the office since 1395, which may have been a cause for particular celebration for the Vintners, who paid an immense £6 4s. for the King's trumpeters that year: Vintners' Masters and Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 468-49, and *MSL*, 1014, 1032.

⁴¹⁰ In his diary, Machyn notes trumpeters and the presence of the Waits (*trumpeters, and the wettes of the cete*) in the mayor's procession in 1554, for example, though they are unmentioned in the accounts of the Grocers, who that year had the responsibility for providing the musicians that would play before the mayor (note, however, that the Grocers' record does refer to additional payments made by the Bachelors of the company, records of which are no longer extant): see *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 72-73; Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 805-06.

⁴¹¹ He does, however, report that near the end of the day of the mayor's procession, the priest and the mayor, aldermen, and others repeat *De Profundis* in the nave of St Paul's Cathedral and again in the churchyard (probably this was recited to plainchant tones): *Liber Albus*, 24.

⁴¹² The mayoral oath-taking in 1415, for example, is described in London chronicles but only because it coincided with the arrival in London of the news from France that Henry V's armies had defeated the French at Agincourt. Shakespeare's Henry V (act four, scene eight) proclaimed on the battle field, "Let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum*," and chroniclers record that the bells rang and *Te Deum* was sung in London: see n.251, above. (These, however, are as much descriptions of national rejoicing as of civic celebration and pride.)

Westminster on 29 October.⁴¹³ Of the procession itself, there is no extant eyewitness account of a civic procession on horseback, but Henry Machyn's diary offers some detail about what a London commoner heard during the mayor's water processions in the 1550s, and the outline of procedure left by the Mercers in 1558 is probably representative of the customs in other years. The Mercers recorded that trumpeters and Waits were to meet the new mayor in the street outside his house and play as he went in procession from there to the Guildhall and then to the wharf, where they met the barges.⁴¹⁴ (Among the *haut* minstrelsy of civic ceremony, Londoners in their company barges also enjoyed more intimate *bas* minstrelsy, described below.⁴¹⁵) Describing a mayor's procession in his diary, Machyn records drummers and trumpeters playing "all the way" on the barges as they sailed "up and down" the Thames to Westminster and back.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹³ Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), *CL*, 34, and translated, 1079: "Likewise paid for six minstrels for the riding of the mayor, Richard Whittington, sum: 43s. 4d. Likewise for their hoods, sum: 10s. Likewise for their costs for two days of food, sum: 8s. 4d." (1397). See also the very similar record for 1398, which records seven minstrels for two days: *CL*, 35, and translated, 1080; note also the two suppers grouped together with the payments to the minstrels in 1414, see *CL*, 44, and translated, 1088. For a description of the installation ceremony at the Guildhall on 28 October, see Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 62-64 (though nothing is said there of musical participation).

⁴¹⁴ Mercers' Register of Writings, *CL*, 848: [...] *The Lyuerye of the ffelyshippe and also of the Bacheleres gaddered at saynte Thomas and at the oure convenyent to goo to the Mayour place the Bachelers formeste and the ffelyshippe followynge And at their Comynge thydder theye to stande all A Longe the streate tyll he be reddye And when he is Reddye the trumpettes beinge before the Bachelers to blowe And so sette ffourthe And after theym the other trumppetes And thenne the wayghtes And so bringe Hym to the yeldehaule then the Bacheleres to deperte to their barge [...].*

⁴¹⁵ See "Private Music in Barges" in this chapter.

⁴¹⁶ *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 96: *And at the ix of the cloke my nuw lord mayre and the shreyffes and the althermen toke barge at the ij Cranes with trumpets and shalmes, and the whetes playhyng; and so rod to Westmynster, and toke ys othe in the cheyker, and all the way [...] shutyng of gones and playhyng up and done [i.e., up and down the river]; and so after cam backe to Powlles warffe, and landyd with gret shutyng of gownes and playng [...]* (1555).

The Mercers' Register of Writings further describes that at Westminster, one group of trumpeters was to arrive ahead of the mayor, and

when they have landed at Westminster, go to the door of the hall [i.e., Westminster Hall] and stand there with their trumpets before them until the mayor has landed and begun to come toward the hall, then the trumpets are to blow and go forth through the hall, with the fellowship following and the mayor following them, and to continue to blow until the mayor has gone up inside.⁴¹⁷

The “fellowship” [i.e., members of the Mercers' company] took their place in the procession, as indeed did all of the city's companies, in order of prestige; some Londoners, then, as members of the companies were witness to every part of this civic theatre, and played their part in it. But all Londoners had access to the procession as it went through the city, and heard the trumpets that played “all the way” along the water. Machyn further records that the mayor, having come back to London, returned to the Guildhall, again with the trumpeters and Waits playing as he went.⁴¹⁸ Machyn also describes a pageant in the churchyard of St Paul's Cathedral, which, like the pageants described in the Midsummer Watches, may have had some kind of musical accompaniment.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ Mercers' Register of Writings, *CL*, 848: *At their Landinge at westmestour to goo to the Haule dore and there theye to stand still with their trompetes afore theym till the Mayour be Landed and sett forthe to come thenne the trompetes to Blowe and goo forthe thorowe the haule and the ffelyshippe followynge and the Mayour also [...] and to Blowe still till the Mayour be vnto the Chekour [...].*

⁴¹⁸ *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 155-56: *And after-ward landyd at Powlles warf [...] and the trompetes and the whettes playhyng, unto Yeld-halle [i.e., the Guildhall].*

⁴¹⁹ *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 155. (In 1528, the Bachelors of the Drapers' Company provided a pageant of the Assumption, which went in procession with trumpeters from St Paul's Cathedral to the Guildhall: Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 466.)

Royal Occasions

When Henry III and Eleanor of Provence rode through London toward Westminster in 1236 for Eleanor to be crowned Queen of England, there is no record of London musicians playing, but they had, John Stow writes, “the king’s trumpeters sounding before them.”⁴²⁰ But at the end of the thirteenth century there is some evidence for organized civic processions for royal events:⁴²¹ Stow records that “every citizen according to their several trades” made several shows and pageants for a procession through the city on St Magnus’s Day 1298, when Edward I invaded Scotland,⁴²² but the early records of other royal occasions in London suggest that they were apparently spontaneous,⁴²³ as, for example, when Londoners sang and danced in the streets upon learning of the birth of the future Edward III in November 1312.⁴²⁴ The royal household traveled with its own musicians (these were the trumpeters before Henry III in 1236), but from the late fourteenth century evidence emerges of London minstrels and musicians also playing at royal entries: in 1377, a group of citizens in costume, “with the sound of trumpets, sackbuts, cornets and shawms

⁴²⁰ Stow, *Survey*, 1:95.

⁴²¹ See the examples of this early civic pageantry in Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 38.

⁴²² Stow, *Survey*, 1:95-96. The Fishmongers’ Company had made gilt fish that were carried on horseback: see Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 38.

⁴²³ Caroline M. Barron, “Pageantry on London Bridge in the Early Fifteenth Century,” in *Bring Furth the Pagants’: Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*, eds. David N. Klausner and Karen Sawyer Marsalek (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 91.

⁴²⁴ Barron, “Pageantry on London Bridge,” 91; see also Anne F. Sutton, “The Tumbling Bear and Its Patrons: A Venue for the London Puy and Mercery” in *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Julia Boffey and Pamela M. King (London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1995), 107-108.

and other minstrels,” rode across London Bridge to meet the young prince Richard;⁴²⁵ in January 1382, the city’s companies rode with Queen Anne, first wife of Richard II, through the city and the Goldsmiths paid £3 total to six minstrels, in addition to the costs of their red and white dress.⁴²⁶ The Goldsmiths’ account records neither the names of these minstrels nor the manner of minstrelsy, but in November 1382, when the King himself entered the city, the Goldsmiths’ record for that year refers to trumpets in their account of the expenses for meeting him.⁴²⁷ By the mid-fifteenth century, the role of London musicians in the entries of royal visitors to the city was well established, and before Edward IV entered the city in June 1461, he sent ahead for trumpeters and clarioners “to bring him to London.”⁴²⁸

⁴²⁵ Stow, *Survey*, 1:96: *On the Sunday before Candlemas in the night, one hundred and thirty Citizens disguised, and well horsed in a mummerie with sound of Trumpets, Shackbuts, Cornets, Shalmes, and other Minstrels, and innumerable torch lights of Waxe, rode from Newgate through Cheape ouer the bridge, through Southwarke, and so to Kennington besides Lambhith, where the young Prince remayned with his mother and the Duke of Lancaster his uncle [...].*

⁴²⁶ Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 24-25, and translated, 1070-71. The same account records that there was a “summer castle above Cheap [i.e., in Cheppes Syed], well arrayed”: perhaps this pageant had music, but the record refers only to “three virgins” suspended on it “to throw the leaves,” and the costs of the castle’s construction.

⁴²⁷ Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 29, and translated, 1075: “Likewise paid to the minstrels for riding in the company of the king and in the company of the mayor, £3 13s 4d. Likewise for banners for their trumps, 26s. 8d., of which 26s. 6d. (is) received in a lump sum from what was gathered Likewise for cloth bought for 8 minstrels, 28s. 4d.” For the likely date of this record, see Lancashire’s endnote, *CL*, 1241.

⁴²⁸ “Gregory's Chronicle: 1451-1460, pages 196-210,” *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London: And thys he come forthe towarde London [...]. And so he come to Habyngdon, and there he sende for trompeters and claryners to bryng hym to London, and there he gave them baners with the hole armys of Inglonde with owte any dyversyte, and commaundyd hys swerde to ben borne uppe ryghte be-fore hym; and soo he rode forthe unto Lundoon tulle he come to Westemyster to Kyng Harrys palys, ande there he claymyde the crowne of Inglonde.* Note also Lancashire’s introduction to *CL*, xxvii-xxviii, wherein she writes that “usually the Crown directed the city on the level of entry to be orchestrated for any given entrant, and the city made and paid for arrangements accordingly.”

Nearer to the end of the fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries, royalty were increasingly welcomed into the city by Londoners with magnificent organized displays that were designed by the city and intended to show off London's wealth and power to the sovereign.⁴²⁹ The entry of royalty brought immense crowds of Londoners into the streets to see their sovereign and, by extension, to hear the music that accompanied them: a chronicle records, for example, that "there was much harm done at London Bridge, for there were about nine persons crushed to death," when Isabella, Richard II's second queen, came through London to be crowned at Westminster in 1397, so great was the crowd that had come to see her.⁴³⁰ Likewise an account of Henry V's entry into London in 1415 records a "great throng" of people crowding the processional route.⁴³¹ As they were the patrons of music in civic processions, so did the commonalty ultimately fund the magnificent entries of their sovereign into the city.⁴³²

⁴²⁹ Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 2.

⁴³⁰ *Chronicles of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 18.

⁴³¹ *Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth*, trans. and eds., Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 113: "And apart from the dense crowd of men standing still or hurrying along the streets, and the great number of those, men and women together, gazing from windows and openings, however small, along the route from the bridge, so great was the throng of people in Cheapside, from one end to the other, that the horsemen were only just able, although not without difficulty, to ride through."

⁴³² One or more "fifteenths" were levied by the city council on each of the wards to raise funds for royal entries. The levy was a fixed amount of money: the city could thus raise £618 by the levy of one fifteenth, or £927 (1.5x that amount) by the levy of one and a half fifteenths, and so on. (That it was levied on the wards and not on individuals meant that the poorest of society could be spared the expense of contributing.) See the explanation in Lancashire's introduction to *CL*, xxvii, and see also xxviii, where she writes that "from at least 1522 on, the records show that all residents in London, non-citizens as well as citizens, were required to pay." (See also *CL*, clii-cliii, n.37.)

Often, the mayor, with members of the commonalty,⁴³³ met the sovereign south of the city boundary, usually at Blackheath,⁴³⁴ and brought him across London Bridge into the city with minstrels.⁴³⁵ (Until the mid-eighteenth century, London Bridge offered the only passage across the Thames within miles of the city.⁴³⁶) Richard II's approach to London from the south in November 1392 is described in a verse account by Richard Maidstone,⁴³⁷ which records that he was met by the commonalty with choruses of friars singing (Maidstone was himself a Carmelite friar⁴³⁸), the "pleasing melody striking all the air above."⁴³⁹ But Caroline Barron has pointed out that there is no record of music offered

⁴³³ For an example of a chronicle referring to "the people of London" meeting an important visitor, see *Chronicles of London*, 124: *And the pepil of london mett with the Emperowre at the Blakhethe. And soo owre kyng, and the Emperowre and all the lordes, and the pepul of the towne of london rood thorow the toune of london to Westmynster.*

⁴³⁴ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 133, and for a list of royal entries into London and their points of entry see "Appendix A, Royal and other entries 1400-1558," 185-95. The discussion that follows here is not intended as an exhaustive description of the evidence for music at each of those events. Lancashire's notes to her appendix provide references to primary documents, many of which are available in print editions, wherein descriptions of the royal welcome may be found.

⁴³⁵ As in February 1421, for example, when the Grocers paid £8 in wages to the minstrels who rode with them to Blackheath to meet Henry V, and £6 in wages to minstrels the following week when his wife, Catherine of Valois, came to London before her coronation: see Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), *CL*, 88-89, and translated, 1127. Minstrels also rode with the Queen from the Tower to Westminster.

⁴³⁶ Richard Lloyd, "Pre-Reformation Music in the Chapel of St Thomas the Martyr, London Bridge" (MMus thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1995), 2.

⁴³⁷ Richard Maidstone, *Concordia (the Reconciliation of Richard II with London)*, trans. A.G. Rigg, ed. David R. Carlson (Kalamazoo: Published for the Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages in association with the University of Rochester by Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), see 50-79.

⁴³⁸ See the introduction by David R. Carlson to *Maidstone, Concordia*, 8.

⁴³⁹ *Maidstone, Concordia*, 58-59, lines 172-73. Another source describes "friars, monks, priests, clerks, and boys, some singing the *Te Deum* and some the *Summe Trinitati*": *French Epistolary Report of 1392*, excerpt ed. Helen Suggett, (originally published elsewhere) printed and translated in *Maidstone, Concordia*, 91-41 (as part of appendix 1, "Other Accounts of the 1392 Royal Entry), see 91 and 93 for the singing. The *Te Deum* is associated with the sovereign in other chronicles of royal events: consider the example of the singing described in *Gregory's Chronicle* following the victory at Agincourt, see n.251, above.

at the actual boundary of the city at Stonegate, perhaps because the contrite, rather than triumphal, nature of Richard entering into the city on that occasion—there had been a quarrel between city and sovereign⁴⁴⁰—may have made music as he crossed the threshold into the city inappropriate on this particular occasion.⁴⁴¹

At other royal events, however, the Bridge was the location of much music making: in November 1415, when London staged a spectacular welcome for Henry V after his victory at Agincourt and return from France,⁴⁴² trumpets, clarions, and horns sounded when the King entered the bridge at Stonegate,⁴⁴³ and at the drawbridge a choir of boys, dressed as angels, sang psalms with organ accompaniment;⁴⁴⁴ when the Duke of Bedford, regent in the early reign of the young Henry VI, crossed the bridge into London in January 1426, a singer, Lionel, and his small boys dressed as angels sang hymns with organ accompaniment;⁴⁴⁵ in November 1429, three clerks and eight boys were hired to sing on

⁴⁴⁰ And the king had withdrawn the city's right to self-government and imprisoned its officers: see Barron, "The Quarrel of Richard II," 183-85.

⁴⁴¹ Barron, "Pageantry on London Bridge," 91-92.

⁴⁴² A description of this event, from chronicles and other evidence, is given in James Hamilton Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914-29), 2:257-68.

⁴⁴³ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 103: "And, all around them, projecting from the ramparts, staffs bearing the royal arms and trumpets, clarions and horns ringing out in multiple harmony..."

⁴⁴⁴ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 105: "And in a house next to and behind the tower were innumerable boys representing the hierarchy of angels [...] who, at the king's approach, sang together in sweetly sounding chant accompanied by organs, following their texts, this angelic anthem..." Kenneth H. Vickers wrote that these boys sang an English anthem: Kenneth H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, vol. 3 of *A History of England in Eight Volumes*, ed. Sir Charles Oman (London: Methuen & Co, 1913), 357; his source seems to have been a poem (attributed to John Lydgate) that refers to the singing of carols ('*Nowell, nowell' all thei gon syng*), and also has *Ave Rex Anglor* [the anonymous fifteenth-century carol *Ave rex angelorum?*]: see "A Poem by John Lydgate," in *A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483* [eds. N. H. Nicholas and E. Tyrrel] (London: Longman, Rees, et al, 1827), 216-33, especially 231-32.

⁴⁴⁵ Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 102-03, and translated, 1138-49: "Likewise paid for the arrangements proposed and carried out upon London Bridge within a short space of time—since the exact

the bridge when Henry VI himself entered London for his coronation;⁴⁴⁶ and in 1432, when he entered London again, Henry VI was met by minstrels hired by the city companies (the Grocers paid wages to eighteen minstrels and “Thomas with the staffs”⁴⁴⁷) and was escorted onto the bridge, where William Holford, clerk of the Bridge Chapel, and eleven boy choristers and three other singing boys were paid to sing to him.⁴⁴⁸ (These boys must be the fourteen “fair maidens in white” that *Gregory’s Chronicle* records singing a “heavenly song to the King,” praising his victory and welcoming him home;⁴⁴⁹ the text of this new song, *Sovereign Lord Welcome Ye Be*, probably written by a Londoner, survives.⁴⁵⁰) When Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV, came to London in May 1465 for her coronation, a certain Roger, clerk of St Magnus, and his choirboys (five or six) sang at the at the posts of the bridge, and a further 26 singers sang at the drawbridge;⁴⁵¹ further along the bridge, a certain Holme, singing man, and his boys were singing at the door of the

time of their arrival was unknown—for the coming of the lord duke of Bedford and the duchess. That is to say, two separate towers [...] at the end of the swingbridge, with angels, small children singing hymns to be heard by ear, along with organs [...] Likewise to Lionel, a singer/chanter (*leonello Cantatori*), for himself and his boys singing, 6s. 8d.”

⁴⁴⁶ Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 111, and translated, 1146.

⁴⁴⁷ Grocers’ Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), *CL*, 129, and translated, 1162. See also “Thomas the Trumpeter,” chapter 2, for this “Thomas with the staffs.”

⁴⁴⁸ Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 127, and translated, 1161.

⁴⁴⁹ “Gregory’s Chronicle: 1427-1434, pages 161-177,” in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*. For a discussion of “boys” and “maidens,” see “Sources, Methodology, and Problems of Evidence,” chapter 1.

⁴⁵⁰ See “Sovereign Lord Welcome Ye Be,” chapter 5.

⁴⁵¹ Bridgemasters’ Annual Accounts and Rentals, *CL*, 198, and translated, 1190-91. The payment to Roger and the boys is followed by a payment for the washing of six albs and amices, which were for the singers; the record does not indicate whether one of the garments was for Roger himself.

chapel of St Thomas Becket.⁴⁵² Though the royal visitors were the intended audience of this music, nevertheless it was also heard—as it was made—by Londoners.

Kings or queens entering London before their coronation usually crossed the bridge and stayed in the Tower before journeying again the next day to the Benedictine Abbey at Westminster, where the coronation ceremony took place.⁴⁵³ There was music at the coronation itself, and some Londoners were privileged to attend it,⁴⁵⁴ but it was the associated processions—the entry over the bridge to the Tower, and the vigil procession from the Tower to Westminster—that brought commoners crowding into the streets.⁴⁵⁵ Payments made by the city’s companies for minstrels to accompany royalty from the Tower to Westminster before their coronation are extant for Richard II in 1377,⁴⁵⁶ and in February 1403, the Grocers paid £3 to a certain Pael and five other minstrels who were with them

⁴⁵² Bridgemasters’ Annual Accounts and Rentals, *CL*, 198-99, and translated, 1191.

⁴⁵³ The route from the Tower to Westminster is described in Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 19.

⁴⁵⁴ For example, David Gittyns, master of the Vintners’ Company, attended the coronation of Mary in 1553: see Lancashire’s endnote in *CL*, 1415, about the Vintners’ Master and Wardens’ Accounts, 1552-53.

⁴⁵⁵ See the introduction to *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents*, ed. Anne Sutton and P. W. Hammond, 11: “It was the Vigil procession from the Tower to Westminster which was the most important part of all the ceremonies for the king’s ordinary subjects.” The accounts do not appear to be concerned to separate the two processions when there were two, as at the coronation processions of Henry V in April 1413: the King entered London via the Bridge on a Friday, stayed overnight at the Tower, and processed through the city to Westminster on the Saturday (see Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 186). Probably the expenses recorded in the Bridge House Weekly Payments for “singers with their gear, incurred at London Bridge at the king’s coming” (see *CL*, 60, and translated, 1103) were for the Friday only, but the expenses of the companies could be for either or, more probably, both: see Grocers’ Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), *CL*, 60, and translated 1103; and Mercers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 61, and translated 1104, which records the payment “for minstrels at the king’s coronation, with costs.” The mayor, who was in April 1413 a mercer (see *MSL*, 1016), rode with the King from the Bridge to the Tower on the Friday (see Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 186), so it is unlikely that the Mercers did not provide minstrels for that procession. More likely the payments represent two processions.

⁴⁵⁶ Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 11, and translated, 1058: “Paid to the minstrels the king’s coronation day, 40s.”

when the city met Queen Joan at Blackheath and accompanied her to the Tower, and a further 13s. 4d. on the following day when she went from the Tower through Cheppes Syed to Westminster for her coronation;⁴⁵⁷ the Merchant Taylors' account includes wages and two days' expenses for a clarion player, two trumpeters, and four other minstrels at the same two processions.⁴⁵⁸ In February 1421, the Grocers paid £4 to the minstrels who accompanied Catherine of Valois in her pre-coronation procession from the Tower to Westminster.⁴⁵⁹

After their repose at the Tower, kings and queens riding toward their coronation at Westminster went westward from the Tower toward Graschestret, turned right, and then continued west and into Cheppes Syed, the major thoroughfare through the centre of the city. When the entrance into London did not anticipate the coronation of a king or queen, the processional route did not stop at the Tower, but continued northward along Bridge Streete, Newe Fysshestrete [New Fish Street] and Graschestret, and into Cheppes Syed.

Cheppes Syed had its favored locations at which musicians were stationed for royal processions. The city's conduits, along Cheppes Syed, sometimes flowed with wine instead of water, and were often sites of music making, as in 1392, when angels made "great

⁴⁵⁷ Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), *CL*, 40, and translated, 1084: "Paid to Pael, a minstrel, and his five companions the day we rode to Blackheath, sum: £3 [...] Likewise paid to the said minstrels on the morrow when the queen passed through Cheap toward Westminster, sum: 13s. 4d." Note that *CL* suggests "Paul" for *Pael*; "Pavel" is also possible. His name is transcribed as "Panel" in Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), ed. Kingdon, 96.

⁴⁵⁸ Merchant Taylors' Accounts, *CL*, 41, and translated, 1085.

⁴⁵⁹ Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), *CL*, 89, and translated, 1127.

melody and minstrelsy” for Richard II,⁴⁶⁰ and in 1415, when psalms were sung by choirs representing the biblical prophets at the Conduit in Cornhull; at the Great Conduit, choirs were dressed in the likenesses of the apostles and of Kings of England.⁴⁶¹ Children were to sing at the conduits in May 1533, when Anne Boleyn rode from the Tower to Westminster for her coronation,⁴⁶² and in July 1546, minstrels, singing men, and children, were instructed to sing and play their virginals with the “Waits and other pleasant instruments” at the conduits when the city received the Great Admiral of France.⁴⁶³

Farther west along Cheppes Syed was another conduit and the Standard. In November 1501, a choir of angels with “a sweet and solemn noise” sang at a pageant there for Katherine of Aragon,⁴⁶⁴ but the fullest account of her procession, *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, mostly records nothing about music at the many other pageants it describes.⁴⁶⁵ The Waits played at the Standard when Anne Boleyn rode past in May 1533,

⁴⁶⁰ *French Epistolary Report of 1392*, in *Maidstone, Concordia*, 94. Maidstone’s poem also records “a heavenly array, which sang angelic songs” somewhere in Cheppes Syed, but it does not specify where: *Maidstone, Concordia*, 65.

⁴⁶¹ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 107.

⁴⁶² Court of Aldermen, Repertory 9, *CL*, 507-08: *Item yt ys agreed to have iij pageantes one at the ledenhall the second at the standerd yn chepe the thyrd at the litell conduyt in chepe to be goodly hangyd & garnysshed with mynstralsy & chydlerne syngyng at euery of the sayd conduytes [...]*.

⁴⁶³ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 11, *CL*, 693. It is possible that the reference to *Weyttes & other plesaunte Instrumentes* is a continuation of minstrels’, children’s, and singing men’s instruments, but it more likely introduces the city Waits, and their “other pleasant instruments” (which from the 1520s included a sackbut, see chapter 2).

⁴⁶⁴ *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, ed. Gordon Kipling (Oxford: Published for the Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press, 1990), 28.

⁴⁶⁵ The description of Katherine’s procession through London is described in detail in Book II, which records the pageant settings and the speeches given there: *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, 12-38. There is also a description of *ij anglis* [i.e., angels] *with trumpettes and armys upon theim bothe* (though this is perhaps two people costumed as angels with trumpets, not actually trumpeters), and later a reference to *such trumpettes, shalmewes, and sakbotes to a great nombre as cam with the Princes owte of Spayne* that

according to the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*;⁴⁶⁶ in August 1554, the city arranged for the Waits to play there when Philip (later Philip II of Spain), consort of Mary, rode through the city.⁴⁶⁷ After the Standard was the Cross, where chronicles record that a castle was specially constructed for Henry V's procession in 1415, where a choir of "the most beautiful young maidens"⁴⁶⁸ danced on the drawbridge and sang a new song in praise of the King, beginning *Welcome Henry The Fifth, King of England and France*.⁴⁶⁹ Above the

accompanied the Spanish princes riding with Katherine in the procession (note that the *Receyt* suggests that these were Spanish musicians): *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, 26, 31.

⁴⁶⁶ "The Chronicle of the Grey Friars: Henry VIII, pages 29-53," *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*. Earlier chronicle accounts are not so concerned to record details of music: see, for example, the account of Margaret of Anjou's coronation procession in May 1445 in *Gregory's Chronicle: And upon the morowe, that was the Fryday, lordys of the realme, whythe nobylle and grete and costelowe araye, the Mayre of London and the aldyrmen in scharlet, whythe alle the craftys of London in blewe, wythe dyvers dyvysyngys, every craft to be knowe from othyr, rydyng agayne Quene Margarete and brought hyr unto the Toure of London, the quene havynge whythe hyr xvij charys with ladys. And a-pon the morowe, the Satyrday, she was brought thorough London syttyng in a lytter by twyne ij goode and nobylle stedys i-trappyd with whyte satton, and sche was conveyde unto Westemyster. And apon the morowe the Sonday was the coronacyon [...]* (see "Gregory's Chronicle: 1435-1450, pages 177-196," *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*). Music and musicians are entirely absent from this description (which does earlier refer to *many notabyll devysys* [i.e., pageants] *in the cytte, as at the brygge of London, and in othyr dyvers placys, at Ledynne halle, and in Cornehylle, and in iij placys yn Chepe, that ys to say, at the Grete Condyte, and at the Standarde, and at the Crosse, and atte the Lytylle Condyte*). *Gregory's Chronicle* does refer to the trumpeters and clarioners whom Edward IV sent for to bring him to London in June 1461 (see n.428 above), but neither it nor other chronicles describe music in the procession from the Tower to Westminster (see also, for example, *Chronicles of London*, 175-76: *And vpon fryday the xvj [sic] day of June the Mayr of London, with thaldermen and comonys, the mair with his brethren beyng in scarlet and the comonys in Grene, brought the kyng from lambhith to the Tower of London [...]* *And at after none, vpon the saterday, he rood through the Citee to Westmynter*).

⁴⁶⁷ Court of Aldermen, Repertory 13(1), CL, 790: *Item yt was agryed that the comen waytes of the Cytie shall serue at the Standarde in Cheape at the comynge in of the kyng and Quenes maiesties in to the said Cytie & passynge thorowghe the same.*

⁴⁶⁸ For a discussion of chroniclers describing choirs of women singing, see "Sources, Methodology, and Problems of Evidence," chapter 1. Note that the Latin here [*chorus pucherimarum puellarum virginum vestitu candido et cultu virgineo limpidissime ornatarum*] refers specifically to girls; elsewhere the author twice refers to boys "representing angels" [*innumerosi pueri representantes ierarchiam angelicam, vestitu candido*] and "like a host of angels" [*pueri innumerosi, quasi archangelica et angelica multitudo*], but also to "a company of prophets with venerable white hair" [*venerande caniciei cuneus prophetarum in tuniculis et clamidibus aureis*], with no reference to the people playing/representing them. See *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 104-111. See also n.472, below.

⁴⁶⁹ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 109-11. The chronicler also describes the singers "singing together with timbrel and dance," which may suggest musical accompaniment. No evidence for the song has survived except for the incipit, but it was written down; see "Lost Vernacular Songs," chapter 5.

castle's tower a choir of boys, dressed as angels and archangels, sang a *Te Deum* with organ accompaniment.⁴⁷⁰

A third choir, dressed as angels and accompanied by all kinds of musical instruments, sang to Henry V in 1415 as he neared St Paul's Cathedral⁴⁷¹ (as choirs of girls and boys, also with a diverse array of "tuneful instruments of every shape and size," had sung there when Richard II's procession neared the cathedral in 1392⁴⁷²). In 1432, a choir representing the "royal majesty of the Trinity, full of angels" sang "heavenly songs" to Henry VI at the little conduit near the cathedral, and he was received at the cathedral by "the choir and with devout song".⁴⁷³

When they came to the city by water, royalty or other important visitors were met with music and sometimes a pyrotechnical display, as was Henry VII when he came to London by barge in June 1486, as part of an extended royal tour that had begun in March of that year.⁴⁷⁴ The accounts of companies, such as the Leathersellers, record the expenses

⁴⁷⁰ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 111.

⁴⁷¹ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 111: "Around [the canopy on the way out from Cheppes Syde], in heavenly splendour, archangels moved rhythmically together, psalming sweetly and accompanied by every kind of musical instrument [*in omni genere musicorum*], following their texts..."

⁴⁷² *Maidstone, Concordia*, 66-67. Maidstone's poem emphasizes the participation of "either sex" [*sexus utriusque*] in his description of the music-making here; of the instruments, he writes, "Pipe, citole, flute and drum and monochord there were, / And organs, palteries, and cymbals, with the lyre / Sambuckles, citerns, citoles, and trumpets, fiddles too / Great horns and strings, and voices all in harmony..." see 67-69.

⁴⁷³ "Gregory's Chronicle: 1427-1434, pages 161-177," *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*.

⁴⁷⁴ For the pyrotechnical display, see Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 143 and 190, which deals with the expenses of the *schootyng of wyldfyre* recorded in the Leathersellers' Accounts and Inventories (Liber Curtes), *CL*, 236.

of barges “to fete in the King”;⁴⁷⁵ the Drapers and Merchant Taylors each recorded expenses for tabret players;⁴⁷⁶ the Ironmongers recorded the expenses for minstrels, the details of which have been lost.⁴⁷⁷ (The Waits, who are recorded at the mayor’s procession on the Thames later the same year, also probably participated in this display of pageantry on the river, though there is no record of it.) And as they did alongside the *haut* musicians that contributed to the civic display welcoming a visitor on the water, company members at these events appear to have indulged in quieter music that was probably intended for their personal enjoyment and not as a part of the civic spectacle: the Merchant Taylors, for example, record the payment for their tabret players mentioned above, and also a payment to one Crane and his children (probably choristers), and his organs “for the same barge.”⁴⁷⁸

Anne of Cleves’s water entry into London via Greenwich in January 1540 is particularly well recorded: for that occasion, the mayor evidently wrote to the city’s companies and requested that they meet her on barges, with minstrels.⁴⁷⁹ Musicians were

⁴⁷⁵ Leathersellers’ Accounts and Inventories (Liber Curtes), *CL*, 236: *Item paid for a barge hire to fett in the kyng from ffulham.*

⁴⁷⁶ Drapers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 235; Merchant Taylors’ Court Minutes, *CL*, 237.

⁴⁷⁷ Ironmongers’ Register, *CL*, 236: *Item payd in dyuerse costes off fettyng in off the kyng be water ffrom Shene ffor Barge hyere with bred wyne beer and ale And mete And ffor menstrelles as hyt apperyth by a byll off the passelles, xxij s. j d.* (See “Sources, Methodology, and Problems of Evidence,” chapter 1, for a discussion of lost evidence.)

⁴⁷⁸ Merchant Taylors’ Court Minutes, *CL*, 237; see also “Private Music in Barges” in this chapter.

⁴⁷⁹ Receipt of the mayor’s note is recorded in the Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 607. Numerous other companies record payments for barge hire and *haut* minstrelsy (drummers and pipers) for the occasion: for example, Armourers and Brasiers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 598; Blacksmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 599-600; Ironmongers’ Register, *CL*, 609. The Pewterers recorded payments “for the hire of a drumslade and to a man with a pipe,” as well as payments for trumpet banners, though no payments to trumpet players are recorded: Pewterers’ Audit Book, *CL*, 612-13. The Coopers recorded a payment for an unspecified instrument: Coopers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 602: *Payd to hym that played on the instrement in the Barge, iij s. iij d.* Other companies record payments for a minstrel or minstrels in their barge or barges: Drapers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 606; Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 613-14; Wax

hired when royalty left the city, too: the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars* records that the city's companies went with Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in barges with trumpets, shawms, and taberettes when they left London for Westminster by barge, three days after their wedding in St Paul's Cathedral in 1501.⁴⁸⁰

Royal comings and goings were obviously spectacular musical and visual occasions. *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, describing Katherine of Aragon's entry in 1501 remarks on what she and the Spanish princes with her—to which may be added Londoners too—"with great pleasure heard and beheld that day,"⁴⁸¹ and the combination of the royal musicians with the city's own musicians, together with the ringing of bells throughout London, must have been especially striking.⁴⁸²

Punishment and Crime

Punishment for criminal activity in the Middle Ages was a public event, designed to humiliate,⁴⁸³ and one means of attracting the public's attention was with musical instruments: in 1300, when a baker had defrauded his customers, his punishment was to be dragged through the city on a hurdle, led by the banging of a tabor (after the ordeal, the

Chandlers' Master and Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 616. Payments are also found in the companies' accounts for minstrels at the reception of Henry VIII and Katherine Howard in March 1541, and for the coronation entry of Mary in September 1553, for example, see *CL*, s.v. 1540-1, and 1552-3 (under the mayoral years).

⁴⁸⁰ "The Chronicle of the Grey Friars: Henry VII, pages 24-29," *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸¹ *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, 35.

⁴⁸² See n.252, above.

⁴⁸³ Stow writes of the punishments *bringing them forth to the sight of the worlde*: see Stow, *Survey*, 1:189. See also Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 103: "The ritual humiliations had an educational purpose as well. They indicated to the onlookers, particularly the great number of youths and foreigners who flocked to London each year, that the city would punish those who transgressed the laws."

baker threw a bone at the tabor player, breaking his drum);⁴⁸⁴ in December 1326, trumpets were played as the head of Hugh le Despenser was carried through Cheppes Syed and then set upon London Bridge.⁴⁸⁵ More than two centuries later, in July 1553, Henry Machyn records a trumpeter blowing before a prisoner who stood on the pillory.⁴⁸⁶

The pillory—a medieval device for punishment, upon which an offender was made to stand, their movement restricted, sometimes for hours at a time—was at Cornhill,⁴⁸⁷ to the east of the city’s centre, on the major thoroughfare that connected Newgate and its prison in the west to Aldgate in the east. A prisoner who was taken to the pillory was often led there with musical accompaniment. Such accompaniment was already called “the custom of the city” in 1365,⁴⁸⁸ when John de Hakford was sentenced to “undergo the ordeal of the pillory” four times for having falsely testified against a certain Richard Hay; this

⁴⁸⁴ “Calendar: Roll C, 17 February 1299 - 14 October 1300, pages 46-91,” *Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls: 1298-1307*, s.v. “19 March 1299-1300.” Elsewhere in this section I do not repeat the names of those (most often women) whom the city condemned to various humiliating punishments, but because the violence here was perpetrated against a musician, I shall name the offender: it was Richard Davy.

⁴⁸⁵ “The French Chronicle of London: Edward II, pages 248-267,” *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, 1188-1274*, ed. H. T. Riley (London: Trübner, 1863), BHO (accessed 14 February 2020).

⁴⁸⁶ *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 35-36.

⁴⁸⁷ The definition is taken from *OED*. Stow records that the pillory was placed on top of *a strong prison made of Timber called a Cage, with a paire of stockes therein set vpon it*, which itself stood on the former site of *a prison for night walkers, and other suspicious persons [...] called the Tunne vpon Cornehill*: Stow, *Survey*, 188-91. Related to the pillory was the thew, which the documents call “the punishment of the pillory for women,” see for example “Memorials: 1364, pages 315-320,” *Memorials of London*, s.v. “Punishment of the Thewe, for thickening the bottom of a quart measure with pitch.” See also Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 94, 100-103.

⁴⁸⁸ Probably instruments led prisoners that “were to have the punishment of the pillory” as early as 1310-20, as in the examples recorded in the city’s Letter Books D and E: see “Memorials: 1310, pages 71-80,” *Memorials of London Life*, s.v. “Punishment of the Pillory, for pretending to be a serjeant of the Sheriffs of London,” and “Memorials: 1319, pages 130-133,” *Memorials of London Life*, s.v. “Punishment of the Pillory, for selling putrid beef.” This may also be true of the records post-1380 that mention the pillory: it may be that music was a feature but was not necessarily always recorded. Examples of such records, where music is absent, may be found *et passim* in *Memorials of London Life*, see “Index, pages 683-706,” s.v. “Pillory, punishment of the.”

“ordeal” was that De Hakford, once a quarter, was to proceed from Newgate prison, his head shaved and without shoes, westward along Cheppes Syed to the pillory, to the accompaniment of a pair of trumpets, and to remain there for three hours.⁴⁸⁹ Between January and May 1382, six men who had been separately convicted of various fraudulent acts were to be led—sometimes several days in a row—by trumpets and pipes to the pillory,⁴⁹⁰ which served to draw attention to the criminal and their crime. (The crime was made known: when one Londoner had used a doctored boardgame to defraud others, it was put on display near him as he was punished.⁴⁹¹) As the civic documents continue to articulate the punishments ordered for various offenders, they shift from calling for trumpets and pipes to “minstrelsy” (sometimes specifying a pipe, and at other times “loud minstrelsy” or “vile minstrelsy”) from the 1380s and throughout the fifteenth century to draw attention to offenders,⁴⁹² and the sixteenth-century records call for basins and pans

⁴⁸⁹ Letter Book G, *CL*, 7-8, and translated, 1053-55.

⁴⁹⁰ Letter Book H, *CL*, 15-21, and translated, 1061-1067. The Latin given in these records is *cum tubis et fistulis*.

⁴⁹¹ Letter Book H, *CL*, 17, and translated, 1063. Likewise, when a butcher intended to sell putrid beef, the meat was burnt beneath him as he stood at the pillory: “Memorials: 1319, pages 130-133,” Memorials of London Life, s.v. “Punishment of the Pillory, for selling putrid beef.”

⁴⁹² For “minstrelsy,” see for example Court of Common Council, Journal 5, *CL*, 176, and translated, 1182 (1455), *et passim*; for “loud minstrelsy,” see Letter Book H, *CL*, 23, and translated, 1069: *oue haut ministralcie* (1382); for a pipe, see Court of Common Council, Journal 2, *CL*, 96, and translated, 1133: *cum Ministrall videlicet Bappepipe vel hornpype* (1424); for “vile minstrelsy,” see for example Court of Common Council, Journal 8, *CL*, 211 (1473).

ringing before them,⁴⁹³ and later, in Latin, the civic documents call for “the ringing of basins, brass bells, and other ludicrous and strident-sounding instruments of this kind.”⁴⁹⁴

The pillory remained a frequent destination for these processions, but increasingly in the sixteenth century the punishment took prisoners in a cart, again with musical accompaniment, through the public places and merchants’ markets of the city.⁴⁹⁵ These processions were mostly reserved for the city’s commoners, and they took criminal offenders through the city just as the King himself was paraded, and even along some of the same processional route, but to far different music and, it appears, far more often:⁴⁹⁶ there was evidently a resurgence after August 1439, when it was recorded that the customary punishments (with minstrelsy⁴⁹⁷) for particular transgressions had not been enacted for some time and should be so again, and that repeat offenders, their third time offending, were to be led with minstrelsy from the pillory to the city gates and there to be expelled from the city.⁴⁹⁸ In a single week between April and May 1473, some 25 women were led with minstrelsy to the pillory where their offence was proclaimed, and from there

⁴⁹³ See for example Court of Common Council, Journal 11, *CL*, 291: *with basons and pannes afore them* (1510), *et passim* thereafter. For basins and pans “ringing,” see Court of Aldermen, Repertory 3, *CL*, 337.

⁴⁹⁴ For example, Court of Common Council, Journal 14, *CL*, 618, and translated, 1208: *Cum pelvinorum pulsacionibus tintinabulis ereis & alijs huiusmodi ridiculosis Ac stridentibus Instrumentis* (1541), *et passim* thereafter.

⁴⁹⁵ For example, see *ibid*, *et passim* thereafter.

⁴⁹⁶ Anne Lancashire observed that they are recorded in all decades between 1470 and 1558, see Anne Lancashire, *CL*, lxii.

⁴⁹⁷ The punishments for men and women who kept brothels, were deemed bawds, scolds, or “common whores,” or who in other ways transgressed, were noted in 1382, and all included minstrelsy as a part of the offender’s procession toward the pillory: Letter Book H, *CL*, 22-23, and translated, 1068-69. The record indicating that they be revived is Letter Book K, *CL*, 144-45.

⁴⁹⁸ Letter Book K, *CL*, 145.

they were led either westward along Cheppes Syed to Newgate, or eastward along Cornhull and Algatestrete to Aldgate, where they were exiled from the city.⁴⁹⁹

These processions brought commoners—far more frequently women than men⁵⁰⁰—into contact with minstrelsy, and commoners may sometimes have been the “minstrels” themselves: when the records from 1510 call for the prisoners—still mostly women—to be led with basins and pans, perhaps it was as much to encourage Londoners to join them as it was to attract their attention. One can imagine that, seeing the parade of a criminal go past them, other Londoners joined in, hitting whatever iron pans they had to hand. Likewise when the punishment was recorded in Latin, as it frequently was from 1540, and called for “ludicrous and strident-sounding instruments,” this, too, could have been provided by enthusiastic members of the commonalty, who may have joined in these acts of public humiliation, becoming for a short while amateur musicians participating in a civic ritual. Perhaps if Londoners were using whatever household objects were available to them to taunt or draw attention to the offender, musicians might be inclined to use their instruments.⁵⁰¹ (In 1537, one minstrel, John Salmon, from Hertfordshire—a married man but having committed with another woman certain offenses deemed “contrary to the laws of God”—was ordered to play upon his own instrument in Cheppe Syed for the duration

⁴⁹⁹ Court of Common Council, Journal 8, *CL*, 208-11.

⁵⁰⁰ Of the 50 offenders recorded in the archive between 1439 and 1500, 46 are women.

⁵⁰¹ After 1380, the descriptions of such music in the records emphasizes timbre over pitch; the music was percussive, not melodic. By December 1543, this percussive music is described in a civic record as part of the “ancient ritual and custom of the city”: Court of Common Council, Journal 15, *CL*, 676, and translated, 1213.

of his and the woman's public punishment, before they were both exiled from the city for a year.⁵⁰²⁾

Sometimes music was as much a part of the crime as it was the punishment. One man was led to the pillory with trumpets and pipes in May 1382 for having falsely claimed to be a doctor and attempting to treat Joan atte Hache with "a song good for fevers" written on a piece of paper;⁵⁰³ in September 1481, James West, a horner, and William Andrew, a brewer, were summoned to the Commissary Court for having sung a litany in a mocking manner at the Guildhall while they served on a jury there;⁵⁰⁴ elsewhere in the archives the theft of instruments, including Morris bells and a pair of virginals, is recorded.⁵⁰⁵

Private Music in Barges

When the commonalty went on horseback or on the water to welcome the King or take the mayor or sheriffs to Westminster, they heard the music of the trumpeters, singers, and other musicians that gathered or went in procession along the streets and the river; this kind of public music making was available to all. But there is some evidence of payments to

⁵⁰² Court of Aldermen, Repertory 9, *CL*, 561: *At thys courte camme Agneys hopton who was apparaylled yn a mannys rayment & kept company with Iohn Salmon Mynstrell beyng a maryed man & dwelling yn hertford shyre & kept the sayd woman yn mannes Rayment & mysused the same woman contrary to the lawes of god & to the Right perillous example of all other lyke offenders wherfore it ys nowe orderd that the sayd woman shalbe punysshed accordyng to the Iugement gyven yn the booke of dunthorn folio 127 & the man on horsebakke with hys face to the horse tayll with a paper on hys hedde & to play vpon hys owne Instrument afore her & proclamcion to be made of the cawse yn chepe & boman & woman to be banasshed for one yere.*

⁵⁰³ Letter Book H, *CL*, 20-21, and translated, 1066-67. When asked what the "song" [*carmen*] was, Clerk gave the text of the prayer *Anima Christi santifica me*, but when the paper was inspected, no such writing was found on it. Moreover, the court suggested that "a straw under [Joan's] feet would do as much for fevers as [the] song did."

⁵⁰⁴ Commissary Court Act Book, *EL*, 33-34, and translated, 333.

⁵⁰⁵ Court of Common Council, Journal 11, *CL*, 324, and translated, 1201 (theft of bells, AD 1515); Court of Common Council, Journal 12, *CL*, 421, and translated, 1206 (theft of virginals, 1524).

musicians that do not make sense as part of public ceremony: company accounts from the end of the fifteenth century and continuing through the sixteenth century suggest that musicians were also hired to play for private pleasure, not public consumption, albeit in the context of civic events. From the late fifteenth century, by which time the mayor's and sheriffs' processions to Westminster and the entries of royal and other visitors to the city were taking place on the river, records suggest that when company members gathered on their barges at civic events, they also revelled in private, leisurely time during the civic ceremony happening around them,⁵⁰⁶ and hired *bas* minstrels for their enjoyment.

When Londoners welcomed Henry VII by water in 1486, the payment of 4s. 8d. by the Merchant Taylors for a certain Crane and his children in the barge, with organs,⁵⁰⁷ was probably for private music: it is difficult to imagine how the sounds of children's voices would have been heard by anyone other than members of the Merchant Taylors' company sailing in that barge, especially over the sounds of the drumming and the pyrotechnics display.⁵⁰⁸ When the city's companies met Elizabeth of York (wife of Henry VII) in barges before her coronation in November 1487, the Drapers paid a luter to be with them in their barge,⁵⁰⁹ whose music could not have pierced through the sounds of the civic festivities.

⁵⁰⁶ The rowing, of course, was done by the bargemen, to whom various accounts record payments: for example, see Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 176: *Item for 1 barge with xj men, xij s. iiij d.* (among payments for the sheriffs' procession, September 1555).

⁵⁰⁷ Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes, *CL*, 237.

⁵⁰⁸ See "Royal Occasions" in this chapter.

⁵⁰⁹ Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 240: *Item for a luter in the Barge to grenewich the same tyme [i.e., at the fettyng of the Quene fro grenewich to hire Coronation], iiij d.*

In the sheriffs' processions in 1489 and 1493, the Drapers recorded their share for the trumpeters, which they were required to pay, since a draper was presented as sheriff in each of those years.⁵¹⁰ But their accounts include a payment to a certain "Drakys and his fellow" (in 1489) and "Drakes the minstrel" (in 1493) whose payment is listed separately from the payments made to the other ceremonial musicians. The payments were significantly less than the amounts those other musicians received,⁵¹¹ and do not appear to have been part of the expenses for the civic minstrelsy shared between the Drapers and the other companies. The likelihood that the costs of musicians at the sheriffs' processions were shared between the two companies to which the incoming sheriffs belonged was discussed earlier in this chapter,⁵¹² but the Drapers' and Ironmongers' accounts for 1490 record that both companies paid for minstrels in their barges as they went to Westminster for the sheriffs' procession in September, even though that year the office was not occupied by a member of either company (nor was the mayoralty);⁵¹³ they also record payments for minstrels at the mayor's procession in October,⁵¹⁴ but since 1409, only the company to

⁵¹⁰ See appendix 2, table A2.2; see also "Processions of Civic Officials" in this chapter.

⁵¹¹ Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 243: *Item paid the seyde viij trumpettes & to ther marchall for their labour and attendaunce with the Sheriff Maister Capell, lvj s. viij d. [...]* *Item to Drakys and to his ffelowe in the Barge, xx d.* (1489); 247: *Payd for Trumpettes and there hattes when we went to westminster with Mr ffabyan Shireffe, xxxij s. [...]* *Payd for A Rewarde gyvyn to drakes the Mynstrell, xij d.* (1493).

⁵¹² See "Processions of Civic Officials" above.

⁵¹³ The incoming mayor in 1490 was John Mathewe, mercer, and the incoming sheriffs were Henry Cote, goldsmith, and Robert Revell, grocer: see *MSL*, 1027. (The mayor in September 1490 was William White, a draper, however, but this remains an exceptional record of companies contributing to the sheriffs' procession when it is not a member of their own who is taking that office.)

⁵¹⁴ Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 244-45: *Item paid for my lord of Notynghams barge to westmynstre ij times onys with the Sheriffes and another tyme with the maire, xxvj s. viij d. [...]* *Item for Mynstrelles in the Barge, xij d.*; Ironmongers' Register, *CL*, 245: *Inprimus paid to Marten bargeman to brynge the maier and schryues to westmynstre, xxij s. iij d. [...]* *Item paid to the mynstrellis for bothe tymes, vj d.* (For the company of the incoming mayor, see note 513, above.)

which the incoming mayor belonged provided minstrels for that procession,⁵¹⁵ and the incoming mayor that year was a draper.

A record in the Skinners' account for 1492 confirms that at least some of the music heard in the barges must have been for private enjoyment: for the civic processions that year, the Skinners recorded payments for hoods for the city's Waits, who provided the public music, but they also paid 8*d.* to a lute player who played in their barge.⁵¹⁶ *Bas* minstrelsy, like the plucking of a lute, could not have penetrated over the sounds of the rowing of several barges and the convivial drinking and socializing on them, and could only have been enjoyed by people in the immediate vicinity. Likewise in 1503, the Drapers paid 4*d.* total to "two lads with a harp and a lute in the barge," in addition to the sums they paid for the trumpeters and the Waits to play in both civic processions that year;⁵¹⁷ they also paid 1*s.* for two minstrels going "to and fro" in their barge in October 1510,⁵¹⁸ when the mayor was a grocer,⁵¹⁹ and the Grocers, not the Drapers, had the responsibility to provide the ceremonial musicians.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁵ See "Processions of Civic Officials" above.

⁵¹⁶ Skinners' Receipts and Payments, *CL*, 247. The account is not clear about whether the lute player was paid for the September sheriffs' procession, the October mayor's procession, or both: the payment for both barge trips is presented as one item, as is the payment to the bargemen for their drinking money (presumably, for both trips). The payment to the lute player follows immediately.

⁵¹⁷ Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 275. The account is not clear about whether the harp and lute players were hired for the sheriffs' procession, the mayor's procession, or both: it follows a single payment for the hire of the barges on both occasions. The Drapers were responsible for the trumpeters and Waits at both processions, as the incoming mayor, William Capel, and one of the incoming sheriffs, Robert Watts, were members of the company: *MSL*, 1029.

⁵¹⁸ Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 305.

⁵¹⁹ *MSL*, 1030.

⁵²⁰ For music of this kind, there are also records from companies that never had a mayor or sheriff in office, and which therefore never bore the full expense of musicians for these processions. For example, the Brewers' accounts record small payments to minstrels in 1508 and 1509/10: Brewers' Wardens' Accounts,

The records of payments for this kind of private musical consumption are concentrated between 1490 and 1510, though they persist into the sixteenth century,⁵²¹ and there was probably more music of this kind than was recorded in the documents. A single lute player, for example, might have been persuaded to play on a company's barge in return for food and drink, which might not have been recorded as an expense.⁵²² Other kinds of music making would also never have been recorded. For example, members of the various companies probably knew songs that they sang together at times of company and civic rejoicing.

Conclusion

The streets of the late medieval city were filled with music, some of it functional and some of it ceremonial, and the London archive is surprisingly rich with detail about this outdoor music making. Functional music was heard daily or almost daily: different bells rang as clocks would to announce the hours of the day—the documents reveal which bells rang at which hours—and different melodic formulas of ringing announced the hours of prayer or

CL, 287: *Item to William Bepas Bargeman for ij tymes to westminster and home, xxiiij s. [...] Item to the Ministrell, viij d.* (Sept. & Oct. 1508); 291: *Item for the Barge iij tymes goyng to westminster and home agayn with Thomas Bradbury and Sir william Capell knyght than beinge Maires and with the Shrevys, xxxvj s. Item a Ministrell, viij d.* (Oct. 1509 & Jan. 1510, the extraordinary mayoral procession of William Capel, draper, who replaced Thomas Bradbury, who died in office). The minstrel paid in both accounts could have played at one of, or all, of the barge journeys described in the accounts. For the mayors and sheriffs in these years, see *MSL*, 1030.

⁵²¹ For example: Pewterers' Audit Book, *CL*, 576: *Item payed when the maire went to westmenster to take his othe for ij mynstrelles that with vs in the barge, xx d.* (1537, when the incoming mayor was a mercer). See also Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 795: *Item paid to brafelde at byllyngesgate for a barge for ye company when the mayre toke his othe, ij li. [...] Item paid to iij mynstrelles to playe in the barge, vij s. iij d.* (1553, when the incoming mayor was a merchant taylor). For the incoming mayors and their companies, see *MSL*, 1034, 1036.

⁵²² See the discussion of possible methods of payments that did not involve a transfer of money in "Sources, Methodology, and Problems of Evidence," chapter 1.

the events of the liturgy, which commoners heard as they went about their business in the streets; horns and other wind instruments, also with recognizable formulae, announced to Londoners the approach of somebody at the city gates, or reminded them to ready the household waste for collection. Other music, like the “whole blast” of trumpeters, clarioners, and Waits that played in civic processions, and the singing—by men and boys, and women and girls, too—of newly composed music when the king was welcomed into the city, was ceremonial, enriching and amplifying civic and state events that brought commoners into the streets especially.

Some music making served both function and ceremony together: the ringing of a noonday bell could become an act of civic piety, as it was on the Goldsmiths’ feast day; the ringing of bells at funerals and obits announced the departure of the soul from this world but also solemnified the occasion; the calls and alarms made by musicians at night became the ceremonial sounds of the Midsummer Watch, one of the largest and most significant civic spectacles in late medieval London.⁵²³ The “vile minstrelsy” that took criminal offenders to the pillory was both functional and ceremonial, serving to dramatize the punishment with noise and music and warn others against similar activities; plans for music at criminal processions were made ahead of time, like arrangements for civic and royal processions, but the music itself was spontaneous, and the percussive timbre of “ludicrous and strident-sounding instruments” was quite unlike the music that welcomed kings, which in some cases the documents reveal was written down in advance.

⁵²³ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 153.

Just as trumpets and clarions amplified the festivities in civic processions and at royal entries, sombre occasions resonated with the absence of music: the city's bells fell silent for the "Great Three Days" of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday at the culmination of Holy Week; music was perhaps considered unsuitable for the contrite moment when Richard II entered London after the city was reconciled with him in 1392; it was certainly deemed inappropriate that a fanfare of trumpets accompany the incoming mayor, William Walderne, to Westminster in October 1422, so soon after the death of Henry V.⁵²⁴

Music—or the absence of music—in ceremony was planned in advance, and from the fourteenth century on the documents increasingly reveal information about the organization of minstrels and musicians, and their payment. Professional musicians were sometimes paid deposits of "earnest money" to secure their talents in advance; increasingly from the mid-fifteenth century, the companies included civic musicians when making their arrangements, but they did not always pay wages to them. Even when the intended audience was the King himself, Londoners arranged for, made, and consumed the music in the streets, and were also its patrons: the men who were elected to high office especially contributed towards the cost of music at civic processions; musicians were paid with money collected from company memberships or given for specific purposes; special taxes were levied on citizens (and later, noncitizens too) to pay for the expenses of royal welcomes; even after death, a Londoner could continue to contribute to the city soundscape, with bequests for the tolling, repair, and installation of its "well-tuned" bells.

⁵²⁴ See appendix 2, table A2.1, *s.v.* 1422.

There is no surviving example of notated music that was heard in the city's streets, but the text of at least one song appears to have survived in full. Later notated sources may contain the traces of melodies that were familiar to Londoners who knew the song of the city's boatmen, or who delighted in watching and hearing the Morris dance. Sacred and vernacular music blended together; psalm chants (and probably other liturgical music too) were sung by choirs, who also sang newly written songs in English, and music from the liturgy would have been a suitable accompaniment for pageants that visually depicted liturgical themes.

At times, the city passed regulations about the practice of music in the streets, especially about the number of musicians and which companies, at civic events, were entitled to hire them. The same civic events were the city's own standard for excellence in music and ceremony: in the mid-fifteenth century, the mayor's procession was the standard to which the city rose when welcoming Edward IV; in the sixteenth century, celebration of military victory was modeled on Midsummer night. And despite the description here of music that seemingly was only ever functional and ceremonial, evidence attests to the obvious truth that music was also enjoyable: music was played at night, for Londoners' recreation, and the sound of lutes and other *bas* minstrelsy was offered in barges when the commoners gathered on the water for civic events.

IV. Music in the Churches

The liturgy in the later Middle Ages was linked inseparably with music, and London's commoners—called here parishioners—encountered music more often in their parish churches, perhaps, than in any other public space. The Book of Psalms, which is filled with musical imagery and exhortations to praise God with music, was recited weekly to chant in the offices, and the very name given to the Mass—at which attendance on Sundays was obligatory⁵²⁵—is derived from the words *Ite missa est*, which the priest chanted after he had received Communion. Plainchant thus was and remained the most commonly performed, heard, and familiar genre of music before the Reformation: the Epistle and Gospel were recited to chant formulae; chanted versicles and responses alternated between priest and choir, or priest and congregation; chants particular to a day—the Propers—punctuated the liturgy. The unchanging Mass Ordinary texts—such as the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* and the *Sanctus* were common to every Mass and were also chanted to melodies determined by the rank of the feast. A reminder of how inextricably bound was the medieval liturgy, in London as elsewhere, to music and musicians, is found in the traces left of the curate of St Botolph without Aldgate, William Rufford, who held fast to the Roman liturgy during the reforms of Edward VI and, it is recorded, “would not *sing* nor say” the psalms in English instead of the traditional Latin.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁵ For the obligations of attendance, see Norman Tanner and Sethine Watson, “Least of the Laity: The Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian,” *Journal of Medieval History* 32, no. 4 (2006): 409; Richard Lloyd, “Provision for Music in the Parish Church in Late-Medieval London” (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1999), 25.

⁵²⁶ St Botolph without Aldgate CWD, 5r: *Payed the xvij daye of Iulii for vj bookes of the psallmes in englyshe to haue the seruyce of the church there vpon them songe to the ende that the people shulde*

In some churches certain parts of—but never all of—the liturgy, such as the Ordinary, were surrendered to the extemporized or mensural polyphony of the choir (the anonymous *Missa Caput*, recognized as the first true “cyclic” Mass, in which the parts of the ordinary are musically unified, is the product of an English composer). Even when mensural polyphony was heard, very often chant was present within it: the unifying cantus firmus of the *Missa Caput*, for example, is an excerpt of chant from the Sarum rite;⁵²⁷ chant was the basis for polyphonic extemporization in the form of faburden, and chant melodies were the music most commonly played on the organ in the liturgy. The chants for the dead were probably the most commonly heard of all: they were sung at the Requiem Mass, at the time of burial, and again in chantries [through which testators left bequests to pay priests to celebrate masses to ease the passage of their soul through purgatory] and obits [liturgies sung for the dead, usually once a year on the anniversary of death, and sometimes collectively, for the souls of the departed members of a company].

Every Londoner was obliged to be at church on Sundays and on the greater feasts, usually for matins, Mass, and evensong;⁵²⁸ on those days, work was forbidden.⁵²⁹ Feast

vnderstande to prayse god the better Wylliam Rofford curat resysted and wolde not so synge nor say, vi s. (1547/48), emphasis mine.

⁵²⁷ So identified by Manfred Bukofzer: see Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Modern Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 77-78.

⁵²⁸ Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 25; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 11.

⁵²⁹ Tanner and Watson, “Least of the Laity”: 415. In the mid-fifteenth century it was recorded that, on feast days (*holy dayes*), some of the younger bakers enjoyed the festivities—and the *drynkyng*—to such an extent that *many of hem* [them] *be not able to do no good werk a daye after*; when called to defend themselves, the younger bakers claimed that this had long been the custom every Sunday between Michaelmas and the beginning of Lent from *tyme out of mynde*: Letter Book K, *CL*, 148-50, and translated, 1172-73 (1441). In 1526, the Court of Common Council decreed that *lewed Games as to bull Baytyng beere baytyng & horse*

days began with the vigil that was kept on the evening before (and in the London records payments to musicians for playing on the “eve and day” of feasts are found⁵³⁰), and commemorated significant events in the life of Christ or in the lives (or, more often, the deaths) of saints. Feasts of Translation, which commemorated the moving of a saint’s relics to the place where they were kept, were also celebrated, as were Feasts of Dedication, which celebrated the anniversary of a church’s consecration.

Lower masses were celebrated on other days, and details about them may be gleaned from the records of a vestry meeting at St Christopher le Stocks in the early sixteenth century. The Morrow Mass was the earliest, offered for travelers and those whose work began early;⁵³¹ at St Christopher le Stocks, it was kept daily, before 6 a.m. in the summer months, and 7 a.m. in the winter.⁵³² Other devotional masses, such as the Jesus Mass and the Lady Mass, are referenced frequently in the accounts alongside payments to the men who sang them;⁵³³ the Lady Mass at St Christopher le Stocks was sung “solemnly, by note” by the priests and clerks on every Saturday that was a workday, outside of Lent.⁵³⁴

baytyng, which had apparently become popular entertainments on Sundays and other holy days, were not to take place at the same time as divine services: Court of Common Council, Journal 12, *CL*, 454.

⁵³⁰ For example, St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 34: “Paid to an organ player on St Andrew’s eve and day, 6*d*. [...] Paid for an organ player on Candlemas eve and day, 8*d*. [...] Paid to an organ player the said eve and day [of our translation], 4*d*. [...] Paid to an organ player on Corpus Christi eve and day, 8*d*.” (1478/80).

⁵³¹ Hugh Baillie, “London Churches, Their Music and Musicians, 1485-1560” (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1957), 45.

⁵³² St Christopher le Stocks CWD, 115v.

⁵³³ Baillie called the Lady Mass “the most important daily service, sung with a good deal more splendour than the other daily offices”: Baillie, “London Churches,” 45.

⁵³⁴ St Christopher le Stocks CWD, 115r. During Lent, the High Mass, Evensong, and Compline were to be sung by note every workday, see 115v.

With these and the masses that were sung for the souls of the dead in purgatory, there could thus be several masses in any one church each day: at St Christopher le Stocks, it was recorded that chaplains and priests were not to celebrate Mass simultaneously on weekdays, but rather one after the other between the Morrow Mass and the High Mass, “to please God and for the consolation of the people that shall come.”⁵³⁵ Anthems, psalms, and other devotional chants, such as the *Salve Regina*, were sung nightly. The dead were commemorated at funeral liturgies and obits [the reenactment of a funeral service at regular intervals after death⁵³⁶] in which the office of the dead was recited, beginning with the *Placebo*, the first chant of Vespers (sung the night before) and continuing with the *Dirige*, the first chant of matins in the morning. That these liturgies were named for their chants—just as the Requiem Mass for the dead took its name from the introit chant, *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine*—and that Londoners were conversant in them, indicates their familiarity with the plainchant repertoire.

The music in London’s parish churches has been the subject of previous scholarship. Hugh Baillie’s 1957 doctoral dissertation, “London Churches, Their Music and Musicians, 1485-1560,”⁵³⁷ described the officers of the churches and their roles, and the musical functions of individuals (mostly clerks) and their biographies; his earlier article, “A London Church In Early Tudor Times,” is a concentrated study of the musical

⁵³⁵ St Christopher le Stocks CWD, 115v: *Item that owre seid chapelyns prestis shalnat on the werke dayes go to ther masse too at ones exsepte for a lawfull cawse shewed vn to the parsun or vn to his debyte and by them ad mytted but that they shall disspose them among themselfe that they go to ther masses immediatly the on after the other so that be twene the morow masse and the hye masse ther masses may be done in gud order to the plesure of god & to the consolacion of the pepull that shall come thereto [...].*

⁵³⁶ See Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 62.

⁵³⁷ Baillie, “London Churches,” *op. cit.*

culture of a single church, St Mary at Hill.⁵³⁸ More recently, Richard Lloyd's 1999 dissertation, "Provision for Music in the Parish Church in Late Medieval London,"⁵³⁹ examined mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth-century archival documents from parish churches, including churchwardens' accounts and chantry foundation documents, and observed that the increased opportunities for polyphony in some churches occurred as the result of surplus testamentary funds remaining to the church after the deceased's bequest was fulfilled; these surpluses, Lloyd concluded, would provide for the additional musical staff drawn from the city itself, who were needed to perform polyphonic music on especially important feasts. Baillie also noted the prevalence of polyphony in the liturgy on feasts, concluding that as many as ninety percent of London parish churches may have heard polyphony on "the most significant days," and he further suggests that "a great many" may have heard polyphony on Sundays and feasts.⁵⁴⁰

While the work of Baillie and Lloyd has done much to illumine the potential for polyphony in London's churches, the "music" of their dissertations' titles is limited to "mensurally notated, polyphonic music," and it is only that kind of music making to which Lloyd could have been referring when he called St Mary at Hill "extremely musically active—perhaps one of the most musically active churches in the city";⁵⁴¹ all churches

⁵³⁸ Hugh Baillie, "A London Church in Early Tudor Times," *Music & Letters* 36, no. 1 (1955): 55-64.

⁵³⁹ Lloyd, "Provision for Music," *op. cit.*

⁵⁴⁰ Baillie, "London Churches," 219.

⁵⁴¹ Lloyd, "Provision for Music," 57. Baillie used the same language to describe St Peter Westcheap, calling it "actively musical": Baillie, "London Churches," 43.

heard and performed plainchant, and the omission of plainchant from the emphases of earlier studies creates a lacuna that this dissertation addresses.⁵⁴²

A general overview of the music of London's cathedral, St Paul's, has most recently been provided by Ian Spink,⁵⁴³ though his survey begins in 1540, in which decade many of the customs described in this chapter ended or were much changed, including the foundation of perpetual chantries. Chantries at St Paul's Cathedral c.1200-1548 have also recently been discussed by Marie-Hélène Rousseau.⁵⁴⁴ But London commoners were more attached to their parish church than to their cathedral: Caroline Barron, in her chapter "London and St Paul's Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages,"⁵⁴⁵ showed that the cathedral remained a civic space for Londoners—it was the destination of processions and celebrations of thanksgiving, as chroniclers report⁵⁴⁶—but "their [Londoners'] hearts were

⁵⁴² The second paragraph of Baillie's article, for example, begins "Though the records of St. Mary's begin in 1420, they contain no mention of polyphonic music until 1478" (Baillie, "A London Church": 55). But manuscripts of chant (two Mass books, six antiphoners, four graduals, and four processions) are recorded in an inventory of 1432: St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 27. (Littlehales gives the year as 1431, but the manuscript indicates that it is 1 May 10 Henry VI [i.e., 1 May 1432]: St Mary at Hill CWD, 9r.)

⁵⁴³ Ian Spink, "Music, 1540-1640" in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004*, eds. Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004), 312-16.

⁵⁴⁴ Marie-Hélène Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1200-1548* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

⁵⁴⁵ Caroline Barron, "London and St Paul's Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Medieval English Cathedral: Papers in Honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig, Proceedings of the 1998 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Janet Backhouse (Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 126-49.

⁵⁴⁶ For example, "The Chronicle of the Grey Friars: Henry VIII, pages 29-53," *BHO* (accessed 18 February 2020): *Also that day that the kynge came owte of hys chamber to come to the Gray freeres tydynges was browte hym that the Frenche kynge was tane by the duke of Burgone. Also there was gevyne commandement unto the mayer that that nyght that there shulde be a gret bonfyer at Powlles churche dore, and there to be sett a hoggys hed of rede and another of claret for the pepulle to drynke that wolde for the good tydynges. And the second day after was satterday at nyght was a grete wache thorow all the citte as it is wonte to be at mydsomer, and in every stret a bone fyer. And the sonday after, wyche was the second of lent, the kynge, qwene, and princes, with all other stattes both spirituall and temporall, came to Powlles, and*

truly engaged with the parish churches,”⁵⁴⁷ and in the detail that follows in this chapter, it is apparent that even processions on the great feast days, which elsewhere brought together the entire city, were celebrated in London on the scale of the parish.⁵⁴⁸

The musical experience of London commoners in their parish churches is the subject of this chapter. The role of clerks is examined in “Clerks and Church Musicians,” alongside hired singers, with examples of individuals who left traces in the documents. The musicality of parish clerks is considered, though only inasmuch as they were the organizers foremost, and not always the providers, of music in the liturgy; their professional corporation, the Fraternity of St Nicholas, or Brotherhood of Parish Clerks—which Baillie called “one of the most glittering associations of musicians that has ever existed”⁵⁴⁹—is discussed more fully in Lloyd’s dissertation, and in the histories of the parish clerks’ company and their documents.⁵⁵⁰

The sections on “Boy Singers” and “Organs” examine the evidence for the only other contributors to the music of the liturgy, alongside adult male singers. Children are particularly hard to locate in the evidence; in some cases, their presence must be inferred

there was songe Te Deum. See also the examples of celebrations at the birth of the future Edward III and others described in “Royal Occasions,” chapter 3.

⁵⁴⁷ Barron, “London and St Paul’s Cathedral,” 149, see also 134, 138-39.

⁵⁴⁸ Also for the interaction between the cathedral precinct and the men and women of medieval London, see Caroline M. Barron and Marie-Hélène Rousseau, “Cathedral, City and State, 1300-1540,” in *St Paul’s: The Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004*, eds. Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004), 33-44.

⁵⁴⁹ Baillie, “London Churches,” 109.

⁵⁵⁰ Reginald H. Adams, *The Parish Clerks of London: A History of the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks of London* (London and Chichester: Phillimore, 1971).

indirectly. The names of only a very few boy singers are recorded in the documents; they are introduced in this section, which also examines the evidence for them and the role(s) they played in the churches.

Organs, conversely, are more explicitly recorded in the evidence, albeit rarely with details: tables here document what is known of the organ in London, by church and by year; this section also describes the interaction between organ builders and churchwardens for the purchase and repair of the instruments. John Howe, with his family, emerges as the most attested musical figure in late medieval London, and there are many references to him in the churchwardens' documents. The organ in late medieval England has recently been the subject of scholarly interest,⁵⁵¹ yet detailed documentation is sparse and rarer still are surviving medieval organs. Those that survived the collapse into disuse or sale in the religious upheaval of the mid-sixteenth century faced a greater challenge in the seventeenth century, when Parliament ordered the “speedy demolition” of all organs.⁵⁵²

The section on the “Boy Bishops” discusses the first of several occasions throughout the year that brought Londoners into particular contact with sacred music: in the Christmas season, among other festivities, the boys went through the streets singing in exchange for money. The sections on “Palm Sunday” and “Corpus Christi Day” consider two of the major annual feasts, which the documents reveal were musically spectacular. The evidence for London's observations of customs that were widespread is examined: music proper to the day was sung by children and choirs; processions invited the

⁵⁵¹ See, for example, the volumes edited by David J. Smith and Iain Quinn in the bibliography.

⁵⁵² Nicholas Thistlethwaite, “The English Organ—An Overview,” in *Studies in English Organ Music*, ed. Iain Quinn (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 5.

participation of minstrels. While those feasts were celebrated by all of London's churches, other feasts of parochial significance are discussed next in "Dedication Feasts and Feasts of Patron Saints." A final section on "Company Feasts and Dinners" explores the evidence for the religious piety of London's trade companies, with particular emphasis on two companies, the Goldsmiths and Merchant Taylors, and the role of music in their corporate celebrations within and outside of the churches.

Clerks and Church Musicians

In a sense, everybody who participated in the liturgy was a musician.⁵⁵³ Hugh Baillie and Richard Lloyd have previously examined the musical roles of the staff of London's parish churches, from the rector (who was very often absent) down through the hierarchy that included other priests (the vicar, curate, and priests sometimes attached to chantry foundations or assigned to masses such as the Morrow Mass or the Lady Mass).⁵⁵⁴ Though Baillie identified a number of London priests who had earned degrees in music,⁵⁵⁵ it was, as he writes, the clerks, like the William Rufford earlier mentioned, who were the "core" and "mainstay" of music in London's parish churches.⁵⁵⁶ In the documentary evidence, it is the clerk who emerges as the facilitator and, often, performer of music, sometimes alongside other hired singers (often called "clerk" or "conduct"), choirboys, and organ

⁵⁵³ See Baillie, "London Churches," 39: "Every churchman had necessarily to be something of a musician."

⁵⁵⁴ Baillie, "London Churches," chapter 2, especially 38-72; Lloyd, "Provision for Music," chapter 1, especially 28-50.

⁵⁵⁵ Baillie, "London Churches," 42-45.

⁵⁵⁶ Baillie, "London Churches," 53, 83.

players. The clerk's other duties included service to the priest, attention to the font and altar, and care for the church's books, lights, and vestments.⁵⁵⁷

From the thirteenth century on, canon law required that every priest with the charge of a parish should have the assistance of a clerk, whose duties included singing and reading.⁵⁵⁸ Though the word "clerk" is etymologically linked to that of "priest" (ultimately via the Latin *clericus*), he was not a priest, but a member of the laity, who could marry (an example of a married London clerk, Symond Jenynges, is given below).⁵⁵⁹ In the London churchwardens' accounts, the term "clerk" is frequently used, along with "conduct" and "singing man," to denote an individual hired specifically for a musical purpose, but this confuses the parish clerkship with a hired singer; that the term "clerk" is used so often, both for the actual parish clerk and for hired singers, often makes it difficult, as Baillie has noted, to determine which individual holds the permanent clerkship of a parish church at any given time.⁵⁶⁰ The 1535/36 account of All Hallows Staining, for example, records modest payments to "clerks to help to sing in the choir at Christmas";⁵⁶¹ these must be temporary, hired singers. (The sections below concerning music on feast days further

⁵⁵⁷ See Adams, *The Parish Clerks of London*, 2-4, and 25-27, which renders into modern English two passages from a mid-fifteenth century document of St Stephen Coleman Street illustrative of clerks' duties.

⁵⁵⁸ Lloyd, "Provision for Music," 39 (referring to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX, 1230).

⁵⁵⁹ Adams, *The Parish Clerks of London*, 4.

⁵⁶⁰ Baillie, "London Churches," 83. Strictly speaking the term "clerk" could be applied to anyone of any order or rank in the church, though it here and generally refers to the clerks in the lesser orders whose duty was to assist the priest: see Adams, *The Parish Clerks of London*, 1-2. It is in this general sense that the term is employed in the *Book of Common Prayer, 1549*, in Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), for example 22: *After the Gospell ended, the priest shall begin 'I beleve in one God.' The clerkes shall syng the rest.*

⁵⁶¹ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 110v/cxl^ov.

indicate the prevalence of the term “clerk” to denote singers who were hired for feasts.) A sense of the interchangeability of terms is found in the 1547/48 account from St Alphege, where the scribe recorded a payment of 4*d.* to the clerks who sang on Pentecost, but began to write “choir” instead of “clerks”.⁵⁶²

The roll of London musicians given in appendix 1 of this dissertation is not an exhaustive list of the clerks who can be named from London, who are too numerous—an extant roll of the Fraternity of St Nicholas alone contains thousands of names from the years 1449-1521 that are not included⁵⁶³—and otherwise too difficult to identify in the written records, which do not always record the names of individuals alongside the offices or positions they held. Moreover, they were not hired as “musicians” in the modern sense of the word, but as administrators, even though their duties often included the performance of music.

Recognizing that a number of London’s clerks were musical, if not “musicians,” particular effort has been made to isolate, where possible, those clerks who are recorded as having musical duties beyond “reading and singing,” such as playing the organ or teaching children to sing, and to include those in appendix 1. An example of one such clerk is Symond Jenynges, who served at St Martin Outwich for nearly twenty years, from 1525 to 1544, appearing first in the 1525/26 churchwardens’ account in receipt of his clerkship’s wages beginning at the Lady Day quarter, Annunciation 1525.⁵⁶⁴ He was evidently

⁵⁶² St Alphege CWD, 100r: *Payde to the ~~quer~~ clarkes on Wytsonday, iiij d.*

⁵⁶³ *The Bede Roll of the Fraternity of St Nicholas*, eds. N. W. James and V. A. James (London: London Record Society, 2004), BHO (accessed 10 January 2020).

⁵⁶⁴ St Martin Outwich CWD, 41r/44.

married, as the 1527/28 account records a payment to his wife for washing, probably the vestments of the church;⁵⁶⁵ it was noted earlier that the clerkship, existing outside of the holy order of the priesthood, was compatible with married life.

Jenynges continues to appear in the later records of St Martin Outwich,⁵⁶⁶ but by 2 July 1542, he had resigned his service because of his advanced years. A meeting was held in the vestry with the parson, churchwardens, and “other of the most substantial and honest parishioners”—that is to say, an assembly of London’s commoners—at which it was resolved that Jenynges be given a yearly pension of £2 13s. 4d., paid in quarterly installments.⁵⁶⁷ This document reveals something of his musical contribution to the liturgy over his period of service, because it records that Jennings, “as long as he shall be able shall endeavour himself and give his attendance and diligence to the help and maintenance of divine service” on Sundays, and on feasts and at their vigils, “in keeping and playing upon the organ, as in singing and reading, as he has been used and accustomed to do in times past.”⁵⁶⁸ (The section on “Organs” below mentions the prevalence of churches known to have had an organ in operation but without payments to an organ player; probably this duty was in those cases fulfilled by a clerk.)

⁵⁶⁵ St Martin Outwich CWD, 45r/48.

⁵⁶⁶ In the 1541/42 accounts, for example: St Martin Outwich CWD, 50r/56.

⁵⁶⁷ St Martin Outwich CWD, 7v: [...] *The said parson churchwardeyns and parochyanes of oon assent consent and agreament of theyre benyvolence and charitable myndes yn consideracyon of the good true & diligent seruyce whiche the saide Symond heretofore hath doon to the sayd parisshe and herafter yntendith to do to his power haue given and grauntid vnto the saide Symon an Annuytie or yerely pencyon of iiij markes sterlynge by the yere duryng the lyff naturall of the same Symon [...].*

⁵⁶⁸ St Martin Outwich CWD, 7v.

One Henry Townsend, who had already been in receipt of yearly wages at St Martin Outwich from Annunciation 1540,⁵⁶⁹ was appointed to the “service of clerkship” in Jenynges’s place.⁵⁷⁰ The churchwardens noted that if Townsend was unable to play the organ as Jenynges had, then the duty fell to Townsend to find someone to play the organ and assist in reading and singing, at his own charge.⁵⁷¹ That the responsibility for finding an organ player, if indeed Townsend was unable to “keep the organ” himself, still remained with him indicates something of the clerk’s organizational role in providing the music of the liturgy and the church: the clerk was evidently responsible for music, and in many cases was sufficiently musical to provide it himself; but not being able to do so was not an impediment to holding the position, as it evidently was not for Henry Townsend.

Also in their organizational role, the clerks might be responsible for the additional singers who sometimes supplemented feast-day celebrations: the accounts of St Peter Westcheap for the 1520s and 1530s reveal that the clerk there was responsible for providing food and drink in payment to singers on feast days.⁵⁷² Probably, through his

⁵⁶⁹ St Martin Outwich CWD, 49r/54. (Note that Baillie, “London Churches,” 291 lists him “Clerk, St Martin Outwich, 1540-44,” but though he was performing the duties of a clerk he did not hold the actual parish clerkship until he was appointed to it in 1542.)

⁵⁷⁰ St Martin Outwich CWD, 7v: [...] *The sayd parson churchwardeyns and parochyanes the daye and yer aforsaid haue given and graunted the saide rowme and seruyce of clarkeshipp to henry Townsend with all the rest of the clarkes wages that shall remayn ouer and aboute the saide Sum of iiij markes [...].*

⁵⁷¹ St Martin Outwich CWD, 6r (which appears to be a continuation of 7v[?]): *And yf yn case that after the decease of the saide Symond the saide Henry be not able & suffycient of hymself to do his dutye and seruyce yn the churche and also perfytely to kepe and playe at the organs acordingly as the saide Symond hathe vsyd and doon yn all his tyme That then the saide Henry shal fynd oon sufficyent and able man to vse and play at the saide organs & to syng and rede at seruyce tyme always as hath been vsid and acustomyd at the propre cost and charge of the saide Henry [...].*

⁵⁷² St Peter Westcheap CWD, 213v: *Item payde to the clarke on seynt georges day for the syngyng men for drynke, ij s. [...]. Item payde to the clarke for syngyng men, ij s. (1520/21); 196v: Item payed to the clarke for to macke the synggyng men to dryng on sent peterse day in lent, iiij s. (1522/23); 36v: Item payde to the clerke for drynke and meate for the Syngers on lamas Daye, ij s. viiij d. (1534/35).*

connections with the parish clerks' company, the clerk was the most logical person to engage them. William Mundy, as part of his duty as the parish clerk of St Mary at Hill, traveled from London to Rochester—a round trip of some sixty miles, as the crow flies—in May 1557 to hire a bass to sing in his church.⁵⁷³

Clerks could also have responsibility for the church bells. The 1510/11 account of St Mary at Hill records that while the church's bells were under repair, four men from the parish—Jentyll, Russell, Althorpe and Condall—went to a foundry to learn “whether Smythes bell were tuneable or not,” taking with them the clerks of St Anthony's hospital.⁵⁷⁴ It was noted in the previous chapter that the sounds of London's streets were punctuated day and night by the tolling of bells; often, their tolling was the responsibility of a sexton (as at St Michael le Quern, where the day bell and curfew bell were tolled in the 1520s and 1530s by an Adrian, and later by Whilliam Hatte⁵⁷⁵), but in the absence of a sexton, this duty could fall to the clerk, in whom ultimate responsibility for all the church's music—chant, singers, organs, bells—apparently rested. The detailed description of the clerks' duties written in the mid-fifteenth century at St Stephen Coleman Street records that he was to help the sexton ring the peal,⁵⁷⁶ and to ring the curfew in the sexton's absence. When

⁵⁷³ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 406.

⁵⁷⁴ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 274.

⁵⁷⁵ St Michael le Querne CWD: 39r (1523/24), 86r (1535/36), *et passim*.

⁵⁷⁶ St Stephen Coleman Street CWD, in Adams, *The Parish Clerks of London*, 25-27.

Henry VIII died in January 1547, it was the clerk of All Hallows Staining who was paid “for ringing at the *Dirige* and mass.”⁵⁷⁷

There are many examples of clerks also being responsible for churches’ collections of notated music, and they could supplement their income by copying out music to be sung in the church. The 1487/88 account of St Mary at Hill records a payment of 6s. 8d. to Thomas Ferour, clerk of St Andrew’s, for mending an antiphoner and also for “writing it” and “noting it”;⁵⁷⁸ in the 1540s, James Chaunceler, at St Dunstan in the West, was paid 10s. for four prick song books.⁵⁷⁹ Robert Colson, clerk of St Benet Gracechurch, was paid 15s. 8d. in 1548/49 “for the pricking of certain songs” into four song books.⁵⁸⁰ He was paid 9s. 6d. the next year “for the pricking of certain songs into the great song books,”⁵⁸¹ and the next account records a payment of 12s. 4d. to “Thomas Colson for pricking of certain songs into the four books.”⁵⁸² (“Thomas” is probably a scribe’s error for “Robert.”⁵⁸³) At St Dunstan in the West, it was the clerk who “set forth the service in English” and was paid 5s. for doing so, in 1548/49.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁷⁷ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 139v/clxxiiiiv.

⁵⁷⁸ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 131.

⁵⁷⁹ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 106v: *Item paide to James Chaunceler ffor iiij pricke songe bookis, x s.* (1541/42). Baillie has identified him as the clerk, see Baillie, “London Churches,” 261.

⁵⁸⁰ St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 18.

⁵⁸¹ St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 34 (1549/50).

⁵⁸² St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 43 (1550/51).

⁵⁸³ Baillie, “London Churches,” 263: “The latter entry is made in favour of Thomas Colson—no doubt a scribe’s error.” See also “Sources, Methodology and Problems of Evidence,” chapter 1.

⁵⁸⁴ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 133v.

Boy Singers

Boys, with their higher, unbroken voices, were a common part of musical life in the later Middle Ages. Girls and women sang outdoors, in the city's streets, but were prohibited (outside of the convent) from singing in the liturgy, though women and men alike would have recognized the repertoire of hymns and other chants. The earliest reference to boy singers in a London church dates from 1398, by which time four boys were singing the daily services in St Thomas's Chapel on London Bridge,⁵⁸⁵ though they are recorded much earlier still at the city's cathedral: boys are mentioned in the statutes of the Dean of St Paul's Cathedral from the late twelfth century (c.1180-1200), which reveal that they were then living with the almoner.⁵⁸⁶ At the turn of the fifteenth century, statutes for the residentiary canons of St Paul's Cathedral include among the financial obligations of a first-year canon the expenses of two boys who rang the bells,⁵⁸⁷ and who perhaps also sang the liturgy there.

At least from the late 1470s, St Magnus had four boy singers, as they appear in the 1477/79 account of St Mary at Hill, where the "four children of St Magnus," who were obviously visiting choristers, were paid 4*d.* to sing there on a feast day or feast days.⁵⁸⁸ Then in 1489/90, the wardens of St Mary at Hill engaged two children on a permanent basis: the 1489/90 account includes payments of 3*s.* 4*d.* each to two children, Thomas

⁵⁸⁵ Lloyd, "Provision for Music," 50.

⁵⁸⁶ Statutes of Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, *EL*, 14, and translated, 322 (c.1180-1200); see also Erler's endnote, 351.

⁵⁸⁷ Statute for Residentiary Canons, *EL*, 22-23, and translated, 329 (1399); see also Erler's endnote, 354.

⁵⁸⁸ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 81 (the payment to the children is combined with expenses for Palm Sunday, Corpus Christi, St Barnabas Day, and All Saints' Day).

Bynge and Robert, for their wages from Midsummer to Michaelmas, 1490, alongside the costs of their shoes, shirts, and robes.⁵⁸⁹ The account reveals that the children received payments for participating in special feast-day processions in addition to their wages.⁵⁹⁰

Thomas Bynge and Robert appear again in the 1490/91 account: Thomas was paid 5s. for singing for three-quarters of the year, from Christmas 1490 to Midsummer 1491, was given three pairs of shoes during that time, and another robe was newly made for him; Robert was paid 6*d.* less than Thomas because he did not remain at St Mary at Hill quite so long (he also received three pairs of shoes).⁵⁹¹ Neither Thomas nor Robert appears in the next account, but another boy, Everod, was paid 6*s.* 8*d.* for the Christmas 1491 quarter.⁵⁹²

After Thomas, Robert, and Everod, the names of boy singers at St Mary at Hill are not recorded, though boys continued to be employed. (The accountants are not concerned to record the names of children, since the money is paid to the clerk, choirmaster, or whoever else carries responsibility for the children; it is fortunate that they should have left even the traces of Robert, Thomas Bynge, and Everod.) The 1492/93 account of St Mary at Hill and the accounts thereafter name instead one William Bower “and his

⁵⁸⁹ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 147-48 (Thomas’s surname is not given until the 1490/91 account; see 162).

⁵⁹⁰ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 149: *Item to ij childern that went on procession on Seynt barnabes daye & on corpus christi daye, iiij d.* (both feasts fell within the Midsummer quarter, for which the children were paid their wage separately).

⁵⁹¹ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 162.

⁵⁹² St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 172.

children,”⁵⁹³ in connection with feast-day music at the church.⁵⁹⁴ But the children were probably in regular service: the 1493/94 account records a payment of 1s. to “a child that sang treble to help the choir on the Christmas holy days,” probably in the absence of one of the church’s own children;⁵⁹⁵ the 1514/15 account includes a reward for the clerks and children for singing Mass and Evensong;⁵⁹⁶ the 1516/17 account includes the costs for the repair of children’s vestments,⁵⁹⁷ and expenses for making twelve children’s surplices are found in the 1523/24 account.⁵⁹⁸ That vestments were repaired and replaced indicates their ongoing use. In the 1520s the accounts also include a payment of 3s. 4d to John Northfolke, then the master, for his company of children to enjoy recreation time in 1523/24 and 1524/25.⁵⁹⁹

At the same time that boy singers first appear in the records of St Mary at Hill, William Bower’s school for them at the church also appears.⁶⁰⁰ Mary Erler, in REED’s

⁵⁹³ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 186: *Item, for wyne on sentt barnabyis euyn for bowier and hys chylderyn and othyr prestes and clarkys att the sone, viij d.* Bower and his school appear in the 1489/90 account, at the same time that the children appear: St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 148: *Item, spent vppon bower at his scole, j d.* Baillie has identified him as the choirmaster of St Mary at Hill at the same time: see Baillie, “London Churches,” 259, s.v. “Bowes (Bowyer), William,” and *EL*, appendix 10, 311.

⁵⁹⁴ And throughout the 1490s: see *EL*, appendix 10, 310-11.

⁵⁹⁵ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 197.

⁵⁹⁶ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 290.

⁵⁹⁷ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 292.

⁵⁹⁸ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 321.

⁵⁹⁹ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 322: *Paid to Northfolke and his compeny & the children when that Mr parson gave to them a playng weke to make mery, iij s. iiij d.* (1523/24); 327: *Paid to Iohn Northfolke & the conductes & the Children in the playng weke aftur christemas for to Sport them, iij s. iiij d.* (1524/25). There is also receipt of 6s. 8d. from Northfolke *for a chambre for a scole* in the same account, see 326.

⁶⁰⁰ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 148; *EL*, appendix 10, 310.

Ecclesiastical London volume, provides account entries concerning the children and their master throughout the first half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁰¹ The 1529/30 account includes a payment for making a desk for the school, and also for a “book of plainsong of the offices of Jesus Mass and Our Lady’s Mass for the children,” which cost 2s. 2d.⁶⁰² Literacy in music probably formed a part of the education at the school, perhaps from the 1490s, when it was led by Bower, and through the sixteenth century. It appears that children continued to support the liturgy regularly: the 1539/40 account records that a treble was paid 3s. 4d. for singing in the choir, probably again in the absence of one of the permanent boy singers.⁶⁰³

Elsewhere, boy singers are recorded in the sixteenth century: children were singing in the choir at St Dunstan in the East from the turn of the sixteenth century, when the 1500/01 account records a payment of £2 4d. “to John Selers for his children and a man” from Midsummer to Michaelmas.⁶⁰⁴ The following year’s account records the receipt of £2 from the parson towards the wages of a conduct, named elsewhere in the same account as John Martyn, for the Lady Mass “and to teach the children of the choir,”⁶⁰⁵ and the 1502/03 account also records a payment to Martyn “for the keeping of Our Lady Mass and

⁶⁰¹ *EL*, appendix 10, 310-13.

⁶⁰² St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 349.

⁶⁰³ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 382.

⁶⁰⁴ St Dunstan in the East CWD, 37r.

⁶⁰⁵ St Dunstan in the East CWD, 39v: *Item receyvyd of the parson for the wagys of the conducte for our lady masse and for to teche childern for the quere, xl s.* (1501/02). Martyn is named as the conduct in the same account, see 41r: *Item paide to Iohn martyn conducte for our lady masse, ix li.*

teaching the children,” noting especially that the choir sang every Sunday and on every double feast of the year.⁶⁰⁶

At other churches, the presence of children can also be inferred from references to a choirmaster: at St Michael Cornhill, Henry Orlow was appointed at Christmas 1509, as master to four choristers;⁶⁰⁷ at St Margaret Pattens, Richard Griffith and “his company” of children were paid to sing the Jesus Mass and the *Salve Regina* before the rood screen for three quarters of the year, for £1 10s. in the 1516/17 account,⁶⁰⁸ and then for the entire year, for £2, in each of the 1517/18 and 1518/19 accounts.⁶⁰⁹ References to Griffith and “his children” continue into the mid-1520s.⁶¹⁰

The *Salve Regina* was also sung nightly at St Mary Woolnoth, at least from 1539/40, when a priest and a conduct, Thomas Eve, and his children were paid £10 for it and also for singing the Lady Mass throughout the year.⁶¹¹ The 1540/41 account records a payment for the cloth and making of four surplices for children in the choir,⁶¹² probably also for the boys who sang the Lady Mass and the *Salve Regina*. The singing of an anthem

⁶⁰⁶ St Dunstan in the East CWD, 45v.

⁶⁰⁷ *EL*, appendix 10, 317 (citing Baillie).

⁶⁰⁸ St Margaret Pattens CWD, 45v.

⁶⁰⁹ St Margaret Pattens CWD, 55v (1517/18), 63r (1518/19, with *Iamys hoo*).

⁶¹⁰ For example, St Margaret Pattens CWD, 95r: *Item payde to Gryffith for his childrens dynner, xij d. (1524/25).*

⁶¹¹ St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 6r: *Item paid to Sir Iohn morice our Lady masse prest for his salary and wagies for syngyng our Lady masse and helping nyghtly at the salves [...] Item paid to Thomas Eve our Conducte for lyke service doon by hym and his Childern for a hole yere ending at the said Later mighelmas, x li.*

⁶¹² St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 10r.

was supported by a bequest from one Dame Thomasyn Percyvall, who left £1 towards maintaining it (probably it was the *Salve Regina*) at the altar of St John, which was delivered throughout the 1540s by the Merchant Taylors to the wardens of St Mary Woolnoth.⁶¹³ In the 1544/45 account, the wardens paid 5s. to John Hobb, the clerk, for helping at the Lady Mass and anthem when there were no children to sing it, probably around Midsummer 1545.⁶¹⁴ (The children are again found singing the anthem for the entire year of the 1545/46 account.⁶¹⁵)

Other inventories and accounts record vestments for children and the costs of their making and repair, but often the types of vestments recorded suggest that these were not in regular use, but were intended instead for the Boy Bishop's festivities. At St Michael le Quern, for example, a child's surplice was recorded in 1517,⁶¹⁶ which could refer to the same kind of gown that was made for Thomas Bynge at St Mary at Hill in the 1490s, but the references to three copes—a garment reserved for the adults⁶¹⁷—that were made for children in 1532/33 could only be intended for the Boy Bishop's feast,⁶¹⁸ and are not evidence of

⁶¹³ St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 2v: *Item receyued of the maister and wardens of merchaunttailors for a hole yere for our Conducte for keypyng the Antempne afore Saint John with his childern according to the will of the said Dame Thomasyn percyvall, xx s.* (1539/40); see also 8r (1540/41), 22r (1543/44), *et passim*.

⁶¹⁴ St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 33v (1544/45). Probably the church was without a conduct to lead the boys: the accounts refer to *Robert morecok, our late Conduct* whose service ended apparently at Annunciation 1545, and thereafter one William Squier appears as conduct.

⁶¹⁵ With William Squyer: St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 38v.

⁶¹⁶ St Michael le Querne CWD, 103v.

⁶¹⁷ Consider the example of the illustration of Elizabeth I's funeral procession to Westminster Abbey, 28 April 1603 (London, British Library, Add MS 35324): the *Gentlemen of the Chappell* wear copes but the *Children of the Chappell* do not: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/drawings-of-the-funeral-procession-of-elizabeth-i> (accessed 1 February 2020).

⁶¹⁸ St Michael le Querne CWD, 76r: *Item payd mor ffor makyng of iij coppys ffor chelder, vij s. iiij d.*

regular boy singers.⁶¹⁹ At St Stephen Walbrook, six small surplices for children were made in 1525/26;⁶²⁰ the following year, the wardens of St Dunstan in the West paid for children's surplices to be made;⁶²¹ in 1540/41 they paid for three more,⁶²² and a further two are recorded in the 1542/43 account.⁶²³ (Much earlier, in 1495/96, a Dutch woman, Elyn, was paid to make four albs for children;⁶²⁴ the alb, a garment similar to the surplice—named for the Latin *albus*, for white—perhaps indicates that children were regularly singing there at that time.) At All Hallows Staining six “jackets” for children were made in 1534/35,⁶²⁵ and five children's surplices were bought at St Andrew Hubbard in the 1540s.⁶²⁶ Margaret Hasyllwood made five surplices for children for St Margaret Moses, in 1547/48.⁶²⁷

In the apparent absence of choirmasters, children at some churches are more difficult to detect. For example, there are no records of music at St Giles Cripplegate except the Reformation Inventories,⁶²⁸ but boy singers were obviously there: a listing headed “A

⁶¹⁹ The further references to copes for children have been considered evidence only for the Boy Bishop's festivities, not of permanent boy singers, and are discussed in the section below.

⁶²⁰ St Stephen Walbrook CWD(1), 76v/6v.

⁶²¹ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 48v (1526/27).

⁶²² St Dunstan in the West CWD, 104r [“for children” is superscript].

⁶²³ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 109v.

⁶²⁴ St Dunstan in the East CWD, 11v: *Item paide to Elyn the ducheWoman for makyng of new aubys & for mendyng of dyuers aubys & for makyng of iijor aubys for childern & for mendyng of dyuers thynges, ij s. x d.*

⁶²⁵ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 108v/cxxxviii^ov.

⁶²⁶ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 157 (c.1544-47).

⁶²⁷ St Margaret Moses CWD, 3v: *Item paid to margytt hasyllwood for makynge of xij serppellys & v for chylderne & vij for men [...].*

⁶²⁸ Which list two(?) organs, see table 4.1.

Brief Table of the Troubles at London,” recorded by John Foxe, notes that in 1541 Henry Patinson and Antony Barber, of that church, were “detected for maintaining their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar.”⁶²⁹

The Organ and Organ Players

The organ—or organs, as some churches had more than one⁶³⁰—participated in the liturgy and functioned as an extension of the singers’ voices, doubling plainsong, providing discant lines, and especially in alternatim with the choir.⁶³¹ The organ in late medieval England, generally called in the documents “a pair of organs” though this refers to a single instrument,⁶³² could vary considerably in size, and should not be imagined as the grand, immoveable instruments that they are today.⁶³³ some London organs were small enough to

⁶²⁹ John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, *EL*, 99. Erler’s endnote (see *EL*, 372) notes that neither has been identified but Patison and or Barber might be master of the choristers at St Giles Cripplegate.

⁶³⁰ See below for a discussion of the meaning of “a pair of organs.” It is not always clear from the documents, but those churches that are marked with an asterisk (*) in table 4.1 appear, at some point, to have been in possession of more than one instrument.

⁶³¹ A recent essay on alternatim practice is John Harper, “Alternatim Performance of English Pre-Reformation Liturgical Music for Organ and Voices composed c.1500-60,” in *Aspects of Early English Keyboard Music before c.1630*, ed. David J. Smith (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019), 69-98. See also the discussion of an alternatim Gloria setting in Magnus Williamson, “English Organ Music, 1350-1550: A Study of Sources and Contexts,” in *Studies in English Organ Music*, ed. Iain Quinn (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 97-121, see especially 98-99.

⁶³² Peter Williams, *A New History of the Organ from The Greeks to the Present Day* (London, Boston: Faber and Faber, 1980), 20-21: “[In England] during the sixteenth century, particularly in documents prepared by non-musical scribes—i.e. sources far less useful than the frequent reference to them now suggests—the phrases ‘a pair of organs’ or ‘a pair of virginals or regals’ may sometimes have indicated something now unknown, but in most instances meant merely ‘an instrument of many pipes or strings.’” Williams notes also the English adoption of the phrase “a pair of” from contemporary French and Flemish usage, and other phrases like “a pair of stairs.” Table 4.1 transcribes the many references in London CWDs to “a pair of organs.”

⁶³³ Many were portatives, and were small enough that they could apparently be removed and taken to the organ maker’s workshop to be tuned: St Dunstan in the West CWD, 40r: *Item payd to the organmaker for rememevyng [sic, “removing”] off them and tewnyng off them, xx d. (1523/24).*

be moved around within a church or taken outside of it: in August 1467, the organ of St Nicholas Shambles was carried to the organ makers' workshop for repairs, and then returned again;⁶³⁴ in 1519/20, an organ from St Mary at Hill was loaned to St Andrew's for their celebration of St Barnabas's Day.⁶³⁵

Churchwardens' documents offer some information about London's organs, sometimes about the construction and installation of a new, replacement (or in some cases additional) instrument, but most often they record smaller repairs and general maintenance (for which many churches apparently entered into ongoing agreements, described below). The documents also record more significant and costly repairs, and expenses associated with the relocation of an organ within a church. Table 4.1 below provides, for every church with surviving evidence, the earliest written reference in the churchwardens' documents to an organ, records of the purchase or construction of instruments, and other significant references to their maintenance, relocation, and, especially based on the Parish Reformation Inventories, their sale in the mid-sixteenth century. (It does not include references to civic documentation, which can sometimes be a valuable source of information for organs, which in other places involved the city government because of their expense.⁶³⁶)

⁶³⁴ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 85r.

⁶³⁵ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 305: *Item, paid for Bryngyng of the Orgons from Seint Andrewys to our chirche ayenst Seint Barnabes Eve, ij d. [...] Item, paid for the beryng home of the Orgons to Seint Andrewys, iij d.*

⁶³⁶ Note, however, that there are no references to organs in Sharpe's calendars of the city's Letter Books A-L (1275-1496): see *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London*, 11 vols. ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: Her/His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899-1912), BHO (accessed 18 February 2020).

Table 4.1. Earliest references to organs in parish churches, and other references to their purchase, construction, and significant maintenance, and their relocation and sale in churchwardens' documents, with additional information provided by the Reformation Inventories, by church. [Note, (*) denotes a church apparently with more than one instrument]

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| All Hallows Barking | 1519, New organ commissioned from Antony Duddyngton, organ maker [see below] Reformation Inventories list "one pair of organs" (PRI, 94) |
| All Hallows Bread Street | Reformation Inventories list "One pair of organs in the choir" (PRI, 88) |
| All Hallows Honey Lane(*) | Reformation Inventories list "A pair of organs" and, earlier, "two pairs of organs" (PRI, 102) |
| All Hallows on the Wall | c.1482-85, "Paid for the organs, £2 3s. 4d." (CWD, 21v) c.1510-25, "Received for the metal of the old organs, 7s. 8d. [...] Paid for our [new] organs to Sir Thomas Cobbe our old organs, and £3 6s. 8d. money of the church money and gathered of the parish" (CWD, 40r-40v) Reformation Inventories list "A pair of organs"(PRI, 115) |
| All Hallows Staining(*) | c.1494/5, "Paid to the organ maker in part-payment, 11s. [...] Paid] to a man to assay [trial] and prove the organs, 2d." (CWD(1), 3v/vi ^o v) 1510/12, "Received of Thomas Knott towards the mending of the organs, 3s. 4d. [...] Paid for making new the organs, £1 3s. 4d. [...] Paid to Thomas Golde for his playing at the organs, 5s." (CWD(1) 47r/lxxvi ^o r, 48v/lxxvii ^o v) 1520/21, "Received of certain persons towards [a new pair of?] organs, £1 10s. 1d. [...] Paid to the organ player, 1s. 8d., Paid for a pair of new organs and mending of the old organs, £4 6s. 8d." (CWD(1) 75r/ciiii ^o r, 77r/cvi ^o r) [at least by 1536/37, one of these pairs of organs was in the chapel, see below] 1536/37, "Paid for mending the organs in the chapel, 16s." (CWD(1), 116v/cxlv ^o v) 1545/46, "Paid to John Howe for the exchange of the organs, £2 6s. 5d." (CWD(1), 137v/clxxii ^o v) 1547/48, "Received of John Cuttlar for the pipes of the old organs, 10s. 4d." (CWD(1) 141v/clxxvi ^o v) Reformation Inventories list "A pair of organs," and record the sale Cuttlar of the pipes of the old organs (PRI, 121-22) |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Holy Trinity the Less(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs” (PRI, 129) |
| St Alban Wood Street(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs” (PRI, 132) |
| St Alphage | 1529/30, Paid “for mending the organs, 18s. 4d.” (CWD, 12v) 1550/51, “Received of Goodman Wyffyn for [the sale of] the organs [...] £3 19s. 2d. (CWD, 110v)” Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 135) |
| St Andrew Holborn(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs and a stool at them in the choir” [i.e., a stool at the organ in the choir] (PRI, 140, 142) |
| St Andrew Hubbard | c.1459-64, “Paid for the organs and for setting them up in the chancel [...] £5 8s. 8d.” (CWD, ed. Burgess, 9) |
| St Andrew by the Wardrobe | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 158) |
| St Anne and St Agnes | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of portatives” (PRI, 162) |
| St Antholin(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs” (PRI, 169) |
| St Augustine by St Paul’s | Reformation Inventories list the sale “to John Angell [of] one old pair of organs, for £1” (PRI, 175) |
| St Bartholomew the Little | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 183) |
| St Benet Fink(*) | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of great organs lately bought and a small pair of organs” (PRI, 187) |
| St Benet Gracechurch | 1548/49, “Paid to John Howe, organ maker, for his whole year’s fee for tuning of the organs [...], 1s.” (CWD, 16) 1549/50, “Paid to [...] John [Howe] for the new making of six organ pipes which were broken at the pulling down of the high altar [...] and] for four days’ workmanship, 8s.” (CWD, 32) Reformation Inventories list the sale of tin and lead from organ pipes (PRI, 194-95) |
| St Benet Paul’s Wharf | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 199) |
| St Botolph without Aldersgate | [1512, churchwardens paid 6s. for the hyre and lone of the new horgeyns: see Baillie, <i>London Churches</i> diss., 114, “the only record of a purchase here”] Reformation Inventories list “An old pair of organs, with the pipes broke” (PRI, 201) |

| | |
|---|---|
| St Botolph without Aldgate | 1548/49, "Paid the 23rd day of December to him who keeps the organs in tune throughout the year, 1s." (CWD, 12r) 1549/50, Received "the 8th day of May 1550 for [the sale of] the organs, £2 [...] Paid the 8th day of May 1550 to the organ maker for a brokerage fee to sell the organs [on our behalf], 2s. 8d." (CWD, 14v, 17v) Reformation Inventories list the sale of the pair of organs, but give the year incorrectly as 1551 (PRI, 207) |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | Reformation Inventories list "A pair of organs" (PRI, 214) |
| St Bride, Fleet Street | Reformation Inventories list "broken organs" (PRI, 222) |
| St Christopher le Stocks(*) | 1483, Inventory lists "In the rood loft, a pair of organs with two pairs of blowers" (CWD, 31r) Reformation Inventories list "Two pairs of organs in the choir" [but see n.3, one was in the rood loft] (PRI, 228) |
| St Dunstan in the East(*[?]) | 1494/95, "Paid [...] for mending the glass window over the organ [...]" (CWD, 6v) 1498/99, "Paid for a pair of new organs, £7 13s. 4d." (CWD, 29v) [later described as "organs in the choir", CWD, 37v] 1502/03, "Received from Sir Peter Bekette for a pair of organs [...] for the Jesus Mass in the Trinity Chapel, £2" (CWD, 44r) |
| St Dunstan in the West | 1517/18, "Paid to [John] Scarlet [organ player] from Our Lady Day to Midsummer, 6s. 8d." (CWD, 8r) 1519/20, "Paid to John Scarlet, organ player [for his year's wages], £1 5s. 10d." (CWD, 16r) 1523/24, "Paid for carriage of a frame to the church to rise up organs" (CWD, 39r) 1531/32, Paid "for mending the organs, £1 Paid in earnest for making another pair of organs, 13s. 4d." (CWD, 66v) |
| St Ethelburga within Bishopsgate | [1472/73, John Steward bequeaths <i>my paire of Organs</i> to the church in his will, dated 1 January: see Baillie, diss., 113] |
| St George Eastcheap | Reformation Inventories list "In the choir [...] a pair of organs" (PRI, 283) |
| St Giles Cripplegate(*[?]) | Reformation Inventories list "Two pairs of organ cases [...] a bigger and a lesser" (PRI, 287) |
| St Gregory by St Paul's | Reformation Inventories list "A pair of old organs" (PRI, 292) |

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| St John the Baptist | Reformation Inventories record the sale “to Thomas Davye of the same parish, a little pair of organs, £1 6s. 8d.” (PRI, 303) |
| St Katherine Cree(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs, [one with] all the pipes broken and gone” (PRI, 319) |
| St Lawrence Jewry(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs” (PRI, 328) |
| St Lawrence Pountney | 1539/40, Paid “for our part for mending the organs, 9s.” (CWD, 12r) Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 333) |
| St Leonard Foster Lane | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 338) |
| St Margaret Bridge Street | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 361) |
| St Margaret Lothbury | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 351) |
| St Margaret Moses | 1547/48, “Paid to M. Howe, organ maker, for his whole year’s fee, [unintelligible] [...] Paid to Harry, blower lad, 4d.” (CWD, 3v) 1549/50, “Paid to John Howe for his yearly fee for tuning the organs, 1s. Paid more to John Howe for taking the organs down out of the rood loft [and setting them up] in the choir [and other repairs], 13s. 4d.” (CWD, 10v) Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 355) |
| St Margaret Pattens | 1516/17, “Paid in expenses when we bought our organs, 10d. [...] Paid in expenses when we paid the organ maker for the organs, 1s. 5d.” (CWD, 48v) 1518/19, “Received by us for the old organs [that were] sold into the country by the agreement of the parishioners, £2 6s. 8d.” (CWD, 62r) 1548/49, “Received for [the sale of] the organs, £2” (CWD, 100r) Reformation Inventories record the same sale of “a pair of organs, £2” (PRI, 371) |
| St Martin Orgar | 1469/71, “Paid to a priest for a day for playing the organs, 6d.” (CWD(2), 6v) |
| St Martin Outwich | 1508/09, “Paid to [William Wright] for playing the organs for three quarters for the parish, 5s.” (CWD, 10r/7) 1513/14, “Received of M. Howden for his bequest for a pair of organs, £1 [...] Paid [...] for mending of |

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| | <p>the organs and an organ player, <i>6d.</i> [...] Paid to Howe in Walbroke for a pair of new organs that stand in the choir, £7 13s. <i>8d.</i> [...] Paid to the smith for making the stops, <i>3s. 4d.</i>” (CWD, 21v/22, 22v/24, 23r/25)</p> <p>Reformation Inventories list a pair of organs (PRI, 387)</p> |
| St Martin Pomary(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs, one pair small and one pair great” (PRI, 400) |
| St Martin Vintry(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs” (PRI, 403) |
| St Mary Abchurch(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs” (PRI, 408) |
| St Mary Aldermanbury | Reformation Inventories record the sale “to John Home and Nicholas Gaskin, pewterers [...] of] old organ pipes [...] <i>14s. 3d.</i> ” and “to Clement Kyllingworth the case of the said organs, <i>3s. 4d.</i> ” (PRI, 422) |
| St Mary le Bow(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs,” and records the sale “To Thomas Edmondes [of those] two pairs of organs and the loft that one pair stood on, £6 13s. <i>4d.</i> ” (PRI, 438, 441) |
| St Mary at Hill(*) | <p>1477/79, Paid “To Water [Walter] Pleasaunce, for playing the organs, <i>6d.</i> [...] Paid] for mending of the <i>capis</i> [case?] of the organs, to Mighaell Glocetir [Michael Gloucester], <i>8d.</i>” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 81, 18v)</p> <p>1483/85, Paid “For mending the organs, <i>10s.</i>” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 117)</p> <p>1519/20, “Paid for bringing the organs from St Andrew’s to our church for St Barnabas’s eve, <i>2d.</i> [...] Paid for the bearing home of the organs to St Andrew’s <i>3d.</i> [...] Paid for mending the little organs in the choir, <i>6d.</i>” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 305-06)</p> <p>1521/22, “Paid to the organ maker for the organs in money besides what was gathered [by the parish on the Hock Days], and for bringing home of the same organs, <i>10s. 8d.</i> [...] Paid to the organ maker as it shows in the indenture for the oversight of the organs for certain years, yearly to have <i>1s.</i>” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 314)</p> <p>1526/27, “Received from the organ maker for the old portatives in the choir, £1 6s. <i>8d.</i>” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 341)</p> |

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| | <p>1549/50, “Paid for mending the new organs, 5s.” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 390)</p> <p>Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs, one pair greater than the other” (PRI, 451)</p> |
| St Mary Magdalen Milk Street | <p>1520/21, “Paid for mending the organs and for meat and drink to the mender thereof, 2s. 10d.” (CWD, 12r)</p> <p>1527/28, “Received from Thomas Smith, organ maker, for the old organ pipes [...] 12s. 4d. Received from John Stard for the old organ case that the aforesaid pipes stood in, 1s. [...] Paid to the four porters for lifting up the old organs into the new loft [...] and for] the carpenter to help thereto, 1s. [...] Paid to John Howe on the third day of April for mending and tuning our organs, 6s. 8d.” (CWD, 30v, 33r, 33v)</p> <p>1547/48, “Paid for taking down of the organs [out of the loft and taking them] to the organ maker, and for setting them up again where they are in the chapel, 6s. 8d. Paid to the joiner for taking down the scaffold where the organs stood, 3s. 4d.” (CWD, 96r)</p> <p>Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs of a mean sort” (PRI, 475)</p> |
| St Mary Somerset | <p>Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 456)</p> |
| St Mary Woolchurch | <p>Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs in the choir” (PRI, 463)</p> |
| St Mary Woolnoth(*) | <p>1539/40, “Paid to Howe the organ maker for his yearly fee [...] 4d.” (CWD, 4r)</p> <p>Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs [in the choir] and an old pair of organs [in the rood loft]” (PRI, 470)</p> |
| St Matthew Friday Street | <p>1547/48, “Paid to the organ maker for his fee for one year, 1s.” (CWD, 2r)</p> <p>Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 486)</p> |
| St Michael Bassishaw | <p>Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” and records the sale “to Mr Kechyn [...] of organ pipes [...] and a pair of organ bellows, 2s. 4d.” (PRI, 488-89)</p> |
| St Michael Cornhill(*) | <p>1458/59, Paid “to the organ maker for mending the organs, with 1d. spent in ale, 5d.” (CWD ed. Overall, 16)</p> <p>1474/75, “Paid to Myghell Glancets [Michael Gloucester], organ maker, for a pair of new</p> |

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| | <p>organs, and also bargained with him [to have] our old organs [and] beside them, in money paid [...] £9” (CWD ed. Overall, 57)</p> <p>1553/54, “Paid to Thomas Howe for mending the great organs and the small pair, being broken [...] £1 3s.” (CWD ed. Overall, 112)</p> <p>Reformation Inventories list “A pair of great organs, a pair of small organs” [one was in the roof loft, see n.9] (PRI, 500)</p> |
| St Michael Queenhithe | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 501) |
| St Michael le Quern | <p>1513/14[?], “Paid for mending the organs [...] 10s.” (CWD, 4r)</p> <p>1519/20, “Paid for mending the organs and the bellows, 10s.[?unintelligible]” (CWD, 20v)</p> <p>1524/25, “Received, which was gathered [...] from] the parish towards a new pair of organs, £1 15s. 8d.” (CWD, 42r)</p> <p>1525/26, “Received of the rest of the organ money, 1s. 9d.” (CWD, 49v) [the construction costs continue for a few years]</p> <p>Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 508)</p> |
| St Michael Wood Street | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 514, 516) |
| St Mildred Bread Street(*) | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs,” and records the sale “to Mr Kyllingworth [of] a pair of old organs, 4s.” (PRI, 520, 523) |
| St Mildred Poultry | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of small organs” (PRI, 525) |
| St Nicholas Cole Abbey | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 534) |
| St Nicholas Olave | Reformation Inventories list “One pair of organs” (PRI, 538) |
| St Nicholas Shambles(*) | <p>c.1456/57, “Paid the 12th day of January to an organ maker for mending the organs, 1s. 8d.” (CWD, 38v)</p> <p>c.1457/58, “Paid for an obligation with a condition for the organ maker, 4d. Paid for the organs, the 25th day of January, £4 13s. 4d.” (CWD, 48v)</p> <p>1505/08, “Received of the parishioners towards the small organs [...] £5 17s. 10d. [...] A new pair of organs bought of Angel Donne and cost £6 13s. 4d.” (CWD, 196r, 197v)</p> |
| St Olave Hart Street | Reformation Inventories list “In the choir, a pair of organs” (PRI, 541) |
| St Olave Old Jewry | Reformation Inventories list “One pair of organs” (PRI, 546) |

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| St Pancras | Reformation Inventories list “One pair of organs” (PRI, 560) |
| St Peter Cornhill | Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs in the choir” (PRI, 573) |
| St Peter Westcheap(*) | c.1441-45[?], “Paid for organs, £1 3s. 8d. (CWD, 24r) [the scribe writes <i>solut per organs</i> instead of <i>soluit</i> , and another unintelligible reference to organs later on the same folio] 1520/21[?], “Paid to the organ maker for the new organs, £7” (CWD, 190v) 1521/22, “Received of [two names? unintelligible...that] gave towards the new organs, 3s. 4d.” (CWD, 192v) 1523/24, “Paid to four porters for removing of the organs [and putting them] into the rood loft, 1s. Paid for mending the little organs, 1s. [...] Paid to John Smythe, organ maker, for mending the bellows of the organ, 5s.” (CWD, 202v) 1524/25, Paid “for bringing down of the organs out of the rood loft, 8d.” (CWD, 181r) Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs” [one was in the rood loft, see n.1] (PRI, 565) |
| St Sepulchre without Newgate(*[?]) | [1548, Great and Little organs were removed into the choir, and in 1549 John Howe was paid 6s. 8d. <i>for the Regalles</i> . He was later paid for removing the organs, but ongoing payments for their repair suggest that this does not mean the entire instrument was removed: see Baillie, “London Churches,” 117] |
| St Stephen Coleman Street | 1499/1500, “Paid to the organ maker for the making and mending of the organs, £1 4s.” (CWD, 95v) Reformation Inventories list “A pair of organs” (PRI, 600) |
| St Stephen Walbrook | c.1482, “Paid to John Looman [...] for playing the organs [...] amount unintelligible] [...] Paid] to Berrell man for organ playing [amount unintelligible]” (CWD, 16v, 17v) 1510/11, “ Paid [...] to John [Howe] for making clean the organs and setting them, 13s. 4d. Paid to Olyver Mason for the same” (CWD, 41r/7r) 1518/19, “Paid for removing the old organs, 2d.” (CWD, 49v/6v) Reformation Inventories list an organ in the rood loft (PRI, 606) |
| St Swithin London Stone(*) | Reformation Inventories list “Two pairs of organs, a bigger and a lesser” (PRI, 608) |

The earliest references to organs in the churchwardens' documents appear in the mid-fifteenth century. The accounts of St Peter Westcheap, c.1441-45, refer to organ expenses exceeding £1 3s. 8d.⁶³⁷—a rare example of an entry concerning music in the London churchwardens' accounts early enough to have been written in Latin, not English. The relatively low amount recorded suggests that the payment was made for repairs to an existing organ, not for a new instrument; the earliest recorded purchase of a new instrument in London is found in the c.1457/58 account of St Nicholas Shambles, at the cost of £4. 13s. 4d.⁶³⁸

When an organ was commissioned for a church, the wardens and an organ maker entered into a contract together. The c.1457/58 account of St Nicholas Shambles also records that 4d. was paid for the drawing up of a contract with the organ maker when the newer instrument was purchased,⁶³⁹ and the 1474/75 account of St Michael Cornhill refers to a “bargain” made between the wardens and Mighaell Gloucetur [Michael Gloucester⁶⁴⁰], organ maker, according to which the parish would purchase the new organ from him and give him their old instrument, in addition to the cash payment of £9 recorded in the account.⁶⁴¹ An obligation between an unnamed organ maker and the churchwardens for a

⁶³⁷ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 24r: *Item solut Wylylhale per organis, xxij s. viij d.* (Another reference with *organs* added superscript on the same folio is unintelligible.)

⁶³⁸ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 48v.

⁶³⁹ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 48v: *Item paid for an obligacion with a condicion for the organmaker, 4d.*

⁶⁴⁰ Baillie recognized that the name is incorrectly transcribed by Overall as “Glancets” in his edition of the St Michael Cornhill CWD (as in n.639, below): Baillie, “London Churches,” 113, 269. Consultation of the manuscript itself has confirmed Baillie’s reading as the correct one.

⁶⁴¹ St Michael Cornhill CWD, ed. Overall, 57: *Payd to Myghell Glancets [sic] organes maker ffor a pre of newe organes and also bargayned with hym ffor our olde organes to have them and besyde them in money*

new organ costing £6 is also mentioned in the 1532/33 account of St Dunstan in the West,⁶⁴² but no such written documents have survived. One contract between a London parish and an organ maker does survive: in 1519, the vicar and wardens of All Hallows Barking entered into an agreement with Antony Duddyngton, organ maker, for the making of a new organ at the cost of £50.⁶⁴³ The contract records that Duddyngton was to have £6 13s. 4d. as a down payment and was given fifteen months to complete the work. The contract even allows for what should happen if Duddyngton should “decease and depart his natural life” within that time (his wife or executors would be obliged to repay £4 12s. 4d. to the church). Concerning the organ itself, the contract with Duddyngton is the most technically detailed description of an organ from late medieval London;⁶⁴⁴ excepting it, only glimpses of technical details survive for other instruments when the materials of organ pipes were sold, with the weights sometimes recorded.⁶⁴⁵ Parishioners sometimes funded the purchase of a

payd, summa ix li. Organ makers did sometimes accept an old instrument as part payment for a new instrument, probably to recycle materials. In 1545/46, the wardens of All Hallows Staining recorded a payment to John Howe of £2 6s. 8d.[?] *for the exchang of the organse*, which was probably a payment for a new organ whereby the organ maker took, as part payment, the old instrument (other expenses, including *the caryghe of the organse & seteng them vp, iij s. iiij d.*, and payments for carpenters *for stoff & workemanshpe abut the organse* suggest the installation of a new instrument): All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 137v/clxxii^ov. The 1526/27 account of St Mary at Hill records the receipt *of the Orgon Maker for the olde portatyffis in the quere, xxvj s. viij d.*: St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 341.

⁶⁴² St Dunstan in the West CWD, 70r: *Item paide for making of the organs, vj li. Item paide for making of an obligacion wheryn the organmaker was bounde to the said churche wardeyns for the performauce of the same organs, x d.*

⁶⁴³ The contract is printed in E. J. Hopkins and E. F. Rimbault, *The Organ: Its History and Construction*, with preface and corrections by W. L. Sumner (Amsterdam: Frits A. M. Knuf, 1972), 56-58.

⁶⁴⁴ Very recently Dominic Gwynn has written that this contract “seemed baffling in more ways than one,” and described the usefulness of reconstructed instruments in interpreting the contract: Dominic Gwynn, “The Lost Musical World of the Tudor Organ,” in *Aspects of Early English Keyboard Music before c.1630*, ed. David J. Smith (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019), 49-65, especially 49-51. Earlier, extensive commentary on the contract by Hopkins was printed in Hopkins and Rimbault, *The Organ*, 57-58.

⁶⁴⁵ For example, St Alphage CWD, 110v: *Resayvid of the Goodman Wyffyn ffor the Orgene wayeng viij C xl li. pryse the C ix s. iiij d. And iij s. iiij d. ffor the erneste summa of all is, iij li. xix s. ij d.* (1551/52).

new organ directly, and the 1505/08 account of St Nicholas Shambles records a collection totaling £5 17s. 10d., given by some 48 parishioners in amounts ranging from 4d. to 10s, for a small organ, the total recorded cost of which was £6 13s. 4d.⁶⁴⁶ On a Hock Day in April 1521, the women and men of St Mary at Hill gathered money that was later spent on an organ,⁶⁴⁷ the purchase of which (probably from John Howe) is recorded in the 1521/22 account.⁶⁴⁸

Also in the 1520s, at All Hallows Staining, St Michael le Querne, and St Peter Westcheap, certain parishioners gave sums of money towards the purchase of new organs.⁶⁴⁹ Parishioners also left bequests of instruments, as in the example of John Steward, who left an organ to St Ethelburga within Bishopsgate in his will, dated 1 January 1473;⁶⁵⁰ otherwise, parishioners left sums of money towards organs even when the amount was not

⁶⁴⁶ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 196r: *And also of money by theym receyved of the parysheners towardes the smale organne hoose names followeth [...] Summa of the benevolence to the organne, cxvij s. x d.; 197v: As for a new peyar of Organnes bought of Aungell[?] donne & cost, vj li. xiiij s. iiij d.*

⁶⁴⁷ St Mary at Hill CWD, EL, 58: *Memorandum that Robard gamie the xiiij of feuerell Anno 1521 hath in hys hondes which was gadyryd for the abott of walltonn v s. and mor that was gadyryd on hopemonday [blank] s. [blank] d. the which ij parselles wee be agreyd shall go to wardes our organs Memorandum Misteres dokelynge hath in hyre handes sertan money gadyryd on hoppe monedy which shall go to wardes the said organes Memorandum Master Potter hath xiiij s. garyd on hoppe monday & it shall goo towardes the organes Allso Master allen hath money gadyred on hoppemonday & shalbe to wardes the organes.*

⁶⁴⁸ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 314: *Item, paid to the Orgonmaker for the Orgons in money besidis that was gaderid, and for bryngyng home of the same orgons, x s. viij d. Item, paid to the Orgonmaker as aperith by Indenture for the ouersight of the orgons for certen yeris, yerely to haue xij d.* The regular payments of 1s. to Howe, described elsewhere in this chapter, continue at St Mary at Hill according to this indenture and Howe himself is named as the recipient in 1524/25, see 327: *Paid to Ion how, orgon maker, for a yere to tende the orgons, xij d.*

⁶⁴⁹ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 75r/ciiij^or: *Item ressayud of certen persones towardes the organs, xxx s. j d. (1520/21); St Michael le Querne CWD, 42r: Item more resauyd wiche was gadyryed of my mastrys of the pariche toward a payer of new organs, xxxv s. vij d. (1524/25); 49v: Receyved of the rest of the organs mony, xxj d. (1525/26); St Peter Westcheap CWD, 192v: Item receuyd of maister dans that maister dynne gaue towardes the newe organs, iij s. iiij d. (1521/22).*

⁶⁵⁰ Baillie, "London Churches," 113.

enough to pay for the entire instrument, as in the case of a certain Howden, whose bequest of £1 towards an organ is recorded in the 1513/14 account of St Martin Outwich,⁶⁵¹ which also records the purchase of the new instrument from John Howe for £7 13s. 8d., and a payment of 3s. 4d. to the metalsmith for making the stops.⁶⁵²

It was common in the sixteenth century for the organ to be placed in the choir or in the chancel; the new organ purchased at St Martin Outwich in 1513/14 stood in the choir of the church.⁶⁵³ Baillie has written that before this, in the fifteenth century, organs were generally found in the rood loft,⁶⁵⁴ and indeed a 1483 inventory from St Christopher le Stocks specifies that an organ with two blowers [i.e., bellows] was in the rood loft.⁶⁵⁵ Churchwardens' accounts sometimes record payments for the relocation of organs: in 1524/25, an organ was brought down out of the rood loft at St Peter Westcheap, where it had been placed only the year before;⁶⁵⁶ at St Margaret Moses, John Howe was paid 13s. 4d. for relocating the organ from the rood loft and setting it up in the choir, along with other repairs, in 1549/50.⁶⁵⁷ In the same year it took Howe four days to make six new organ

⁶⁵¹ St Martin Outwich CWD, 21v/22.

⁶⁵² St Martin Outwich CWD, 23r/25: *Item payde to howe in walbroke ffor a payre of new organs that stondyth in the qwer, sum vij li. xiiij s. viij d. Item payde to the smyth ffor makyng of the stoppes, iij s. iij d.*

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ Baillie, "London Churches," 120-21, 125; see also Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 4th ed. (Frits Knuf: Buren, The Netherlands, 1980), 213.

⁶⁵⁵ St Christopher le Stocks CWD, 31r. For an example of a church with an organ in the chancel even in the fifteenth century, see St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 9: "Item paid for the organs and for setting them up in the chancel, for nail board and workmanship, and for the timber in the glass windows, £5 8s. 8d." (c.1459-64).

⁶⁵⁶ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 181r (1524/25), 202v (1523/24).

⁶⁵⁷ St Margaret Moses CWD, 10v.

pipes for St Benet Gracechurch; they replaced the ones that were damaged “at the pulling down of the high altar,” suggesting that the organ at that church was in or near the chancel as well.⁶⁵⁸ In 1547/48, the organ was taken out of the loft at St Mary Magdalen Milk Street and placed in a chapel.⁶⁵⁹

The relocation of organs was not entirely in one direction, however, and they were sometimes relocated to a higher, not a lower place: the organ was raised up on a frame at St Dunstan in the West in 1523/24,⁶⁶⁰ and lifted up “into the new loft” at St Mary Magdalen Milk Street in 1527/28 (before being moved again twenty years later).⁶⁶¹ By the time the Parish Reformation Inventories were compiled, however, the majority of references that indicate the placement of the organs show that they were in the choir, as Baillie has suggested, though some, as examples in table 4.1 illustrate, were not; nevertheless, at the Reformation, rood screens were removed from the churches.

Once installed, the organ required regular maintenance and was a frequent expense item. At some churches, the earliest documented reference to an organ being there is a payment, usually of 1s. but sometimes of other amounts, made annually to an organ maker, for minor repairs. Documents from St Matthew Friday Street first reveal that there must have been an organ in the church by 1547/48, when the account for that year records the

⁶⁵⁸ St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 32. They were evidently moved again; the same account has another payment *to the forsaid John hough for the removing of the organs to the place where they now stand, viij d.*, see 34.

⁶⁵⁹ St Mary Magdalen Milk Street CWD, 96r. Organs are also described in chapels at All Hallows Staining (see CWD(1), 116v/cxlvi^ov, 1536/37), and St Dunstan in the East (see CWD, 44r, 1502/03).

⁶⁶⁰ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 39r: *Item payd for caryag off a frame to the churche to hysse up the organs, iiij d.*

⁶⁶¹ St Mary Magdalen Milk Street CWD, 33r.

payment “to the organ maker for his fee for one year, 1s.”⁶⁶² Likewise, the first reference to an organ at St Botolph without Aldgate is the payment, recorded in the 1548/49 account, made “to him who keeps the organ in tune throughout the year, 1s.”⁶⁶³ The first records of organs at St Benet Gracechurch, St Margaret Moses, and St Mary Woolnoth are also for a “yearly fee,” naming John Howe, organ maker, as the recipient.⁶⁶⁴

Annual payments to an organ maker—very frequently named as Howe—for the maintenance of the instruments begin to appear in the 1520s and thereafter are ubiquitous in the London churchwardens’ accounts. That the payments are so regular suggests that several of London’s churches had entered into formal agreements with the Howes (John Howe the elder, John Howe the younger, and later his son Thomas⁶⁶⁵) for ongoing service. It is apparent from the accounts that the arrangements concerned only minor maintenance, which probably meant little more than the general upkeep, such as the removal of dust from the pipes and other minor repairs to the action of the instrument,⁶⁶⁶ and probably also its tuning. The 1532/33 account of St Mary at Hill records a payment of

⁶⁶² St Matthew Friday Street CWD, 2r.

⁶⁶³ St Botolph without Aldgate CWD, 12r.

⁶⁶⁴ St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 16: *Item paid to John How Orgynmaker for his whole yeres fee for tunyng of the organs ending at our lady day in lent last, xij d.* (1548/49); St Margaret Moses CWD, 3v: *Item paid to mr howe organmaker for his holle yere fee [unintelligible]* (1547/48); St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 4r: *Item paid to howe the organ maker for his yerely fee ending at the said Later mighelmas, iij d.* (1539/40).

⁶⁶⁵ *ODNB* gives the spelling of John Howe the elder as “John Hewe”: See David Mateer, “How, John (d. 1571),” *ODNB* (accessed 7 February 2020).

⁶⁶⁶ The accounts variously describe the “mending,” “attendance,” “oversight,” “looking,” “tending,” and “keeping” of, or the “looking to,” the organs.

1s. to the organ maker “for tuning of the pipes,”⁶⁶⁷ and the obligation between the wardens of St Dunstan in the West and an unnamed organ maker that refers to “the performance” of the organ has also been mentioned;⁶⁶⁸ the document itself has not survived, but it is likely that tuning was a significant consideration of the “performance” of the organ. Perhaps that obligation was similar to the agreement, made c.1534, between Howe and the parish of St Andrew Hubbard, recorded with Howe’s mark affixed to it in the churchwardens’ manuscript:

“Be it known to all men I John Howe *skenser* [skinner] of London have promised for the term of 20 years to keep in tune the organ of the parish of Saint Andrew Hubbard in Eastcheap, and for this pain taken 12*d.* [1*s.*] by the year, the first payment to be paid at the Assumption of Our Lady 1534.”⁶⁶⁹

Larger and more expensive repairs to the instruments were sometimes required, and these repairs evidently sat outside of the ongoing contract between the Howes and the city’s churches, as they are recorded alongside the annual payment for organ maintenance and in the same account. The 1538/39 and 1539/40 accounts of St Dunstan in the West, for example, record the annual payment of 1*s.* to the organ maker “for his yearly fee” (Howe is named only in 1539/40), together with another payment of 2*s.* for mending the bellows in 1538/39, and 3*s.* for mending both organ and bellows in 1539/40.⁶⁷⁰ The

⁶⁶⁷ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 361; see also 395: *Paid to Iohn howe for the hoale yeare to looke and tvne the organs, bothe payre, iij s.*

⁶⁶⁸ See n.642, above.

⁶⁶⁹ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 181.

⁶⁷⁰ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 94r (1538/39), 98v (1539/40).

1544/45 account of St Martin Outwich records a payment of 1s. to Howe by the yearly agreement for his “mending of the organ as often and when it shall be needful,” but the same account also records 3s. 4d. paid to Howe for “mending the organ,” for what was obviously more extensive repair.⁶⁷¹

As the Howe name has appeared repeatedly in this chapter, so in the sixteenth century does the name appear repeatedly in the documentation, and many references to organ building, repair, and maintenance bear the name. Baillie has suggested that the “monopoly of the Howes”⁶⁷² was a factor in the decline of the guild of organ makers, which was dissolved in 1531.⁶⁷³ (This is why, in the 1534 agreement with St Andrew Hubbard mentioned above, Howe describes himself as “skinner of London”: before 1531, he would have enjoyed the freedom of the city through the guild of organ makers, but after the guild was dissolved, his freedom had to come from elsewhere; the Skinners’ Company was a logical move for Howe, with leather for the bellows being an important component in organ making;⁶⁷⁴ another organ mender, Thomas Brown, was also a shoemaker and worked with

⁶⁷¹ St Martin Outwich CWD, 53r/62: *To howe organmaker for mendyng of the organs iij s. iiij d. and paid to hym by agrement for a ffee and so yerely tobe given to hym for mendyng of the organs as often and when yt shalbe nedefull, xij d.*

⁶⁷² Baillie, “London Churches,” 126.

⁶⁷³ See Stephen Bicknell, “Howe,” *GMO* (accessed 12 January 2020). The *orglemakers* was described as a craft “exercised in London from of old” in 9 Henry V (i.e., 1421/22), in the records of the Brewers’ Company: see “Baillie, “London Churches,” 126; of the civic lists attesting to crafts and companies in London, 1328-1518 given by Barron, the organmakers first appear in 1488: see Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), table 9.1, 218-23.

⁶⁷⁴ Baillie, “London Churches,” 127.

leather.⁶⁷⁵) Certainly the Howe family appears to have dominated the organ industry in sixteenth-century London—it is probably the most attested name that is associated with a musical livelihood in the entirety of medieval London’s written archive—but the Howe family did not achieve a total monopoly, and they worked alongside other organ builders in the city: other sixteenth-century London organ builders include Antony Duddyngton, whose contract with All Hallows Barking was mentioned above. In the 1520s there were also a John Smythe and a Thomas Smythe; “Smith” is certainly a common name but perhaps they, like the Howes, were family. Both appear in the 1520s; Thomas’s name is recorded more often than John’s, but not in the context of his trade: throughout the 1520s he was recorded as a debtor, owing to the wardens of St Stephen Walbrook.⁶⁷⁶ (John Howe the elder and John Howe the younger both served as warden in this parish; it is very probable that the Howes and this Thomas Smythe knew each other personally as much as professionally.⁶⁷⁷)

Other references to organs occur in the churchwardens’ accounts when payments are recorded to the people who played them. The only evidence for an organ at St Martin Orgar are two references to organ players: the 1469/71 account records a payment to a priest who played the organ for a day,⁶⁷⁸ and the 1513/15 account records the payment

⁶⁷⁵ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 92v/cxxii^ov: *Paid to Thomas brown shomaker for mendyng of owre organnes, xxvij s. viij d.* (1525/26).

⁶⁷⁶ St Stephen Walbrook CWD(1), 55r/2r: *Dettors in my tyme [...] Thomas smythe orgynmaker for howse [unintelligible] for hys wyff, x s.* (1519/20), *et passim*.

⁶⁷⁷ See “Minstrels and Instruments,” chapter 2, and n.127 especially.

⁶⁷⁸ St Martin Orgar CWD(2), 6v.

“at diverse times” for bread and ale for one “Thomas, organ player.”⁶⁷⁹ Playing the organ often fell within the duties of the clerk; the examples of Henry Townsend and Symond Jenynges, at St Martin Outwich, have been described above,⁶⁸⁰ and the 1512/13 account of St Mary at Hill records a payment of 2s. 4d. to a conduct for playing the organ(s) “for the Easter holydays, *for lack of the clerk’s absence*.”⁶⁸¹ Evidently, at those churches for which accounts regularly record payments for organ maintenance but do not record payments explicitly to organ players, that responsibility must have rested with the clerk or another church officeholder, as it must have at St Dunstan in the West between 1536/37 and 1549/50 (though John Scarlett had been paid to play the organ there in the 1520s⁶⁸²) and St Lawrence Pountney in the 1540s.

Other churches, however, did record payments to individuals specifically for organ playing. The earliest payments appear in accounts from the 1450s and 1460s at St Andrew Hubbard, which name a certain Wodehousson, who was paid 4d. for playing the organ, and “Thomas the Child,” who was paid 4s. 4d.⁶⁸³ In the 1470s, a certain Danyell was paid 10d. for playing on Christmas Day; a later payment to him of 5s. (in the same account, which spans two years) suggests he became a more permanent member of parish

⁶⁷⁹ St Martin Orgar CWD(1), 74v: *Item payd at dyuersse tymes ffor bred & [unintelligible] ffor [mad? master?] thomas organ player that was [unintelligible] to the westre, iij d.*

⁶⁸⁰ See “Clerks & Church Musicians” above.

⁶⁸¹ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 281, emphasis mine.

⁶⁸² See, for example, St Dunstan in the West CWD, 16r (1519/20), and see the other references given above in n.61, chapter 1.

⁶⁸³ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 9-10 (c.1459-64).

staff.⁶⁸⁴ (This Danyell appears in the St Andrew Hubbard churchwardens' documents alongside a certain John, clerk, who was paid 5 ½s. to “perform his nobil.”⁶⁸⁵)

Wodehousson, Thomas, Danyell, and the later organ players named in the documents are recorded in appendix 1 (which also includes clerks—like the John mentioned above—who were specifically noted for organ playing). Appendix 1 lists John Howe as an organ builder, but a slip of a scribe's quill in an account of the late 1530s from St Alphage invites speculation about whether Howe could play the instrument himself: recording the annual payment of 1s. to the organ maker (“the goodman Howe” is named in 1537/38), the scribe began to write “organ player” in place of “organ maker.”⁶⁸⁶ Just as one account apparently confused the organ maker and organ player, another account appears to separate them: when an organ was installed at All Hallows Staining in the late fifteenth century, *2d.* was paid to a man who tested and proved the organ on behalf of the churchwardens,⁶⁸⁷ suggesting that it was not the organ maker himself who performed this task.

As an organ builder, Howe would have understood the mechanism of the bellows and the action of the organ keys, and evidently understood the acoustics of pitch and temperament in order to make adjustments to the pipes to tune the instrument, but whether

⁶⁸⁴ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 28, 30. The account spans April 1476-April 1478.

⁶⁸⁵ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 30. The term “nobil” has not been found elsewhere; in the glossary provided by Clive Burgess in his edition of the St Andrew Hubbard CWD, he writes: “Noble [Nobil]: unknown, but used in St Andrew Hubbard accounts apparently to denote music accompanied by organ playing,” see xxxvi.

⁶⁸⁶ St Alphage CWD, 65r: *Item payde to the orgayne ~~play~~ maker ffor hys wagys, xii d.* (c. 1538/39).

⁶⁸⁷ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 3v/vi^ov: *Item paide to the organ maker in party of payment, xj s. Item to a man to assey & prove the organs, ij d.* (c.1494/95).

at the keyboard he could, for example, double a plainchant line, and whether he was numbered among London's organ players, no evidence has yet revealed.⁶⁸⁸ (Such evidence may exist for another individual, however: one John Smith was paid 5s. for playing the organ for a quarter at St Andrew Hubbard in 1506/07, perhaps the same John Smythe, "organ maker," who mended the bellows of the organ at St Peter Westcheap in 1523/24.⁶⁸⁹)

Boy Bishops

For one day during the Christmas season, a choirboy was elected to the office of bishop, among festivities that playfully inverted ecclesiastical hierarchies.⁶⁹⁰ Merriment was a feature of the octave of Christmas, the week in which the roles of the church were celebrated: the deacons on St Stephen's Day, 26 December; the priests on St John's Day, 27 December; the acolytes on Holy Innocents' Day, 28 December, the subdeacons on the Circumcision, 1 January.⁶⁹¹ In London, the Boy Bishop's festivities were observed widely, on the feast of St Nicholas (patron saint of children, 6 December) or Holy Innocents' Day.⁶⁹²

⁶⁸⁸ A recent essay addressing the skills of a Tudor organ player is Magnus Williamson, "Playing the Organ, Tudor Style: Some Thoughts on Improvisation, Composition and Memorisation," in *Aspects of Early English Keyboard Music before c.1630*, ed. David J. Smith (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019), 99-122.

⁶⁸⁹ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 88; St Peter Westcheap CWD, 202v (but this must be a very common name).

⁶⁹⁰ At St Paul's Cathedral, another boy played the dean, and others assumed the roles of the cathedral canons: Max Harris, *Sacred Folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 174.

⁶⁹¹ For the ordering of the Christmas octave, see Margot Fassler, "The Feast of Fools and *Danielis Ludus*: Popular Tradition in a Medieval Cathedral Play," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 69.

⁶⁹² For the date of its observance, see Erler, *EL*, xxv. At St Paul's Cathedral, it was apparently on Holy Innocents' Day: Harris, *Sacred Folly*, 174-75; but there are references to the "St Nicholas Bishop" at St Alphage (CWD, 127v: *Item for the bysshope at Sent nycolas tyde* [...], 1536) and St Nicholas Shambles (CWD, 11r: *Item a mytre for seint Nicholas Bishhop* [...], c.1470), for example. Hutton refers to "at least

The Boy Bishop was dressed in the symbols of episcopal power: he wore bishop's vestments that were made especially for the purpose (owing to his size), and was given a mitre and a shepherd's staff. Mary Erler has observed that fifty-two parishes in London—roughly half of the city's total—had in their possession the robes and props required for the Boy Bishop festivities.⁶⁹³ The Boy Bishop even preached a sermon: one late fifteenth-century sermon given by the Boy Bishop at St Paul's Cathedral in c.1490 has survived,⁶⁹⁴ though a mid-fifteenth century sermon, titled "The Song" of the Boy Bishop and known to have been sung by its deliverer,⁶⁹⁵ has been lost (Baillie suggests that it could have been sung to plainsong tones,⁶⁹⁶ and indeed, plainsong was a part of the boys' musical education). The link between the revelry and musical and liturgical education is attested by an order of the cathedral's dean from 1263, which notes that the Boy Bishop is charged with keeping the pace of the procession and of its singing.

seven London parishes which had no association with the saint [that] paraded robed and mitred children upon [St Nicholas's] feast," see Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 12. Note also the Royal Order Banning Boy Bishops, *EL*, appendix 3, 249, which refers to St Nicholas's Day, St Catherine's Day (25 November), St Clement's Day (23 November), Holy Innocents' Day, and *suche lyke*.

⁶⁹³ Erler, *EL*, xxv. She has observed that even if garments that might not be specifically for the Boy Bishop's festivities (among which she includes copes) be removed, thirty-seven parishes remain, a third of the city's total. Erler writes, "Considering the losses of documents the number was almost certainly higher and perhaps as many as two-thirds of London parishioners enjoyed these Christmas-time revels in their churches and neighbourhoods."

⁶⁹⁴ Baillie, "London Churches," 188; for the date and the text of the sermon, see *EL*, 234-47.

⁶⁹⁵ So suggested by its title: *The Song of the Chyld-Bysshop, as it was songe before the queenes maiestie [...] on saynt Nicholas day and Innocents day this yeare nowe present, by the chyld bysshope of Poules churche with his company*: quoted in Erler, *EL*, 236.

⁶⁹⁶ Baillie, "London Churches," 188: "Nothing is known about the music that was used. The text may have been written to fit a plainsong melody, or some other tune."

The earliest record in London of the Boy Bishop customs is found at St Paul's Cathedral, where twelfth-century statutes instructed the residentiary canons to show hospitality to the Boy Bishop by hosting a dinner for him during the octave of Holy Innocents' Day.⁶⁹⁷ Records of it at the cathedral continue in the thirteenth century: the gift of a mitre given to a boy bishop is listed in the cathedral's inventory of 1245, which also lists twenty-eight vestments for choirboys, designated for Holy Innocents' Day festivities.⁶⁹⁸

Though the real bishop actually took his seat in a cathedral—the *cathedra* is the bishop's throne—there was evidently, as Erler writes, “a wide investment in this custom” in London's parishes.⁶⁹⁹ In the parish churches, evidence for the Boy Bishops emerges alongside the earliest extant documents from the turn of the fifteenth century. An inventory of c.1400 from St Martin Ludgate lists a cope for St Nicholas and a mitre;⁷⁰⁰ in the early 1430s, vestments and props are recorded at St Peter Westcheap and St Mary at Hill;⁷⁰¹ a 1457 inventory from St Nicholas Shambles includes a chasuble “for the child bishop,” of red cloth and gold and “full of salutations of Our Lady” (red being the colour of martyrdom, associated with the murder of the Holy Innocents).⁷⁰² Also at St Nicholas Shambles,

⁶⁹⁷ Statutes of Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, *EL*, 14, and translated, 322 (c.1180-1200).

⁶⁹⁸ St Paul's Cathedral Inventory, *EL*, 15, and translated, 323 (1245).

⁶⁹⁹ That is not matched by the records of more provincial parishes: see Erler, *EL*, xxvi.

⁷⁰⁰ St Martin Ludgate Vestry Minutes, *EL*, 23, and translated, 330: *Item ij Aubes & ij Amyctes & j cope pur seynt Nicholace [...]* (c. 1400).

⁷⁰¹ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 174r (1431); St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 27 (1432; for the date, see n.542, above).

⁷⁰² St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 4v. For the date of this layer of the inventory, see Combes, “Piety and Belief,” 138.

reference to a jeweled mitre “for the St Nicholas Bishop” dates from or after 1470,⁷⁰³ and the wardens there received money from parishioners towards the making of four more copes for children in the 1470s;⁷⁰⁴ at St Martin Orgar, three children’s copes were gifted in the 1470s or 1480s;⁷⁰⁵ a cloth of gold and other vestments “for a child bishop” appear in the 1483 inventory of St Christopher le Stocks.⁷⁰⁶ References to the Boy Bishop continue to appear throughout the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth,⁷⁰⁷ and it is well-attested in the Parish Reformation Inventories from London.⁷⁰⁸

Referring to the frequent mention of vestments and props for the Boy Bishop in the London Parish Reformation Inventories, Baillie noted with curiosity that the churchwardens’ accounts should offer only few references to them.⁷⁰⁹ He also noted that, scant as they are in references to the Boy Bishop vestments and props, the churchwardens’ accounts reveal even less about what took place.⁷¹⁰ Secular London records, however, offer some glimpses and suggest that the boys went, with clerks, through their parish collecting

⁷⁰³ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 11r.

⁷⁰⁴ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 100v (1470/73).

⁷⁰⁵ St Martin Orgar CWD(2), 16r.

⁷⁰⁶ St Christopher le Stocks CWD, 14r.

⁷⁰⁷ For example, St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 52: “Item paid for making St Nicholas’s cope, 2s. 2d.” (1487/88); St Martin Orgar CWD(1), 39r: *Item paid for saint nycholas staff, iiij d.* (c.1518); St Alphage CWD, 127v: *Item for the bysshope at sent nycholas tyde ij myteres ij croses one gilt a nother vngylt & one stafe a cope & a vestment for the chylde & ij other olde copes the whiche [or the iiii] be newe* (1536).

⁷⁰⁸ Baillie gives the following churches: St Alban Wood Street; St Benet Fink; St Dionis Backchurch; St Katherine Cree; St Martin Outwich; St Mary Axe; St Mary Colechurch; St Mary Magdalen Milk Street; St Michael Cornhill; St Michael le Quern; St Peter Westcheap: see Baillie, “London Churches,” 189-90.

⁷⁰⁹ Baillie, “London Churches,” 190.

⁷¹⁰ Baillie, “London Churches,” 190.

money: in the 1409 Christmas season, a payment of *2d.* was recorded at St Mary's Hospital, "given to the St Nicholas Bishop,"⁷¹¹ and the accounts of the Bridge House, on London Bridge, record a payment made in December 1411 to a St Nicholas Bishop and clerks.⁷¹² In the sixteenth century, the Brewers' Company recorded small payments to "St Nicholas Clerks" and/or a "St Nicholas Bishop," who appeared in the company hall around St Nicholas's Day, frequently between the 1500/1 and 1537/38 accounts;⁷¹³ the record from Christmas 1528 specifies that it is the clerks of St Mary Aldermanbury, the parish wherein the Brewers' hall was located.⁷¹⁴ In 1538, the Court of Common Council issued an injunction against the Boy Bishop festivities, noting "the great costs and charges of many honest persons" that were incurred when the St Nicholas bishops went "about every house,"⁷¹⁵ collecting money.

Money was collected in exchange for entertainments, including song: when the festivities were properly banned by royal command in July 1541, the order noted that children, "strangely decked and apparelled to counterfeit priests, bishops, and women," were "led with songs and dances from house to house, blessing the people, and gathering money."⁷¹⁶ Probably plainchant and sacred repertoire, in which the boys and clerks of those

⁷¹¹ St Mary within Cripplegate Hospital Kitchener's Account, *EL*, 24, and translated, 330.

⁷¹² Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 57, and translated, 1101: "Likewise given to the St Nicholas bishop and his clerks in the counting-room at the time of the accounting just past, *8d.*"

⁷¹³ Brewers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 265, *et passim*; see also Lancashire's endnote, *CL*, 1297-98.

⁷¹⁴ Brewers' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 473: *Item paid to the pristes and Clarkes of aldermanbury on Senyt Nicholas Even in our hall, viij d.* See also Lancashire's endnote, *CL*, 1297-98.

⁷¹⁵ Court of Common Council, Journal 15, *CL*, 579.

⁷¹⁶ Royal Order Banning Boy Bishops, *EL*, appendix 3, 249.

parishes that supported children's choirs were well-rehearsed, provided some of the music that they offered as they went through the city visiting houses and company halls. The boy singers named in London's archive, Everod, Thomas, and Robert Bynge, were all employed at St Mary at Hill over the Christmas season, and that church was known to have the vestments required to observe the Boy Bishop festivities from at least the 1430s.⁷¹⁷ Along with the boy that sang treble "to help the choir in Christmas holidays" in 1493/94, whose name was not recorded,⁷¹⁸ it is charming to imagine these boys participating in these festivities during these days set aside for them.

Palm Sunday

Of the liturgies of Holy Week—the defining week of the Christian year—it was apparently the Palm Sunday procession that mattered most to the commoners.⁷¹⁹ More than two-thirds of the London churches for which archival documentation survives recorded expenses and arrangements associated specifically with Palm Sunday.

The dramatic procession on Palm Sunday, alongside that of Corpus Christi discussed below, was perhaps the most elaborate of the year.⁷²⁰ Eamon Duffy has described the liturgy as it was observed in pre-Reformation England: a deacon recited the proclamation of Jesus's entry into Jerusalem from the Gospel of St John (chapter 12, verses

⁷¹⁷ See St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 27.

⁷¹⁸ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 197.

⁷¹⁹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 23.

⁷²⁰ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 23.

12-19); a procession took the people outside of the church building and to a large cross in the churchyard; another procession, this time of the clergy, brought the Sacrament out of the church. When the two processions met at the foot of the cross, the anthem *Behold, O Sion, thy King cometh* was sung, traditionally by singers dressed as the prophets of the Old Testament.⁷²¹ References to this custom in London survive from the fifteenth century: at St Mary at Hill, a certain Loreman was paid 4*d.* for playing a prophet in 1451;⁷²² records of carpenters' expenses, for building the platform on which the prophets stood, survive for London parish churches from the latter half of the century.⁷²³ In the 1540s, at St Alphage, children are mentioned playing the prophets on Palm Sunday,⁷²⁴ perhaps also singing *Behold, O Sion, thy King cometh*. Records for London churches of payments for costumes, false beards and wigs, and scaffolding and other matter that suggest this kind of liturgical drama are scattered though the London churchwardens' accounts.⁷²⁵

The Palm Sunday liturgy included much music that was proper to the day: *Behold, O Sion, thy King cometh*, for example, and the hymn *Gloria, laus et honor*.⁷²⁶ The main

⁷²¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 24.

⁷²² St Mary at Hill, *EL*, 27. (Erler's endnote, *EL*, 355, explains that the accounts for these and other years were lost by the time Littlehales made his edition of the CWDs, but excerpts of them were printed elsewhere before that time, from which Erler takes this account entry.)

⁷²³ Erler, *EL*, xxvii.

⁷²⁴ St Alphage *CWD*, 71v (1540/41), 93r (1545/46).

⁷²⁵ Those expenses that do not specifically concern the musical parts of these liturgical embellishments are not considered here. They are described in Erler, *EL*, xxvii-xviii; see also Baillie, "London Churches," 192-93.

⁷²⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 23-24. For the Palm Sunday liturgy in the Sarum missal, see *The Sarum Missal, Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 92-98.

Gospel reading was especially musically elaborate. On Palm Sunday, it was the account of Jesus's crucifixion from St Matthew (chapters 26-27; the Passion accounts of the other evangelists were heard later in Holy Week⁷²⁷). Historically, the Passion Gospels were at first chanted by a single deacon, who recited the text on different plainchant tones for the different voices of the Evangelist, Jesus, and other roles in the scripture text. It is from this custom that the very earliest musical notations in the medieval West survive, with letters representing the roles sung at different pitches,⁷²⁸ and from the fifteenth century, settings of the Passion Gospels appeared that alternated between plainchant and polyphony: the earliest such setting attributable to a composer anywhere in Europe is by Richard Davy, an Englishman,⁷²⁹ and anonymous polyphonic settings known in England are the earliest extant settings of the Passion Gospels to polyphony in Europe.⁷³⁰

Though no polyphonic setting can be definitively associated with London, it is clear that from the mid-fifteenth century the Passion Gospel on Sunday was being sung by

⁷²⁷ *The Sarum Missal*, 97-101.

⁷²⁸ Michel Huglo and Barbara Hagg-Huglo, "Des lettres de la passion aux lettres significatives notkériennes," in *Quod ore cantas corde credas: Studi in onore di Giacomo Baroffio Dahnk*, ed. Leandra Scappaticci (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013), 427-436. Three London manuscripts use *c* for the words of the Evangelist, *+* for the words of Christ, and *s* for the other roles: see the *Passio secundum Mattheum* in LMA, CLC/270/MS00515 (Missal, early fifteenth century, St Botolph without Aldersgate), 79v-82v; Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.1.15 (Missal, fourteenth century, St Margaret's Lothbury), 69r-72r; Oxford, Christ Church College Library, MS Lat 87 (Missal, fifteenth century, St Botolph Aldgate), 88v-91r. An example of this notation (from the Missal of St Margaret's Lothbury) is given as Fig. 2.

⁷²⁹ Steven E. Plank, "Wrapped all in Woe: Passion Music in Late-Medieval England," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, eds. A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 96; see also David Skinner, "Davy [Davys], Richard," *GMO* (accessed 7 February 2020), and especially Ex. 1.

⁷³⁰ Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 4th ed. (Frits Knuf: Buren, The Netherlands, 1980), 402, describing settings of the Passions according to Matthew and Luke in the Egerton manuscripts (Gb-B1 Egerton 3307). These, dating c.1430-44, alternate the plainchant of Jesus and the Evangelist with the polyphonic responses of the crowd, may have been sung at the King's chapel at St George's Chapel, Windsor, or at Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire: see Plank, "Wrapped all in Woe," 95.

multiple singers: in the account of St Nicholas Shambles for 1465, a payment of 6¼ *d.* is recorded for bread and wine for the “parsons and the *clarens* for reading the Passion in the rood loft.”⁷³¹ (The term *clarens* here must mean singers, and not clarioners: it is tempting to understand it to mean instrument players on such an important feast, but a later payment, in 1469, confirms that the church kept *clarens* on the full-time staff, which renders the interpretation of clarion players very unlikely, because there is no corroborating evidence that salaried individuals at the church ever included instrumentalists except organ players.⁷³²)

This and other payments record that the priests and singers “read” the Passion, but it must be remembered that the accountants are not concerned with detailing musical or liturgical practices, only their expenses. The London accounts—all of which are in English, except for the earliest records of St Peter Westcheap—at times apparently use “read” and “sing” interchangeably, and the singing of the Gospel to plainchant tones by a deacon was the standard practice at Mass.⁷³³ Accounts from St Nicholas Shambles in the 1470s specifically mention clerks “at the Passion time,”⁷³⁴ and priests and clerks were given wine “at the reading of the Passion” in 1480;⁷³⁵ though the records state that it was “read,” it is

⁷³¹ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 81v.

⁷³² St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 92v: *Item payde the xxiiij daye of October to the Clarens in full payment for ther quarter wains* [i.e., profit, advantage] *for myhullmesse quarter, iiij s. vj d.* For “wains,” see *OED*.

⁷³³ See James. W. McKinnon, “Recitative, liturgical,” and Michael Huglo and James W. McKinnon, “Gospel (i) (Gk. *evangelion*; Lat. *evangelium* etc.),” *GMO* (accessed 7 February 2020).

⁷³⁴ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 111v: *Item payde on palme sonday for wyne for the prystis and the clarkys at the pasion tyme, iiij d.* (1476/77).

⁷³⁵ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 122r.

worth noting that the Passion is being associated with church staff whose duties were frequently musical. Earlier still, in the late 1440s, bread, wine, and wages were given at St Peter Westcheap to the “readers” of the Passion (the payment does not specify who those individuals were or whether they were musical; it does, however, indicate that there were more than one).⁷³⁶ In 1523, the wardens of St Peter Westcheap also provided bread, wine, and ale “for *them* that read the passion” on Palm Sunday,⁷³⁷ and in 1524, the payment for bread and wine specifies that the Passion Gospel was sung,⁷³⁸ as it does in later payments also.⁷³⁹ At St Mary Woolnoth, bread, wine, and ale were given in reward to priests and clerks “at the reading of the passion,”⁷⁴⁰ but multiple individuals are indicated, suggesting that it was sung.

On Palm Sunday, with its proper hymns, anthems, and the Passion Gospel, there was much work for a singer in a parish church. While the records of payments by churches to singers in London are numerous and consistent, they do not specify what precisely those singers were engaged to do. Perhaps in some churches, boys sang anthems, and the Passion Gospels were sung in settings that alternated plainchant with polyphony. At any rate, Palm Sunday must have been one of the grandest musical days in the liturgical year, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the payments described above that many

⁷³⁶ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 222v: *Item payde on palme sundaye for brede & wyne to the reders of the passion, iij d.* (c. 1447/51); 223r: *Item paide on palme sundaye to them that redd the passion, vj d.* (c.1447/57).

⁷³⁷ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 196v, emphasis mine.

⁷³⁸ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 202r.

⁷³⁹ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 188r (1527), 149v (1529), 153v (1530), *et passim*.

⁷⁴⁰ St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 5r (1539/40).

churches recorded were to supplement, with additional resources, their regular musical forces of clerks, choirs, and, of course, the organ(s), all of which would also have been present on the day.⁷⁴¹ At St Martin Orgar, an organist was in receipt of wages from Christmas to Michaelmas around 1470, and thus likely played on Palm Sunday;⁷⁴² at St Mary at Hill in the sixteenth century, the organ blower was paid to pump the bellows for 52 Sundays in the year,⁷⁴³ and so the instrument was evidently being played on Palm Sunday, though there is no explicit record of the organ on that feast.

Thomas Bynge and Robert, the two boy choristers at St Mary at Hill in 1490/91, were in the service of the church for Holy Week and probably participated in the Palm Sunday liturgies. It was the custom for the hymn *Gloria, laus et honor* to be sung from a high place by children,⁷⁴⁴ and children, whether choristers or not, enjoyed the cakes that are ubiquitously referenced for Palm Sunday in the London churchwardens' accounts.⁷⁴⁵ Children dressed as prophets have already been mentioned, and very probably they sang *Behold, O Sion, thy King cometh*. Palm Sunday records that specifically refer to children

⁷⁴¹ The churches for which additional payments are recorded are: All Hallows Staining; St Alphage; St Andrew Hubbard; St Dunstan in the East; St Dunstan in the West; St Lawrence Pountney; St Margaret Pattens; St Martin Orgar; St Martin Outwich; St Mary at Hill; St Mary Magdalen Milk Street; St Mary Woolnoth; St Michael Cornhill; St Michael le Quern; St Nicholas Shambles; St Peter Westcheap; and St Stephen Walbrook.

⁷⁴² St Martin Orgar CWD(2), 6v (1469/71).

⁷⁴³ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 354 (1530/31), 364 (1533/34). CWDs often record the names of the men and boys, usually drawn from the poorest of the parish, who were paid to pump the bellows: at St Mary at Hill in 1533/34 it was Thomas Coldale; in the 1520s, it was a certain Balaham, and the documents even detail that he was sick at Christmas, 1529/30.

⁷⁴⁴ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 24-25; *The Sarum Missal*, 96.

⁷⁴⁵ Among the most common expenses in the churchwardens' accounts are the payments for "Palms, flowers and cakes" for Palm Sunday, about the latter of which, Eamon Duffy writes, "the "cakes" frequently named in the accounts were usually strewn before the Sacrament from the scaffolding, to be scrambled for by the children": *The Stripping of the Altars*, 24-25.

appear in the sixteenth century. In 1528 and 1529, the wardens of St Dunstan in the West paid for a pint of sweet wine for children, which, in 1528, was “to encourage them to sing,”⁷⁴⁶ and in the 1530s, children were rewarded with potations alongside the priests on Palm Sunday at St Stephen Walbrook.⁷⁴⁷ The children who were paid for singing versicles at St Mary Magdalen Milk Street in 1544/45 possibly also were present at Palm Sunday.⁷⁴⁸

Corpus Christi Day

The Corpus Christi procession was perhaps the other most elaborate religious procession of the year.⁷⁴⁹ From 1316, the church had ordered a procession to be held as part of the Corpus Christi celebrations that took place on the Thursday following Trinity Sunday.⁷⁵⁰ The Corpus Christi procession in medieval Europe, Edmund Bowles has written, was “a parade of clergy and lay folk [escorting] the Sacrament through the city ceremonially after Mass,” in “a joint monumental enterprise in which all the local groups participated, civic and religious alike”;⁷⁵¹ in London, however, it appears, like the Boy Bishop festivities, to have been a parish, and not a city, affair: the 1507/08 account for St Mary at Hill records a

⁷⁴⁶ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 52r (1527/28), 55v (1528/29).

⁷⁴⁷ St Stephen Walbrook CWD(1), 104v/4v (1531/32).

⁷⁴⁸ St Mary Magdalen Milk Street CWD, 86v: *paid for iij chylldryne thatt sone the versekylles, iij d.* (See also the same transcription in *EL*, 103, which dates the payment at Palm Sunday 1544.)

⁷⁴⁹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 23.

⁷⁵⁰ Edmund Bowles summarizes the history of the liturgy: the festival of Corpus Christi was instituted in 1264, and was firmly established in 1311. Pope John XXII ordered the procession in 1316: Edmund A. Bowles, “Musical Instruments in the Medieval Corpus Procession,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17, no. 3 (1964): 251-52.

⁷⁵¹ Bowles, “Musical Instruments in the Medieval Corpus Christi Procession”: 251.

payment for “the bearing of eight torches on Corpus Christi day *about the parish*,”⁷⁵² and expenses for processions are found in various churchwardens’ accounts, suggesting that it was the parish churches, and not the city or its companies or guilds that were responsible for their organization.⁷⁵³ At times, the city apparently had to intervene: in 1389, when John Basse and John Creek, drapers, found themselves before the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen, charged with attacking the parishioners of St Nicholas Acon, whose Corpus Christi procession, by custom, passed through John Basse’s house.⁷⁵⁴

From the mid-fifteenth century, and well into the mid-sixteenth, the London churchwardens’ accounts are littered with evidence for the Corpus Christi procession: for those years for which accounts survive, there are near annual references to both the garlands that decorated the church on Corpus Christi day,⁷⁵⁵ and to the banners, flags, and torches that would be carried as the Sacrament was borne throughout the streets, covered by a canopy, in the early-morning procession. A canopy is attested in the accounts of St Andrew Hubbard first in the late 1450s and thereafter into the sixteenth century;⁷⁵⁶ in

⁷⁵² St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 264, emphasis mine.

⁷⁵³ Bowles describes the responsibility of religious guilds to organize the procession in other English cities such as York: see Bowles, “Musical Instruments in the Medieval Corpus Christi Procession”: 253. However, the evidence for London does appear to suggest there were parish processions.

⁷⁵⁴ “Folios ccxxx - ccxlii: Feb 1387-8 -, pages 331-344,” in *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: H, 1375-99*, edited by Reginald R. Sharpe (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1907), BHO, (accessed 27 December 2019), *s.v.* “Folio ccxl b.” John Basse and John Creek confessed their guilt and were sentenced to prison, but later their sentence was commuted for a fine.

⁷⁵⁵ From the 1440s, see: St Peter Westcheap CWD, 218v; from the 1450s, see All Hallows on the Wall CWD, 4r (c.1457/58); St Michael Cornhill CWD, ed. Overall, 15 (1458/1459). Such payments continue, *et passim*, in the sources until 1550, and reappear in the reign of Mary: for example, St Peter Westcheap CWD (1555/56), 40v; St Michael Cornhill CWD, ed. Overall, 136 (1556/57), 140 (1557/58).

⁷⁵⁶ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 6. The canopy is attested again in the 1490s (see 64-65) and in the 1499/1502 account (see 77).

the 1480s, the canopy carried through the parish of St Mary at Hill was decorated with four brass-like bells, that must have tinkled as it moved during the procession, and a fifth bell was purchased “to go with the sacrament,” and was perhaps attached either to the monstrance,⁷⁵⁷ or rung by one of the members of the procession.

Musicians led the procession, and music was also an important part of the liturgical celebration of the feast. In 1493, a clerk was paid 4*d.* for singing alongside the torch-bearers in the procession at St Andrew Hubbard, and 5½*d.* was paid for bread, wine, and ale for singers on the feast day.⁷⁵⁸ (The same church, in the late 1470s, paid 8*d.* to an organ player for playing on Corpus Christi eve and day,⁷⁵⁹ though there is no mention of musicians and the procession.)

Payments to minstrels are recorded at the Corpus Christi feast at All Hallows Staining from c.1511 to the 1530s. The 1511/12 account includes a payment of 8*d.* to a minstrel for “two Corpus Christi days.”⁷⁶⁰ The minstrel probably played in the procession: in later years, from 1514 to 1517, the accounts record that a total of 8*d.* was paid each year to

⁷⁵⁷ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 131 (1487/88).

⁷⁵⁸ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 63: “Item paid on Corpus Christi day for garlands of roses and of woodruff for the choir and the torch bearers, 13*d.*, Item paid for a breakfast for those that bore the torches, 8*d.* Item paid for one of the clerks that sang with them, 4*d.*”

⁷⁵⁹ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 34.

⁷⁶⁰ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 51v/lxxx^ov. The reference to “two Corpus Christi days” is puzzling (as is some of the dating, generally, in these accounts). Corpus Christi fell only once during the accounting year, which began on 2 May 3 Henry VIII [i.e., 2 May 1511] and ran for one year. The minstrel could well have been employed for the vigil and its feast, or, the account’s “one year” is not exact. Or since the payment, 8*d.*, is the same as those in later years, which are given to minstrels, it may be that the scribe has misunderstood and it was two minstrels, not two Corpus Christi days.

minstrels that “went before” or “played before” the Sacrament.⁷⁶¹ For the next decade, to 1528, the minstrels, when they appear, were paid a total of 10*d.*,⁷⁶² except in 1525, for which year the account records a payment to a single minstrel of 3*d.*,⁷⁶³ and 1526, for which two minstrels received a payment totalling 1*s.*⁷⁶⁴ The accounts of All Hallows Staining are the only churchwardens’ accounts with specific references to minstrels in connection with Corpus Christi, and after 1528, the minstrels do not appear again in the payments for the feast day, though 1*d.* was paid for drink for singers on the feast day in 1535,⁷⁶⁵ and singers were given drinks and garlands in 1536.⁷⁶⁶

Apparently no eyewitness left an account of a London Corpus Christi procession, as they did for royal entries or the Mayor’s swearing-in processions that were described in the previous chapter, so there is no explicit record of what music may have accompanied the procession.⁷⁶⁷ The documents do confirm that it could be both instrumental and vocal, as they record payments to the minstrels who “played before the sacrament,” as well as to

⁷⁶¹ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 57r/lxxxvi^or: *Item paide to the mynstrylles that went with sacrament, viij d.* (1514/16); 63r/lxxxxii^or: *Item payd vnto mynstrelles that playd be fore the sacrament, viij d.* (1516); 64r/lxxxxiii^or: *Item for garlandes vpon corpuscrysti day, x d. Item paid to the mynstrelles for going before the sacrament the same day, viij d.* (1517).

⁷⁶² There are no payments to minstrels for the feast in 1521 or 1527. However, there is a payment for bread, ale, and wine on Corpus Christi Day 1527, so it is possible still that minstrels were a part of the celebration: All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 94r/cxxiii^or.

⁷⁶³ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 90v/cxx^ov.

⁷⁶⁴ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 92v/cxxii^ov.

⁷⁶⁵ All Hallows Staining CWD(1) 109r/cxxxix^or.

⁷⁶⁶ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 115r/cxlv^or.

⁷⁶⁷ Machyn recorded *as goodly synging as ever was hard* [i.e., heard] when the King and Queen went in procession at Whitehall on Corpus Christi Day 1557, though this is a description of a royal, and not a parish, event: *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, edited by John Gough Nichols (New York, London: Camden Society, 1848), 139.

singers, such as the clerk who sang with the torchbearers at St Andrew Hubbard in 1493. As was the case with Palm Sunday and other major feasts, there was music that was proper to Corpus Christi, and sacramental plainchant hymns and antiphons likely provided some of the musical inspiration. Londoners, like all medieval people, recognized and knew this plainchant repertoire; the minstrels, who were skilled musicians and were being paid for their craft, probably made use of this repertoire as the basis for their instrumental music.

At St Mary at Hill, a payment to the four children of St Magnus in the 1477/79 account follows payments for garlands and torchbearers on Corpus Christi Day and garlands on St Barnabas's Day, though it is not clear from the account whether the payment to the children was for one of the feasts, both, or neither. Children are recorded going with the Corpus Christi procession in the 1489/90 account,⁷⁶⁸ probably singing. Other documents record payments that do specify that they are for singing, but do not indicate whether that singing was in connection with the procession, at the Mass, or both: the 1503/04 account of St Andrew Hubbard includes a payment "on Corpus Christi day to the singers"⁷⁶⁹); other references to the choir in the accounts of St Michael le Quern, St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St Stephen Walbrook, and St Alphage from the 1520s to 1540s also do not indicate whether the choirs participated in the procession, though it would be a reasonable explanation for the additional costs spent on them by the churchwardens.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁸ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 149.

⁷⁶⁹ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 82: "Item paid on Corpus Christi day for the singers, 16d." (the account spans eighteen months, so this could be Corpus Christi 1503 or 1504).

⁷⁷⁰ St Michael le Querne CWD, 27r: [...] *Payd for garlandes for the qwer on corpus xpryste day, xj d.* (c. 1521/22); St Mary Magdalen Milk Street CWD, 51v: *Item payd for garlondes on corpus cryste day & for drynke for the quyver the same day, v d.* (1531); St Stephen Walbrook CWD(1), 133r/3r: *Payde for rose*

Dedication Feasts and Feasts of Patron Saints

During the church year all Londoners celebrated the same universal feasts, like Palm Sunday and Corpus Christi, in their parish churches, but there were other feasts that were unique to a single parish. These were the celebration held on the anniversary of a church's consecration (here called the Dedication Feast), and the different feast days of a saint to whom a church was dedicated. The churchwardens' accounts indicate the individuality of these feasts, often referring to them as "our dedication day" or "our church holy day." One very early such reference—perhaps the earliest explicit reference to music at a Dedication feast—dates to the mid-1460s, when the wardens of St Nicholas Shambles paid 1s. ½d. for bread and sweet wine, "which was drunk in the vestry among singers on *our* dedication day" in January.⁷⁷¹

These feasts are considered together here, partly because they are not always distinguished in the documentary evidence. In the 1460s, for example, the accountants of St Andrew Hubbard recorded that drink was given to the clerks "upon the dedication day and church holy day," and to an organ player for "the same two days."⁷⁷² The "two days" could refer to the Dedication day and its vigil (both of which are specifically mentioned in

garlondes agaynst corpus xpi daye, xv d. payde for brede alle & wyne for the quere the same daye, v d. ob. (1537/38); St Alphage CWD, 96v: *Item for garlondes on corpus crysty day, iij s. Item for dryncke for the quere the same day, iij d.* (1547). The churchwardens' accounts of other parishes often include expenses for drinks on Corpus Christi Day, and while there is no specific mention of choirs or singers, it must be remembered that musicians could well have been among those enjoying the drinks as payment for their services.

⁷⁷¹ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 80v (c.1465), emphasis mine.

⁷⁷² St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 14.

the account of St Nicholas Shambles for 1486, for example⁷⁷³) or to a second feast of particular importance to that church, such as a feast of St Nicholas himself. Previously, between 1482 and 1485, the accounts had separated the payment for wine “on the dedication day for three years” from the payment for wine for the singers “on the church’s holy day for three years”;⁷⁷⁴ the payment for bread and wine “spent in the church on our church’s holy day in May” in the 1515/16 account refers to the feast of St Nicholas’s translation on 9 May.⁷⁷⁵

Differentiating between a church’s Dedication feast and a “holy day,” which might be a feast of a patronal saint, like the celebration of St Nicholas’s Translation at St Nicholas Shambles, has sometimes caused understandable confusion in recent scholarship.⁷⁷⁶ But it was a point of confusion at the turn of the sixteenth century, too, at least for the accountants at St Dunstan in the East: the 1495/96 account records a payment for wine and ale “on the dedication day for the singers,” and a separate entry records the cost of two tankards of sweet wine for the singers of the Chapel Royal, who were visiting

⁷⁷³ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 135v: *Also payd for mete & drynk to the clerkes & syngers on the even & day of the dedicacion of the church in anno primo henrici vii, ij s.* See also St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 82: “Item paid for bread, ale and wine on our dedication day and its eve, 9d.” (1503/04); see also St Mary at Hill CWD, 130v: *Item payd on dedicacion evyn & on the morow for bred ale & wyne to bowear and his company & to the qwer, xvij d.* (1495/96).

⁷⁷⁴ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 129r: *Item for wyne on the chyrcheholyday for syngars for iij yeres, xvij d. Item for wyne on the dedicacion day iij yeres, ij s.*

⁷⁷⁵ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 233v: *Item payd for bred and wyne spent in the church on our church holyday in may, ii d. ob.*

⁷⁷⁶ See for example Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 191 and 217, where he calls the feasts of patronal saints “dedication days,” but no evidence to corroborate that these were in fact the anniversaries of the church’s consecrations has been found (the churches were quite ancient and no relevant early records appear to survive). Cuthbert Tunstall, sixteenth-century Bishop of London, said of the Dedication feast that it was observed “according to the day on which a given church was consecrated and dedicated to God or His saints”: see his decree to alter the date of the Dedication feasts (discussed below): Court of Common Council, Journal 12, *CL*, 409, and translated, 1205.

singers on St Fabian and St Sebastian's Day (20 January), which the account calls "our church holy day."⁷⁷⁷ In the 1499/1500 account, St Ursula's Day in October is called the Dedication Feast and there is again a separate payment for wine and ale on 20 January,⁷⁷⁸ but then, in the 1502/03 account, it is 20 January that is called "our dedication day," and a separate payment for wine and ale for the priests and clerks on St Ursula's Day is recorded.

Whereas Palm Sunday required props and garments, and Corpus Christi processions sometimes called for minstrels, the payments recorded for Dedication festivals, where it is possible to isolate expenses for them, are almost always for wine or ale, and more than half of those payments specify that the drinks are given to clerks or singers.⁷⁷⁹ And sometimes the expenses also mention an organist, as in the 1466/68 and 1478/80 accounts of St Andrew Hubbard.⁷⁸⁰ In the late fifteenth century at St Stephen Coleman Street, bellringers were also paid for their services "for the high mass upon our dedication day."⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁷ St Dunstan in the East CWD, 12r: *Item paide on seynt fabyon and Sent Sebastyon day our chirche haly day for ij potell of Bastard for the syngers of the kynges chapell, xvj d. ob.*; 17v: *Item payd ffor wyne and Ale on the dedycacon day for the syngers, ix d.* (Note that, though the payments are separated in the manuscript, both come under headings indicating that it is the 1495/96 account, running Midsummer to Midsummer 1496, see 9v, and 16r. The 1496/97 account begins on 19r.)

⁷⁷⁸ St Dunstan in the East CWD, 33v: *Payd for bred wyne and ale in the chirche ate the didicacion that is on xj m vergins* [i.e., the Feast of the 11 Thousand Virgins, St Ursula's Day], *xv d.*

⁷⁷⁹ Where there were children, they sang: in the 1495/96 account of St Mary at Hill, see n.773.

⁷⁸⁰ St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 14, 34.

⁷⁸¹ St Stephen Coleman Street CWD, 20r (c.1487/88[?]). Note that a later hand has attempted to determine the correct dates and folio numbering for this account, which is apparently misbound.

Of the thirteen churches from which surviving accounts do record expenses specifically for a Dedication feast,⁷⁸² only those of St Martin Outwich do not, at least once, explicitly indicate that part of that additional expense was for clerks or musicians. Those accounts note only a payment of 3*d.* for “bread and drink on our dedication day,”⁷⁸³ but musicians still could have been among those enjoying the bread and wine. (Wine was, after all, how the singers of the Chapel Royal were rewarded for singing at St Dunstan in the East in January 1495/96.)

That the archival documents themselves reveal only a small fraction of London’s musical culture is nowhere better represented than by the documentation of the city’s Dedication feasts. Not one of the extant churchwardens’ accounts refers to the Waits in the context of a Dedication feast, but they must have been there, and often: in September 1523, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, decreed that all parish churches and the city’s cathedral should, from thenceforth and under pain of excommunication, celebrate their Dedication on 3 October and not on their actual anniversary of consecration, in order to “rein in the multitude of so many feasts [...] especially of those (feasts) that are celebrated on the dedication days of churches everywhere throughout the said city, some at one time and some at another.”⁷⁸⁴ The Waits evidently considered this disadvantageous to their livelihoods and brought a bill of complaint before the Court of Aldermen about their resulting loss of income, and in April 1524, the city agreed to increase the wages of each

⁷⁸² They are: All Hallows on the Wall; All Hallows Staining; St Dunstan in the East; St Dunstan in the West; St Andrew Hubbard; St Margaret Pattens; St Martin Outwich; St Mary at Hill; St Mary Magdalen Milk Street; St Michael le Quern; St Peter Westcheap; St Nicholas Shambles; St Stephen Coleman Street.

⁷⁸³ St Martin Outwich CWD, 31r/32 (1518/19).

⁷⁸⁴ Court of Common Council, Journal 12, *CL*, 408-09, and translated, 1204-05.

of the Waits by £2 from Midsummer of that year.⁷⁸⁵ The Dedication feasts, of which there would have been more than 100 in a calendar year in the city (according to the number of London parishes) had evidently been a lucrative opportunity for the Waits to supplement their income from the Chamber, given the amount by which the Chamber increased their pay after their bill of complaint.

The Waits were thus evidently a part of London Dedication feasts and enriched them musically, as they did the city's civic and royal processions, though the extant churchwardens' documents do not record the fact. Perhaps they were employed to advertise a parish church's dedication feast, in the same way that they were paid annually by the Jesus Guild in the sixteenth century to go with banners and their instruments through the city streets before the feasts of Transfiguration and the Holy Name "to give warning and knowledge to the people of the said feasts";⁷⁸⁶ or perhaps they played at celebrations outside of the liturgy itself, such as a communal meal or drinking. They could have been paid in food and drink, or collections could have been taken on the day for their services, (this was not uncommon in London, and music and musicians at meals and banquets are described more fully below).

The bishop's decision to move the city's dedication feasts to 3 October is reflected in later references to Dedication feasts in the churchwardens' accounts: for example, later in the 1520s, the accounts of St Peter Westcheap record payments to the clerk for bread,

⁷⁸⁵ Court of Common Council, Journal 12, *CL*, 422: *Item it is agreed that the waytes of this Citie in Consyderyng that they haue lost thaduantages of the dedicacions dayes of Churches which nowe be all vpon oon day that is to saye the ijde day of Octobre That euery of theym shall haue yerely of wages of the Chamber ouer & aboute the wages that they nowe haue xl s. to begynne at Midsomere next commyng.*

⁷⁸⁶ See chapter 2, n.181; Jesus Guild Wardens' Accounts, *EL*, 50 (1515/16), *et passim* to 1534/35.

ale, and wine “on our dedication day, that is to say, St Francis Eve” [i.e., 3 October],⁷⁸⁷ but curiously the accounts in the 1550s refer to Lammas Day [1 August, the feast of St Peter in Chains] as “our dedication day.”⁷⁸⁸

Dedication days and the feasts of a patron saint sometimes gave churches reason to hire additional musicians or invite visiting singers. On St Nicholas’s Day [6 December] 1461, an organist was paid 4*d.*, and a bottle of claret wine and bread were given to singers of the Lord of Warwick’s chapel, for their participation in the services at St Nicholas Shambles.⁷⁸⁹ Singers were also paid there with wine and bread on the feast of the Translation of St Nicholas in May 1463,⁷⁹⁰ and in 1465, bread and wine were offered to the “diverse singers” who sang at the Translation and at St Nicholas’s December feast.⁷⁹¹ On St Nicholas’s Day 1466, it was “diverse singers of the King’s Chapel” that sang the service there.⁷⁹² Visiting singers were also hired at St Nicholas Shambles in 1468, when a payment of 10½*s.* was made for bread and wine for *strawnge syngers* on the Dedication

⁷⁸⁷ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 150r (1528/29), 153v (1528/29). In 1525, expenses for singers on St Francis’s Day were recorded at St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, which might also represent a Dedication festival, kept on the eve: see St Mary Magdalen Milk Street CWD, 26r, which includes *wyn and aylle on saynt ffrances daye ffor the syngers* among a larger payment.

⁷⁸⁸ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 41r: *Item payde to Iohn westkott for charges by hym layde out on lamas daye beyng our dedycacion daye for borowyng copes vestmentes and other charges, vij s. iiij d. (1555/56)*

⁷⁸⁹ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 61r: *Item payde the vj day of december for a pottell of clarrey and a brede the wheche was gevyn to certeyn men of my lorde of warwyckys chapell for they halpvs in owre chirche at the divine servise vp on Saynt Nycholas day, viij d.*

⁷⁹⁰ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 65r.

⁷⁹¹ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 81v, 82v.

⁷⁹² St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 84r.

day.⁷⁹³ Payments to singers, in the form of wages, or bread, ale, and wine, continue to be recorded at St Nicholas Shambles on feasts of St Nicholas in the 1470s,⁷⁹⁴ and singers were again hired and wine again purchased in the 1515/16 account for feasts that the accountant again calls “*our church holy day.*”⁷⁹⁵

Other churches had their holy days, too, which are found only in isolated churchwardens’ accounts and not more generally in the accounts of multiple churches, and such feasts would have had their chants, either proper or drawn from the Common of Saints. Alongside scattered payments for singers and bellringers on St Martin’s Day [11 November] clerks were also paid at St Martin Orgar for the feast of St Martin’s Translation c. 1470;⁷⁹⁶ the same feast is only referenced in the accounts of one other church, St Martin Outwich, in the late 1520s.⁷⁹⁷ Another example is the feast of St Alphege, which is only mentioned in the churchwardens’ accounts of St Alphege: those documents record payments for wine on St Alphege’s day in the 1530s, which may have been a form of payment to the singers who were among those who took part in the feast.⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹³ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 86r. (*Strawnge* [strange] here is in the sense of “belonging to some other place or neighbourhood; unknown to the particular locality; belonging to others,” see *OED*.)

⁷⁹⁴ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 103r (which includes three payments, for 1471, 1472, and 1472).

⁷⁹⁵ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 233v: *Item payd for wyne & bred on our church holyday for the syngars, xij d. [...] Item payd for bred and wyne spent in the church on our church holyday in may, ij d. ob.*, (Note that the previous accounting years had all expenses grouped together under “necessary expenses,” hence the gap in more detailed accounts).

⁷⁹⁶ St Martin Orgar CWD(2), 6r (1469/71).

⁷⁹⁷ St Martin Outwich CWD, 43r/46 (1526/27), 45r/48 (1527/28). Both accounts record payments for bread and ale on “both St Martin’s days,” likely referring to his feast proper, 11 November, and the Translation.

⁷⁹⁸ St Alphege CWD, 17v (1530/31); 23v (1531/32).

Company Feasts and Dinners

The sacred and secular worlds explored in this and the previous chapters, if indeed they were ever separate in the medieval imagination, met at the feasts and dinners held by the city's guilds and companies. These companies, formed to regulate trade and advance members' interests,⁷⁹⁹ were primarily religious as well as social, economic, and legal enterprises,⁸⁰⁰ and even as they gained administrative power in the city (they became agents for civic government and at times perhaps rivaled the wards as the chief administrative units of the city⁸⁰¹), they retained their spiritual function, and their priority remained the membership's common welfare in this world and the next: members rejoiced together under the patronage of a saint, who acted as an intercessor for the departed and whose feast day(s) often were the dates for company gatherings; in honour of the saints, members sponsored altars in the city's chapels;⁸⁰² brothers and sisters gathered at the house of a recently deceased member, took the body to the church, and attended the *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and Mass;⁸⁰³ at the funeral, the coffin would be draped with a fine pall belonging to the

⁷⁹⁹ The monarch granted to them monopolies to oversee the trades and crafts in the city; see the introduction to Sarah A. Milne, ed. *The Dinner Book of the London Drapers' Company, 1564-1602* (London: London Record Society, 2019), ix.

⁸⁰⁰ George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, 4th ed. (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1963), 15.

⁸⁰¹ Barron, *London*, 233.

⁸⁰² An example is the candle sponsored by the Goldsmiths in the chapel of St Dunstan at St Paul's Cathedral, described below.

⁸⁰³ See Doreen Sylvia Leach, "Carpenters in Medieval London, c. 1240-1540" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2017), 204, and appendix 2, 250-251, which transcribes the Certificate of the Fraternity of Carpenters, St Thomas Acon & St John Baptist: *Also is ordained that whan any brother or soster of this fraternie dyeth with inne the cite of Londoun or in the subarbes that alle the bretheren & sostren schul hem gadere to gedere at the hous ther the ded body is & bring the body to chirche & ben at eue at the Placebo & dirige & morwe at the masses & offren eche man apeny & abide there til the cors be buried & who so is absent at eue other on morwe with oute verrey cause paie apound wex* (clause 5). (Printed also in Caroline M. Barron and Laura Wright, "The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388-9,"

company.⁸⁰⁴ Members came together throughout the year at obits to pray for the souls of their departed fellows, at other times to elect a new master and wardens, and at all times to socialize together.

A mix of the sacred and secular is apparent in the sixteenth-century records of the Vintners' feasts, held twice a year on the feasts of their patron, St Martin, in November and July: members gathered for an obit and a meal, and though the heading in the 1512 account refers only to the liturgy, dinner expenses are numerous listed, and include the participation of the London Waits, the city's premier secular musicians, who may have played at the dinner, the obit, or both.⁸⁰⁵ (Later feast-time accounts also mingle sacred and secular expenses, such as a record of the Vintners' Company, which includes a payments for a "William with the lute" and for other minstrels among payments for their obit.⁸⁰⁶)

The physical spaces wherein the membership met for their company feasts and dinners also married the sacred and secular: the Vintners' obits took place at altars, but the dinners in a common space. Even election feasts, which were concerned with renewing the company's hierarchy of elected posts that descended from the master down through the wardens to the livery and on, began at a company's patronal church: in the sixteenth century the Drapers, for example, heard a sermon at St Michael Cornhill before meeting again in

Nottingham Medieval Studies 39 (1995): 108-45; see also "Memorial XXVIII: The Burial of a Deceased Brother, 1608," in *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the City of London*, ed. C. M. Clode (London: Harrison, 1875), BHO (accessed 29 December 2019).

⁸⁰⁴ Barron, *London*, 217.

⁸⁰⁵ Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 316; see also Lancashire's endnote, *CL*, 1311.

⁸⁰⁶ Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 528: *The waytes, xij d. bowbanke, xij d. other mynstrells, xij d. to William with the lewte, vij d.* (Lancashire gives the heading "Other necessary payments for 4 July," i.e., the date of the obit.) For Bowbank the minstrel, see appendix 1.

their hall in Throgmorton Street.⁸⁰⁷ Most companies held the liturgies of their feasts in one of the city's parish churches before retiring to their halls for meals and mealtime entertainment.

Few of the London companies' halls, which appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,⁸⁰⁸ were furnished with chapels, so the companies had to remain in close contact with the parish churches: the churchwardens' accounts of St Alphage at various times in the 1530s and 1540s record receipts from the Barbers, Bowyers, Curriers, Leathersellers, Plasterers, Stationers, and Scriveners for the costs of their masses (of the company, or a part of the company), for example.⁸⁰⁹ (The Barbers', Bowyers', and Curriers' Halls especially were in close proximity to St Alphage, in the city's north, so it makes sense that the costs for their liturgies should be recorded there.) The 1539/40 account at St Alphage records that the younger members of the Leathersellers' Company gave 7s. 6d. at their Mass, from which the church took an offering and also paid wages to the priest, the clerk, two deacons, and two singers for their services.⁸¹⁰ (The Tallow Chandlers also had their own Yeomen's feast, which regularly employed minstrels and players.) Just as the

⁸⁰⁷ Milne, ed. *The Dinner Book of the London Drapers' Company*, xviii.

⁸⁰⁸ By 1540, there were 47 company halls in London, the majority of which had been established by the end of the fifteenth century. See Barron, *London*, 216. A hall was more like our understanding of a mansion house, and many of the wealthier companies began their halls by acquiring a mansion from a magnate: Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, 176-17. Some companies did not have halls; the Minstrels' Company, for example, hired the Pewterers' hall c.1510-12 for their own dinners: Pewterers' Audit Book, CL, 306: *Item Reseyved of the mynstrelles for kepyng ther dyner at our haull, ij s.*; see also 312.

⁸⁰⁹ For references to each company's masses at See St Alphage, see CWD, 47r (Barbers, Curriers); 60v (Leathersellers, Scriveners); 64r (Plasterers, Stationers); 79v (Bowyers), *et passim*.

⁸¹⁰ St Alphage CWD, 60v: *Item Reseyvide of the yemanry of the lethersellers at ther mase vij s. vj d. & so payde to the parson for his dewte xij d. & to the cleke iijij d. & ij dekynes iijij d. & ij clerkes that sange vj d. & so Restythe clere To the churche, v d. iijij d.* (c.1539/40).

company members gathered at the church, so might church staff be guests at the meal in the hall: chaplains are listed among the guests at the Drapers' feasts in August 1517 and 1521.⁸¹¹

The records of minstrels, music, and musicians at company feasts are voluminous, and probably half of the individual records for all music in late medieval London are preserved in the context of meals and feasts.⁸¹² The description that follows examines the two longest-spanning records, those of the Goldsmiths and the Merchant Taylors, both of which begin in the fourteenth century. (Reference will continue to be made to other companies where necessary, and it is likely that the description given here of music at mealtimes is representative of other banquets and gatherings, too.⁸¹³)

As a part of the membership's devotion, the Goldsmiths honored their patron saint by financing the ringing on their feast day of the noonday bell at St Paul's Cathedral from at least the mid-1330s until the end of that century.⁸¹⁴ (The noonday bell itself was probably

⁸¹¹ See, for example, Drapers' Minutes and Records, *CL*, 340, and 385, which list clerks and chaplains among the guests at dinner.

⁸¹² Which is unsurprising: "The association of music and dining in Western civilization is as old as Western civilisation itself." Anthony M. Cummings, "Music and Feasts in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 361.

⁸¹³ Of course, less elaborate meals are likely to be less represented in the written evidence, but one example is a dinner at All Hallows Staining c. 1492: All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 3v/vi^ov: *Item paide for brede at drynkyng whan the wifes had gadered money, xij d. Item paide for flesshe and chese at the same drynkyng, ij s. Item paide to the harper the same tyme, iiij d.* (This payment is transcribed in *EL*, 37; see also Erler's endnote, 358.)

⁸¹⁴ The earliest record is in the 1336/37 accounts, which record 5s. "for bell-ringing at noon on St Dunstan's Day, and other expenditures": Goldsmiths' Wardens Accounts and Court Minutes, ed. Jefferson, 6-7. In the introduction to her edition, Jefferson notes that entries for this "civic piety" end after 1402/03, probably because the bells at St Paul's Cathedral were removed from the belltower and recast, after which the Goldsmiths chose not to continue with this activity on their feast day: see the introduction, xxxv-xxxvi.

named for St Dunstan, the tenth-century Bishop of London,⁸¹⁵ and the records make reference to “ringing the great bell of St Dunstan.”⁸¹⁶) The earliest record of minstrels at the Goldsmiths’ feast, in 1366, illustrates that the company feast time was a hybrid of the sacred and the secular: that year, the wardens spent £1 10s. in the fields (though they were by that time in the process of acquiring a hall⁸¹⁷) on wine, apples, minstrels, and things necessary for their feast,⁸¹⁸ and £1 for ringing the Dunstan bell at St Paul’s Cathedral, and for a candle in the church of St John Zachary.⁸¹⁹ (Perhaps this light burned before a shrine or on an altar of St Dunstan; the 1381/82 account records a light in the chapel of St Dunstan at St Paul’s Cathedral, instead of the church of St John Zachary.⁸²⁰) Payments to minstrels at the Goldsmiths’ feast continue, interspersed throughout the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸²¹ Sometimes the payment records suggest the kind of music that was enjoyed

⁸¹⁵ See Jefferson’s introduction, *Goldsmiths’ Wardens Accounts*, xxxv-xxxvi; see also “Bells,” chapter 3.

⁸¹⁶ Goldsmiths’ Wardens Accounts and Court Minutes, ed. Jefferson, 176-177. The Ironmongers paid to have the bells rung at their Mass at All Hallows Staining, see CWD, 40v/lxix^ov (1508/1510).

⁸¹⁷ Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, 178: The Goldsmiths’ records speak of an assembly in their “common place in the parish of St John Zachary” in 1364, but they recorded expenses the next year for their common place with a hall and other rooms.

⁸¹⁸ Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL* 10, and translated, 1056: “Likewise the said wardens spent on St Dunstan’s Day in the fields on wine, apples, minstrel/s, and other things, 30s.”

⁸¹⁹ Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, ed. Jefferson, 101: “Item, for the ringing of the great bell at St Paul’s, and for the light in the church of St John Zachary, 20s.” (This payment immediately follows that transcribed in *CL*, though it is omitted there.)

⁸²⁰ Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, 195.

⁸²¹ Note that there are some years for which no minstrels are documented (though this problem is discussed later in this subchapter). See, for example, the records of bellringing and/or candle lights, but no reference to minstrels, in the Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, ed. Jefferson, 79, 195, 227.

at the feast: in the records of the 1448 feast, Careaway, a harpist, and a certain John Pyper are named, alongside Morris dancers and other minstrels.⁸²²

The other company with written records of minstrelsy at their feast from the fourteenth century is the Merchant Taylors. Their feast was held on St John the Baptist's day, 24 June, at least from the time that it was recorded in Richard II's charter for the company in July 1390.⁸²³ (Documents of the Merchant Taylors also reveal that the saint was as important to the company as the saint's day: an inventory of the Company's possessions in 1512, beginning with effects in the hall, lists first an image of St John the Baptist, gilt, standing in a tabernacle.⁸²⁴) In 1399, the Merchant Taylors spent £1 3s. 4d. on minstrels at the feast on St John the Baptist.⁸²⁵ Their accounts continue for the next forty-five years and show that the Merchant Taylors continued to record diverse expenses annually for minstrels, and in some years minstrels and heralds.⁸²⁶ The largest expense recorded for minstrels between 1399-1445 was in 1415, when £4 11s. 8d. was paid to them for the feast.⁸²⁷ From the 1420s, the Merchant Taylors' accounts begin to name individual

⁸²² Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, *CL*, 165.

⁸²³ "Memorial XXXVII: Charters of the Company (1326-1465), pages 188-198," in *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, ed.

⁸²⁴ "Memorial XIII: Inventory of Effects, 1512, pages 84-92," in *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, ed. C. M. Clode (London: Harrison, 1875), BHO (accessed 11 December 2019).

⁸²⁵ Merchant Taylors' Accounts, *CL*, 36, and translated, 1080.

⁸²⁶ Heralds are recorded at the feast in 1402, for example: Merchant Taylors' Accounts, *CL*, 39, and translated 1084.

⁸²⁷ Merchant Taylors' Accounts, *CL*, 65, and translated, 1107.

minstrels,⁸²⁸ and some of the names found in the records of feasts are familiar: the Thomas “with the Trump,” met previously in the mid-fifteenth-century accounts of civic processions (see chapters 2 and 3), is almost certainly the “Thomas Reymer with the trump” who was paid 1s. at the Merchant Taylors’ company feast in 1455; Thomas appears again at the Merchant Taylors’ feasts in 1457 and 1458, and he was also at the Grocers’ feasts in 1457, 1459, and 1461 variously alongside minstrels, players, and even a magician.⁸²⁹

At this distance it is only possible to detect the presence of musicians at meals by references to them in the documentary evidence. But the documents themselves indicate that, especially at mealtimes, minstrels and musicians could be left out of the written record, and thus could well have been present even in those years for which no evidence suggests it. For example, musicians could have been rewarded for their services in food and drink at the meal, instead of wages; they also could have received the benefit of a collection taken for them on the day, neither of which need ever have been recorded in the written documents. This appears to have been the practice at the Brewers’ company dinner in 1421: their records note that William Porland, secretary of the Brewers’ company, collected 1s. 8d. from the members at the feast and distributed portions of that sum to a minstrel and to the pantryman; the same account notes that “nothing is recorded” about the 2s. 10d. given to one minstrel, a harper, or another 1s. given to a lute player, because it was gathered among members at the meal.⁸³⁰ Such practices certainly would have occurred in

⁸²⁸ Beginning with one *Thome ffole* (Thomas, a fool?) in 1422: Merchant Taylors’ Accounts, *CL*, 94, and translated, 1132 (the suggestion of “Tom Fole” as “Thomas, a fool” is Lancashire’s).

⁸²⁹ See n.197, chapter 2.

⁸³⁰ Brewers’ Account and Memorandum Book (Porland), *CL*, 90-91, and translated, 1129.

other years and among other companies, leaving no written record of minstrels or musicians at the feast. (In the Armourers and Brasiers' accounts of their 1553 and 1555 feasts, an old custom is described that each company member should pay *2d.* towards the costs of wine and minstrelsy;⁸³¹ likewise, in 1433, the Brewers recorded three minstrels in receipt of meals at their feast, but only one minstrel in receipt of wages.⁸³²)

London's Waits were employed by the Goldsmiths, the Merchant Taylors, and other companies at their feasts. The first record of a payment to the Waits in connection with a company feast dates from 1455, when the Merchant Taylors paid them 10s. for going in front of the master and assembly of the company in procession to St John's Hospital at their feast time.⁸³³ Similar payments are recorded occasionally in the years thereafter, to the 1480s.⁸³⁴ After a gap in the feast records between 1485 and 1545, the Waits reappear at the Merchant Taylors' 1546 feast,⁸³⁵ and annually from 1550-1557 they were paid

⁸³¹ Armourers and Brasiers' Court Minutes, *CL*, 769: *Memorandum that after an old Custom that day vsed towards the wyn & the mynstrell is that eueryman in the leuerray shuld pay ij d. ther was Receued of them in the leuerray, Somma iij s. iij d.*; see also *CL*, 802. In previous years' accounts, the small payments to minstrels at the dinner had been itemized.

⁸³² Brewers' Account and Memorandum Book (Porland), *CL*, 132-133: *Item payed to an menstrall the day of owre fest, xij d. [...] These been thoo persons that were at owre grete dynere and deden not payen of here owen purces [...] iij Menstralles.* See also Lancashire's endnote, *CL*, 1264.

⁸³³ Merchant Taylors' Accounts, *CL*, 177, and translated, 1182. For the company's association with the Hospital, see Lancashire's endnote, 1274.

⁸³⁴ Merchant Taylors' Accounts, *CL*, 203-04, and translated, 1192, *et passim*.

⁸³⁵ Merchant Taylors' Accounts, *CL*, 697.

6s. 8d. to play at the feast.⁸³⁶ The Waits also appear variously in the feast records of the Bakers, Carpenters, Grocers, Vintners, and Wax Chandlers.⁸³⁷

There were several opportunities for music making at a feast that spanned multiple venues—church and hall—and often, with vigil liturgies and daytime masses, multiple days. Sometimes it is possible to distinguish what music was probably heard, where, and when. Numerous payments to instrument players—harpists, pipers, lute and clarion players, and trumpeters—have already been mentioned, and there are also various records of payments to shawm and vielle players and taborers.⁸³⁸ Such payments were certainly for music making outside of the liturgy of the feast, during which instruments other than organs and bells would not have been heard. Probably most of these payments are for music making at the meals themselves: the Brewers’ record of the collection gathered for minstrels by William Porland of 1s. 8d. at the feast specifies that it took place in their hall on Adelstrete [Addle Street] and at breakfast;⁸³⁹ the Armourers and Brasiers’ account for 1532 records a payment of 2s. to two minstrels specifically “at dinner.”⁸⁴⁰ The payment

⁸³⁶ Merchant Taylors’ Accounts, *CL*, 741, 749, 757, *et passim*.

⁸³⁷ See, for example, Bakers’ Audit Book, *CL*, 564 (AD 1536); Carpenters’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 263 (1500); Grocers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 178 (1456); Vintners’ Master and Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 287 (1508); Wax Chandlers’ Master and Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 480 (1529), *et passim*.

⁸³⁸ For example: Carpenters’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 273: *Item payd to the mynsterelles, iij s. iiij d., Item payd to A taborere & A lutere, vj d.* (at the August feast, 1503); Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 588: *Item to iij mynstrelles j with a harpe j with a lute and j wythe a shalme for ij days, vj s. viij d.* (at the August feast, 1539; one *Killingworth mynstrell* is named in the marginalia); Wax Chandlers’ Master and Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 807: *Paied to the Waightes to playe at dynner, iij s. iiij d. Paied to the mynstrell to singe with vyalles, xx d.* (at their dinner, August 1555).

⁸³⁹ Brewers’ Account and Memorandum Book (Porland), *CL*, 90, and translated, 1129 (1422).

⁸⁴⁰ Armourers and Brasiers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 499.

recorded to a “stammering man that luted in the hall” of the Ironmongers in c.1511 is probably a payment for entertainment at their dinner at Corpus Christi.⁸⁴¹

It is more difficult to offer precise information about when during the celebrations—of Mass and of the feast more generally—singing was heard. Of course, plainchant was sung at the liturgies, as has been described earlier in this chapter.⁸⁴² But when specific payments to singers in addition to the celebrating priests are recorded, it is not often easy to determine exactly what and when those singers sang. Between 1550 and 1557, the Merchant Taylors paid the children of St Paul’s Cathedral for singing and playing at their feast,⁸⁴³ perhaps the children sang during the liturgies and played their instruments as entertainment during the meals.⁸⁴⁴ Or perhaps singing was as much a part of the entertainment as much as it was of worship,⁸⁴⁵ as it certainly was in 1531 when the Grocers paid 4s. to an unnamed clerk and his choristers, recording particularly that they sang ballads and offered other “goodly pastimes,” evidently outside of church, at their election supper.⁸⁴⁶ (Ballads at dinners are earlier recorded in 1505, when the Carpenters paid

⁸⁴¹ Ironmongers’ Register, *CL*, 302; see also Lancashire’s endnote, 1307.

⁸⁴² For example, see the receipts and expenses for the Leathersellers’ yeomanry Mass at St Alphege, 1539/40, n.810, above.

⁸⁴³ Merchant Taylors’ Accounts, *CL*, 741, 749, *et passim*. The choirmaster, Sebastian Westcott, is sometimes named in the accounts (see 757, 773, 796, for example).

⁸⁴⁴ Merchant Taylors’ Accounts, *CL*, 741: *Item paid for having the Children of Poulles for their playng vpon vyalles & synging at the feaste day, x s.* (1550); 830: *Item paid to the Master of the Children of Polles for that his Children did sing & play on Instermentes here at the ffeaste day, xij s. iij d.* (1557).

⁸⁴⁵ But perhaps not in the modern sense of a concert: Anthony M. Cummings writes that before the nineteenth-century concert halls and the advent of recording technology, “musical performances typically accompanied other kinds of dynamic, real-time activity”: see Cummings, “Music and Feasts in the Fifteenth Century,” 361.

⁸⁴⁶ Grocers’ Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 493: *Paid in Rewarde to the Clerkes and the queresters for singyng Balattes and other goodly pastyme, iij s.*

3s. 4d. to singers for the Mass and also for singing ballads at the dinner in their hall.⁸⁴⁷) Other payments for singing, such as those made by the Carpenters to singers in 1500 and 1501, or by the Vintners to singing men in 1557,⁸⁴⁸ may only be payments for singing liturgically, especially since, in 1501 and 1502, the Carpenters recorded payments to minstrels separately,⁸⁴⁹ and in 1557, the Vintners made additional payments of 5s. to a minstrel, Pyke, and 3s. 4d. to a Scottish woman who sang and played the lute, which was probably the entertainment at their meals.⁸⁵⁰

Though they lie at the farthest edge of the period in question, two records give an indication of when some music might have been heard within the context of meals themselves. The Merchant Taylors' accounts for 1556 and 1557 record that the Waits played while the meat was being served in the hall, and at the time of the election of the new master and wardens;⁸⁵¹ records of the Clothworkers, too, specify that the minstrels played at the election,⁸⁵² and their accounts record payments to minstrels "when the

⁸⁴⁷ Carpenters' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 281: *Item payd to the Syngers for oure lady masse & fore balettes at dyner in the halle, iij s. iiij d.*

⁸⁴⁸ Carpenters' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 263, 265; Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 839.

⁸⁴⁹ See for example, the feast day costs for 1501 in the Carpenters' Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 263: *Item paid to the waytes, xij d. Item paid to the syngers, xij d. Item paid to the menstrellys, iij s. iiij d.*

⁸⁵⁰ Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts, *CL*, 839-840: *Item the xjth of November 1557 beyinge saint Martens daye Item gyven the singinge men x s. Item gyven to the waytes, v s. Item gyven to Pyke the mynstrell, v s. Item gyven to a Scottishe woman that sange and played vpon the Lute, iij s. iiij d.*

⁸⁵¹ Merchant Taylors' Accounts, *CL*, 811: *Item to the waites of the Citie for playeng all the tyme that the servys of meate came into the hall and all the tyme of the eleccion, vj s. viij d.*; see also 830. A later account, from 1573, describes the Waits playing at the presentation of the Company's new leadership: "Memorial XXII: Ceremonies upon the election of Masters and Wardens, 1573," in *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, ed. C. M. Clode (London: Harrison, 1875), BHO (accessed 29 December 2019). *s.v.* "The manner howe the Secrete Eleccion is published in the Coen Hall."

⁸⁵² See Lancashire's endnote about the 1532 Ordinances of the Clothworkers, *CL*, 1365.

wardens were chosen,”⁸⁵³ though this could be a generic way of referring to the election feast, not a specific event within it. When the Drapers paid a minstrel with a shawm in 1539, the account specifies that it was for two days,⁸⁵⁴ so evidently the shawm was played not only when newly elected wardens were heralded into the hall, but at other times during the feast as well. If there were processions at other times in the celebrations, probably the Waits and heralds played then, too; likewise perhaps they played in the streets to draw attention, as they did for the Jesus Guild throughout the sixteenth century to “give warning and knowledge to the people” of their own feasts.⁸⁵⁵ Another record of payment, from the Wax Chandlers to the Waits in 1555, suggests that the Waits played at the dinner, and a minstrel sang and played.⁸⁵⁶

Conclusion

Various individuals contributed to the music making that Londoners encountered in the parish churches, from priests, who celebrated masses daily, to the hired singers brought in for one feast day at a time and sometimes for more extended periods. Choirs of men and boys, sometimes from royal or aristocratic households, visited parish churches, and the parish churches apparently loaned their choirs to each other, as in the case of the four boys of St Magnus who sang at St Mary at Hill in the 1470s. Other men, and boys—who are

⁸⁵³ Clothworkers’ Wardens Accounts, *CL*, 519: *Item the Mynstrelles when the wardens wher chosen, xvj d.* (1534); see also 531, 565, *et passim*.

⁸⁵⁴ Drapers’ Minutes and Records, *CL*, 588: *Item to iij mynstrelles j with a harpe j with a lute and j wythe a shalme for ij days, vj s. viij d.*

⁸⁵⁵ See chapter 2, n.181.

⁸⁵⁶ Wax Chandlers’ Master and Wardens’ Accounts, *CL*, 807: *Paied to the Waightes to playe at dynner, iij s. iij d. Paied to the mynstrell to singe with vyalles, xx d.*

especially hard to locate in the evidence, and are sometimes only implicitly recorded—were engaged to play the organ, which functioned as an extension of the human voice and so was permitted within the context of the liturgy (organs, like singers, could also be loaned, one church to another). Many individuals combined the skills of singing—and probably with it, extemporization—and organ playing. It was the parish clerk in whom all the responsibility and organization of this music making rested; he was himself frequently a musically capable individual, and his title was used synonymously with reference to singers.

The music that was sung in the liturgy was mostly plainchant, which in Western Europe remained the most commonly heard and performed genre of music (the chants for the dead were heard especially frequently, when Londoners gathered for obits and prayed to ease the passage of the soul through purgatory). The need for repairs to churches' manuscripts of plainchant, described in the next chapter, is indicative of their ongoing use; some of the vocabulary of the liturgy—"Mass," "Dirige," "Requiem"—in which the commoner was conversant was taken directly from chant itself; quotations from the Requiem that are found inscribed on Londoners' memorial tombs further indicate their familiarity with the plainchant repertoire.⁸⁵⁷ Plainchant provided the basis for an organ player's repertoire, and they doubled or played in alternatim with the voices. Plainchant provided the foundation for polyphony by extemporization, like faburden; the boy singers

⁸⁵⁷ Another example is the epitaph of John Shrow, stockfishmonger (d. 1487), buried in St Michael Crooked Lane, which Stow records in full: *Farewell my friends the tide abideth no man, / I am departed hence, and so shall ye. / But in this passage the best song that I can, / Is Requiem æternam, now Iesu grant it me, / When I haue ended all mine aduersitie, / Grant me in Paradise to haue a mansion, / That shedst thy blood for my redemption*: John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsfold (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1:222.

who learned at the city's choir schools were likely trained in this as part of their musical education.⁸⁵⁸ Some churches (and the choirs that visited from royal and aristocratic households) probably provided mensurally notated polyphony, but this was a decoration of the existing liturgy and not an addition to it, and was probably reserved for special feasts.

Minstrels were engaged by churches to lead processions, as on Corpus Christi day, and the Waits must frequently have appeared at the churches, although no accounts survive to attest to it. Minstrels were also employed by churches to entertain commoners at parish meals. As secular minstrels mixed freely with church musicians, so did church musicians mix freely in secular company, and boy singers offered ballads and other entertainments, and played their instruments, at the dinners of the city's companies.

There were more than 100 parish churches in London—quite exceptional for a European city, which usually had only a small number in addition to the cathedral. Probably because of the great number of churches, some events, like the Corpus Christi procession, that were city-wide elsewhere, were apparently parochial for Londoners. Londoners were attached to their parish churches, and as they were often the patrons of the music in London's streets, so were the commoners ultimately the patrons of music in the churches: parishioners indirectly contributed to the music making of their parish church through their offerings to it, out of which income the church expenses were borne, but they also directly contributed by supporting the singing of an anthem or leaving a bequest

⁸⁵⁸ Of their education, Philippe Canguilhem has written that “the singers who sang “upon the book” on a plainsong melody were well versed in these everyday exercises,” [i.e., of extemporaneous, collective performance of counterpoint]: see Philippe Canguilhem, “Improvisation as Concept and Musical Practice in the Fifteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 158.

toward organ expenses in their testaments, or, in life, by giving money to collections especially for the installation of organs. Richard Lloyd has shown that surplus money that remained to churches from chantry foundations led to an increase in the availability of the resources required to perform polyphony in some churches (but in no church did the singing of polyphony replace the singing of plainchant as the most common music experienced by the commoner).

Fig. 2 (overleaf). Plainchant notation and significative letters for the Passion according to St Matthew, for Palm Sunday: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Dd.1.15 (Missal, fourteenth century, St Margaret's Lothbury), 69v.

V. Music in Books and on Paper

As chronicles and the other documentary evidence described in earlier chapters attest to a written musical culture in the city's streets, so do the inventories compiled by churchwardens and the references in their accounts to the purchase, alteration, and repair of liturgical manuscripts attest to the volume of notated music that once existed in the city's churches. It is from the city's churches that the only extant notated music survives from late medieval London; there is no known surviving example of the notated music that was written for specific events and performed by singers in the city's streets, as during the welcome of Henry VI in 1432, for example.⁸⁵⁹ Probably there was little reason to preserve such music after its performance, whereas the repertory of music that was heard in the city's churches was repeated annually with the cycle of the liturgical year and notated in manuscripts designed for longevity. The numerous references throughout the churchwardens' accounts to the repair and rebinding of these manuscripts—one such payment dates from as early as the 1420s, when the wardens of St Mary at Hill paid 6s. 10d. for the mending of books⁸⁶⁰—are indications that care was taken to ensure the survival of this written repertory, from generation to generation: the Mercers' account for 1407/08, for example, records that a missal was one of the items that the outgoing wardens passed on to the incoming wardens at the beginning of a new accounting year.⁸⁶¹ A

⁸⁵⁹ See the reference to the Agincourt Carol in n.41, chapter 1.

⁸⁶⁰ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 67.

⁸⁶¹ Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, ed. Jefferson, 1:233: "Item, they handed over to the said new wardens elected by them the things written below which the said Sir William Hedyngton had also handed over to

church's books were stored for safekeeping, sometimes in a wooden chest (as they were at St Alphege⁸⁶² or St Nicholas Shambles⁸⁶³), or chained in the choir (as two hymnals were at St Dunstan in the West⁸⁶⁴) or elsewhere in the church (as at St Peter Cornhill⁸⁶⁵ and St Margaret Bridge Street⁸⁶⁶). Some manuscripts were even kept by churches well after their use had expired: an inventory made in October 1452 at All Hallows Barking, for example, records that the church was still in possession of two graduals that were apparently out of date (they refer to books of “old Sarum” use;⁸⁶⁷ the Sarum rite having been adopted by the cathedral of London in 1414, and earlier by at least one parish church).⁸⁶⁸

That the repertory of sacred music was fixed in notation and stored for safekeeping is not to suggest that it was not dynamic. As new feasts were added to the liturgical

them, and which the same Sir William had of his goodwill given to the commonalty of the mercers' mistery, i.e. a new book called a missal, value 10 marks” (1409/10).

⁸⁶² St Alphege CWD, 118v: *Received of mastar Bromefeld for an olde Cheste the Latten bokes where layd in, 6s. 8d.* (1551/52).

⁸⁶³ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 36r: *Item payde the iij day of ffebruarie for gaynysshing of the howse of the saide masseboke, iij s.* (1456).

⁸⁶⁴ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 66v: *Item for ij Bokes called hymnalles & ij cheynes for the same to be fastned in the quere, iij s. ij d.* (1531/32).

⁸⁶⁵ PRI, 574: *Item a psalter boke cheyned vnder the sepulchre Item a portas [i.e., breviary] cheyned afore St Anne [...].*

⁸⁶⁶ PRI, 361: *Item iij matens bokes wythe cheynes.*

⁸⁶⁷ All Hallows Barking CWD, s.v. “All Hallows Barking / 1452 Inventory,” 2: *Item ij olde antiphoners of olde Salesbery vse.*

⁸⁶⁸ Fiona Kisby, “Books in London Parish Churches before 1603: Some Preliminary Observations,” in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson: Proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium*, eds. Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford (Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2002), 308. See also Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (London: Longmans, 1959), 297-98, which notes that “the use of the cathedral church would have been followed, at least in theory, by the parish churches,” and gives the example of St Giles Cripplegate, which had petitioned Rome for the right to use the Sarum liturgy as early as 1376.

calendar, so too would they be added to a church's collection of books: the 1496/97 account of St Mary at Hill records a payment of £1 13s. 4d. to a stationer for copying new feasts into the books that lacked them;⁸⁶⁹ in 1531/32, the wardens of St Michael le Querne paid 10s. for mending a book and writing three new feasts into it.⁸⁷⁰

Manuscripts and books in London's late medieval churches have been the subject of previous scholarship. Fiona Kisby (2002⁸⁷¹) has offered some observations about the nature of book ownership in London churches, and has shown that, of the basic books for the Mass and office that canon law required parish churches to own, "most institutions...did possess the requisite service books" in the early sixteenth century,⁸⁷² challenging an older view that parishes fell short of these requirements on the eve of the Reformation.⁸⁷³ (The "older view," that medieval Catholicism prized imagery as a concession to an illiterate laity, whereas Protestantism prized the written word, has recently been challenged by Kisby⁸⁷⁴ and Eamon Duffy.⁸⁷⁵) Of those books required by canon law, some, such as the antiphoner and the gradual, were almost entirely notated and intended

⁸⁶⁹ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 226.

⁸⁷⁰ St Michael le Querne CWD, 73r.

⁸⁷¹ Kisby, "Books in London," *op. cit.*

⁸⁷² Kisby, "Books in London," 308; see also Owain Tudor Edwards, "How Many Sarum Antiphonals Were There in England and Wales in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century?" *Revue bénédictine* 99, no. 1-2 (1989): 174.

⁸⁷³ Kisby, "Books in London," 308.

⁸⁷⁴ Kisby, "Books in London," see especially 305.

⁸⁷⁵ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), see xv-xvi, 1-2.; see also Helen Combes, "Piety and Belief in 15th-Century London: An Analysis of the 15th-Century Churchwardens' Inventory of St Nicholas Shambles," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 48 (1997): 140 (on books), 149.

for the use of the singers; others, like missals, manuals, and sequentiaries, were also likely to contain some kind of musical notation.⁸⁷⁶

Owain Tudor Edwards (1989⁸⁷⁷) analyzed the survival rate—not specifically for London, but for Britain—of Sarum antiphoners in the middle of the sixteenth century, concluding that of the tens of thousands that may once have existed in England and Wales, “only one in one thousand Sarum antiphonals remain.”⁸⁷⁸ Edwards also describes the political and religious upheaval of the 1530s-40s that saw manuscripts and books altered and ultimately destroyed:⁸⁷⁹ in 1539, books were excised of St Thomas Becket’s name, one year after his shrine at Canterbury was wrecked on 11 August 1538; then, in 1543, Thomas Cranmer ordered that all books be examined and corrected (and yet more saints excised from them); finally, in 1550, the *Act for the abolishing and putting away of divers books and images* (3 & 4 Edw. 6 c. 10) called for the bishop of every diocese to gather all Latin books and then “to abolish and deface [them] that they never after may serve either to any such use, as they were provided for.”⁸⁸⁰ Edwards concludes, “considering the odds against it, it is remarkable how many medieval Latin service books actually survived.”⁸⁸¹ Following the changes to the law and the introduction of the new prayer book and liturgy

⁸⁷⁶ On the books required by canon law, see Kisby, “Books in London,” 307.

⁸⁷⁷ Edwards, “How Many,” *op. cit.*

⁸⁷⁸ Edwards, “How Many”: 180.

⁸⁷⁹ The following is based on Edwards, “How Many.”

⁸⁸⁰ See the excerpt of the Act in Ramie Targodd, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 25.

⁸⁸¹ Edwards, “How Many”: 156.

in 1549—which event Harrison called “the end of the middle ages”—many churchwardens, recognizing the momentous shift that was taking place around them, sold their collections of books.⁸⁸² A list of extant manuscripts with ecclesiastical ritual from the parish churches and religious houses of London and Westminster, compiled by David Hiley, was published by Barbara Haggh in 1996.⁸⁸³

This chapter lists the known extant sources (to which others can now be added to the list published by Haggh) from London’s parish churches, to which the London commoner had access and was obliged to attend. It then considers the evidence for the written music that has been lost, drawing on the numerous references found in the churchwardens’ accounts and inventories to musically notated books that once belonged to churches (including books with music to be played on the organ as well as books of pricksong [i.e., polyphony]), and books of music that were privately owned by Londoners, all of which are now lost. Finally this chapter considers some of the vernacular songs that have been described in the previous chapters, known to have been written (and written down) and performed in London, but of which either the music, the text, or both have also been lost, and summarizes the extant scholarship on these songs.

⁸⁸² See the references in this chapter to PRI records of book sales.

⁸⁸³ Barbara Haggh, “Sources of Plainchant and Ritual from Ghent and London: A Survey and Comparison,” *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent Nieuwe Reeks* 50 (1996): 64–66.

Surviving Notated Music from London

Barbara Hagg listed manuscripts or fragments of plainchant and ritual sources from London, of which nine are relevant to the study here.⁸⁸⁴ To those in Hagg's list other known examples of surviving notated music from London may be added, bringing the total of extant musically notated manuscripts and fragments identified from London or previously identified as from London to seventeen, with two vernacular examples also extant. Considered against the dissolution inventory of just one London church, St Peter Cornhill, which, in 1546, recorded at least twenty books that would likely have contained musical notation (eight antiphoners, five graduals, a book "noted with responses and graduals," and six processional⁸⁸⁵), the magnitude of the loss of written music from London, and indeed from the entirety of the Middle Ages, is clear. (Probably the number of musically notated books at St Peter Cornhill in 1546 was higher still than this, and other books contained in that list—a Mass book, and a book of collects, for example—may also have contained some notation.⁸⁸⁶) The extant manuscripts and fragments from London, or previously identified as from London, are listed in table 5.1, overleaf.

⁸⁸⁴ Others identified in the list belonged not to the parish churches considered here, but rather to Westminster Abbey, the Brigittine Abbey at Syon, the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and elsewhere, as well as to the Carmelites, Carthusians, Dominicans, and Friars of the Holy Cross; others are sources of ritual but without musical notation.

⁸⁸⁵ PRI, 574: *The Inventory of all the goodes and ornamentes belonging vnto the parishe church of St peter in Cornehill anno 1546* [...].

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid.

Table 5.1. Extant notated sources of vocal music and fragments from London, or previously (but doubtfully) identified as from London (indicated by *), with RISM sigla, after Haggh, “Sources of Plainchant.”⁸⁸⁷

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|--|
| <p>Music for Mass</p> <p>Aberdeen, University Library (GB-A) MS 2379 (oblong fragment of Parisian polyphony, mid-13th century)</p> <p>Cambridge, University Library (GB-Cu) MS Dd 1.15 (St Margaret’s Lothbury, missal, 14th century)</p> <p>London, British Library (GB-Lbl) Add. MS 30058 (St Thomas’ Chapel, missal, 14th century)</p> <p>London, British Library (GB-Lbl) Royal MS 2 B.xii (‘Evangelia et epistolae in missa, pars I’)</p> <p>London, British Library (GB-Lbl) Royal MS 2 B.xiii (‘Evangelia et epistolae in missa, pars II’)</p> <p>London Metropolitan Archives (GB-Llma) CLC/270/MS00515 (St Botolph without Aldersgate, missal, early 15th century)</p> <p>*Minehead, St Michael’s Church, MS s.s. (missal, 14th-15th century)</p> <p>Oxford, Christ Church Library (GB-Och) MS Lat. 87 (missal, St Botolph without Aldgate, 15th century)</p> <p>*Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal (F-Pa) MS 135 (missal with added polyphony, 13th century)</p> <p>Music for the Office</p> <p>Aberdeen, University Library (GB-A) MS 2379 (fragment of Parisian polyphony, mid-13th century)</p> <p>London, British Library (GB-Lbl) Add. MS 89250 (psalter with notated Office of the Dead, c. 1275–c. 1325, ‘The Mostyn Psalter Hours’)</p> <p>London Metropolitan Archives (GB-Llma) CLC/180/MS07380 (antiphoner fragment, 14th century, used as binding)</p> <p>London Metropolitan Archives (GB-Llma) COL/CS/01/001/001 (chant fragment, within the book of Arnold Fitz Thedmar, c.1255-74)</p> <p>London, St Bartholomew’s Hospital Archives (GB-Lbh) MS SBHB.HA.22 (antiphoner fragment, early 14th century)</p> <p>Oxford, Bodleian Library (GB-Ob) MS Bodley 948 (antiphoner, St Andrew Undershaft, c.1400)</p> <p>Processionals</p> <p>London, British Library (GB-Lbl) Harley MS 2942 (Processional, with added polyphony, second half of the 14th century)</p> |
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⁸⁸⁷ See the bibliography for the sources consulted in the preparation of this table.

Latin songs (conductus)

Oxford, Bodleian Library (GB-Ob) 591 (fragment of Parisian polyphony, second half of the 13th century, used as binding)

Vernacular songs

London Metropolitan Archives (GB-Llma) COL/CS/01/001/001 (vernacular song, within the book of Arnold Fitz Thedmar, c.1255-74)

London, National Archives (GB-Lna) E 163/22/1/2 (song in French, by Renaud de Hoilande, 13th century)

The overwhelming majority of notated music that survives from London is plainchant; only two of the sources listed above are of notated polyphonic music, and both survive only as fragments.⁸⁸⁸ Perhaps because no complete source of polyphonic vocal music from medieval London survives, Hugh Baillie in his dissertation on “London Churches: Their Music and Musicians” included an appendix of polyphonic music by Mundy, Tallis, and others as suggestions of music that “*may* have been heard in the city.”⁸⁸⁹ The music contained in the sources given in table 5.1, and described below, however, was *certainly* heard in the city, and often; some of it has already been described in previous chapters (the Palm Sunday Passion Gospel, for example, that was described in chapter 4 and in several churches was sung by multiple individuals, is found in extant fourteenth-

⁸⁸⁸ For a discussion of these fragments and concordance with the repertory of Notre Dame polyphony (especially W1), see Geoffrey Chew, “A ‘Magnus Liber Organi’ Fragment at Aberdeen,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31, no. 2 (1978): 362-43; see also Nicky Losseff, *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1994), 54. Notre Dame polyphony is attested at St Paul’s Cathedral in the second half of the thirteenth century: Rebecca A. Baltzer, “Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found,” *The Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 3 (1987): 380-99, especially 381-82.

⁸⁸⁹ Hugh Baillie, “London Churches, Their Music and Musicians, 1485-1560” (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1957), 229, emphasis mine; see also his vol. 2, “Select Anthology of Music (Appendix Five).” The full composers are John Coke (*Missa Venit dilectus*, Gloria and Agnus Dei), William Corbrand (*In manus tuas*), William Dondye (Litany faburdens), John Hake (Kyrie), John Hyett (Kyrie), Robert Morecocke (*Gloria laus*), William Mundy (*Beatus et sanctus*), Robert Okeland (*Praise we the Father*), Thomas Tallis (*Audivi media nocte*), Richard Wynslate (*Lucem tuam*), Robert Holme and anonymous (Lambeth fragments).

and fifteenth-century missals from London parish churches, some with chant notation and all with letters indicating that the deacon should change the tone or that a different singer should take over.⁸⁹⁰) Whereas the dissertations of Baillie and Richard Lloyd focused on the polyphonic music in mensural notation that may have been heard in the city, it remains a truism that the plainchant sources, of which more survive, are more representative than notated polyphony of the music that was heard by late medieval commoners in everyday life.⁸⁹¹

Printed Music

This dissertation has not accounted for printed music, since printed sources are more widely and easily disseminated beyond one particular location, but of course printed music was known and used in London. Printing began in England with William Caxton in Westminster, southwest of London, in 1476.⁸⁹² London was to become the centre of the first century of English printing,⁸⁹³ and an inhabitant of London, John Rastell, was the first in Europe, in c.1523, to practice single-impression printing of music, by which the text, staves, and musical notation were printed in one action.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁹⁰ See n.728, chapter 4.

⁸⁹¹ Hagg, "Sources of Plainchant": 23; Thomas Forrest Kelly, "Introduction," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.

⁸⁹² Julia Boffey, *Manuscript and Print in London, c. 1475–1530* (London: The British Library, 2012), 5.

⁸⁹³ Boffey, *Manuscript and Print*, 4-5.

⁸⁹⁴ See John Milsom, "Rastell, John," *GMO* (accessed 5 December 2019). Rastell was probably not a Londoner by birth, as has previously been thought, but moved to London c.1509, about which time he seems to have begun printing: see Cecil H. Clough, "Rastell, John," *ODNB* (accessed 5 December 2019); for Rastell and single impression printing (and a description of it), see also A. Hyatt King, "The Significance of John Rastell in Early Music Printing," *The Library*, 5th ser., 26, no. 3 (1971): 197-214.

The churchwardens' documents only begin to attest to the use of printed books alongside the handwritten manuscripts around the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The earliest datable record of a printed book in the London churchwardens' accounts is the inventory compiled in December 1524 at St Michael le Quern, with its reference to an "old" Mass book, printed and of paper.⁸⁹⁵ It was probably acquired sometime after 1517, because no printed books are recorded in the inventory compiled in that year.⁸⁹⁶ (The accounts of All Hallows Staining record the gift of a printed Mass book to the church from one Rob Byrche, but this cannot be dated with any certainty.⁸⁹⁷) The first datable record of the purchase of printed liturgical books is found in the 1529/30 account of St Peter Westcheap, which records the purchase of "two processional and two hymnals in print," the total of which was 6*s.* 10*d.*⁸⁹⁸ (That they are all accounted for together might suggest that all four books were printed, not just the two hymnals.)

As the sixteenth century progressed, the commingling of printed and handwritten books in church collections becomes apparent. An inventory made in April 1535 at All Hallows Staining refers to three manuals (two written and one printed), three graduals (all "in ink"), six processional and two hymnals (printed), and four printed Mass books, alongside other (written) Mass books and other liturgical books.⁸⁹⁹ By the 1550s, there are

⁸⁹⁵ St Michael le Querne CWD, 47v.

⁸⁹⁶ See St Michael le Querne CWD, 102r-103v. Note that both the 1517 and 1524 inventories also record a separate "old mass book."

⁸⁹⁷ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 20v/xliiij^ov.

⁸⁹⁸ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 154r.

⁸⁹⁹ All Hallows Staining CWD(2), 8r.

examples of churches whose printed books equal or possibly outnumber the records of their handwritten manuscripts: the Reformation Inventories of St Peter Paul’s Wharf, for example, record six written and six printed antiphoners and eight Mass books, four written and four printed;⁹⁰⁰ the Reformation Inventories of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street suggest that all of its service books and psalters were printed by that time.⁹⁰¹

Notated Music for the Organ

Some church records attest to books of music specifically for use at the organ.⁹⁰² Hugh Baillie identified “four important collections of London organ music” that have survived⁹⁰³—they are London, British Library Add. MSS 29996, 15233, and 30513 (the so-called “Mulliner Book”) and Royal MS Appendix 56—but these fall either at the margins or outside the timespan of this dissertation.⁹⁰⁴ Despite their initial destinations and

⁹⁰⁰ PRI, 560: *Bockes Item iiij antiphonaris prynted bockes Item vj antiphonaris wrytten bockes Item ij antiphonaris prynted bockes for the visitation of our lorde Item iiij messe bockes wrytten Item iiij messe bockes prynted [...]*. The inventory was sent to the Commission in response to the third article, but was written before 1547/48, see 588.

⁹⁰¹ PRI, 475: *Item ij prented booke of the servis in English And iiij psalters in English of the bygger prent And iiij lesser psalters in prente And ij booke of parte of the servis in english in note & prynted Item in the body of the church A bible in prent of the large volume in englysh and the hole paraphrase in two partes in prente* (in response to the second article). The Inventories further record that *William Kyng and Leonell Duckett then Church wardens to be solde by the consent of the parysh certeyn old booke of parchement to the Summa of xx s.*, see 477.

⁹⁰² For notated organ music in this period, see Magnus Williamson, “English Organ Music, 1350-1550: A Study of Sources and Contexts,” in *Studies in English Organ Music*, ed. Iain Quinn (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 97-121; see also John Caldwell, “Sources of Keyboard Music to 1660,” *GMO* (accessed 15 February 2020), s.v. “2. Principal individual sources, (vi) British Isles.”

⁹⁰³ Baillie, “London Churches,” 150-52.

⁹⁰⁴ See Williamson, “English Organ Music,” 106-111. The copying of [London, British Library Add. MS 29996](#) began “around 1548 but the project subsequently snowballed into a liturgically ordered anthology during the Catholic restoration (1553–8)” (this accounts for Baillie, “London Churches,” 151, which considers that the earliest layer of the manuscript was written in the reign of Queen Mary); [London, British Library Add. MS 15233](#) has been associated with the “immediate circles” of John Redford, organist and

provenance, however, it is possible that they represent something of what may have been contained in the “organ books” and the “books for the organ” that the London churchwardens’ documents describe,⁹⁰⁵ which are listed in Table 5.2, below.

Table 5.2. References to books of music used at organs.

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| St Mary at Hill | 1496/97, “Organ books” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 226) |
| St Michael le Quern | 1517, “Two books of paper for the organs” (CWD, 103r) 1524, “Two books of paper for the organs” (CWD, 47v) |
| St Alphage | 1536, “An old book for the organs” (CWD, 127v) |
| St Dunstan in the West | 1540/41, “The organ book” (CWD, 103r) |

The earliest reference to books associated with organs is found in the 1496/97 account of St Mary at Hill, where a payment of 2*s.* is recorded “to the stationer for a reward to set the new feasts in the organ books.”⁹⁰⁶ Magnus Williamson has drawn a distinction between an “organ book,” like those listed in the St Mary at Hill account and the 1540/41 account of St Dunstan in the West, which includes a payment of 1*s.* to one Nicholas

master of the choristers at St Paul’s Cathedral (note that Caldwell writes, “9 liturgical pieces, mostly ascribed to Redford and probably all by him”: see Caldwell, “Sources of Keyboard Music”; [London, British Library Add. MS 30513](#) (the “Mulliner Book”) was copied c.1550 (see Caldwell, “Sources of Keyboard Music,” for 1550-75), some of its contents originating in London, however; [London, British Library Royal Appendix 56](#) has been called “the earliest English source of music unquestionably written for the organ,” with work on the manuscript beginning around 1530; Baillie noted that “it has been suggested that [this manuscript] was associated with the Chapel Royal” (see Baillie, “London Churches,” 152); Williamson suggests instead “an education institution attached to, or associated with, a church,” and recalls St Anthony’s Hospital; see Magnus Williamson, “English Organ Music,” 109 and n.64.

⁹⁰⁵ Of Royal MS Appendix 56, Baillie notes that “it must be typical of the kind of organ book that might have been found in a city church”: see Baillie, “London Churches,” 152. And of London, British Library Add. MS 29996, John Caldwell has noticed that several of the composers represented in it were employed at St Mary at Hill in the years 1537-49 (that is to say, that the copier of the manuscript was probably associated with the church), but also inferred that it was intended for Winchester during its copying: see Williamson, “English Organ Music,” 111, and especially n.76.

⁹⁰⁶ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 226.

Purvege “for amending the organ book,”⁹⁰⁷ and a “book for the organs,” a term found in the inventories compiled at St Michael le Querne in 1517 and 1524, which refer to “two books of paper for the organ.”⁹⁰⁸ Similarly, at St Alphage, an inventory compiled in 1536 lists an “old book for the organ.”⁹⁰⁹ Williamson notes that, at least before the mid-fifteenth century, an “organ book” to the late medieval musicians probably denoted a book of mensural vocal polyphony, whereas the “book for the organs” was a liturgical book, with the chant propers, “comparable in format and function with standard service books” of the choir.⁹¹⁰ The distinction Williamson draws is based on whether a “book for the organs” would contain “complex or visually distinctive notation,” such as would draw the attention of an auditor as he compiled an inventory.⁹¹¹ The references to the “organ books” at St Mary at Hill and St Dunstan in the West are both late and are made in churchwardens’ accounts, not inventories, where the focus of the document is on the transfer of money and not the specifics of the items listed within them;⁹¹² it is very probable that these were comparable in content and purpose to the “books for the organs” at the other churches. The accounts of St Mary at Hill apparently do not record when or from whom their “organ books” were acquired, but it was evidently before 1496/97, when the wardens paid for

⁹⁰⁷ St Dunstan in the West CWD, 103r. Purvege is not listed in STA; perhaps this “amending” is to the contents of the book?

⁹⁰⁸ St Michael le Querne CWD, 47v (1524), 103r (1516).

⁹⁰⁹ St Alphage CWD, 127v. (Note that this part of the folio is especially damaged.)

⁹¹⁰ Williamson, “English Organ Music,” 102-04. See especially the example of St Anthony’s Hospital, London, which had a gradual book for the organs.

⁹¹¹ Williamson, “English Organ Music,” 104.

⁹¹² See the discussion of “Sources, Methodology, and Problems of Evidence,” chapter 1.

them, along with the church's Mass books,⁹¹³ to be updated to include additions to the liturgy; that the organ books were updated at the same time as the service books further suggests that they were, in fact, more similar to the liturgical "books for the organs" that Williamson describes, and used for the purposes described in chapter 4.

Books of Polyphony

No known complete manuscript of notated polyphony from London is extant,⁹¹⁴ though fragments have survived (and there is some polyphony notated in chant books, as described above). Polyphony, unlike plainchant, was an embellishment of the liturgy, not a requirement of it, and canon law did not oblige parish churches to possess books of polyphony as it did plainchant service books; nevertheless the churchwardens' accounts do sometimes call attention to books of "pricksong,"⁹¹⁵ though they are nowhere near as much attested in accounts or inventories as plainchant sources: books of pricksong are explicitly mentioned in the Reformation inventories of only nine churches (there are a further four with books that may have contained polyphonic notation⁹¹⁶).

⁹¹³ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 226.

⁹¹⁴ The earliest is probably GB-Lbl Add. MS 17805 (the "Gyffard Partbooks"), "probably copied in London, for use at St Paul's Cathedral," mostly in the second half of the sixteenth century: see the entry on *DIAMM: The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music* at the University of Oxford, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2965/> (accessed 15 February 2020).

⁹¹⁵ On the term "pricksong" see *OED*: "1. Music sung from notes written or pricked, as opposed to music sung from memory or by ear; written or printed vocal music," "2. Descant or melody devised to accompany a plainsong or simple theme, or performed as such an accompaniment. Hence more broadly: melody to be performed in counterpoint." The Latin *cantus precatuus* is taken from "the standard vernacular term in Tudor England, 'pricked song' or 'pricksong'," see Williamson, "English Organ Music," 116, n.26.

⁹¹⁶ All Hallows Honey Lane: *Item vij smalle bokes to synge on* (PRI, 101); St Anne and Agnes: *Item ij Singinge Bookes for the quere* (PRI, 162); St Benet Gracechurch: *Item viij Salters and iij grete song bokes of paper Ryall* (PRI, 188); St Magnus: *Item [...] & olde synging bokes* (PRI, 349).

Richard Lloyd has shown that, for questions of book ownership, neither the Reformation inventories nor the churchwardens' accounts are entirely accurate sources of information,⁹¹⁷ and has further proposed that the wardens of at least one church “may have been deliberately concealing details of its possessions from the inventory assessors,”⁹¹⁸ and that books of polyphony that had been given to churches—which, Andrew Wathey has shown, was the most common way that polyphony might be acquired⁹¹⁹—may have escaped inclusion in the Reformation inventories.⁹²⁰ Nevertheless, it remains true that there are examples of parish churches for which there is no record of notated polyphony in the churchwardens' accounts,⁹²¹ and the detailed inventories of St Mary Magdalen in the Fishmarket or St Olave Old Jewry, for example, which not only list books by their liturgical type and number, but sometimes describe them, lack any record of polyphony.

Tables 5.3a and 5.3b, overleaf, list the explicit references to pricksong that are found in the churchwardens' documents for medieval London by church and in chronological order.⁹²² The tables sometimes include references to the “pricking of songs

⁹¹⁷ See Richard Lloyd, “Provision for Music in the Parish Church in Late-Medieval London” (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1999), 231-37, where he gives examples of churches that were known to have possessed polyphonic books that were not recorded in the Parish Reformation Inventories.

⁹¹⁸ Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 234.

⁹¹⁹ Andrew Wathey, “The Production of Books of Liturgical Polyphony,” in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, eds. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 144-45.

⁹²⁰ Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 235.

⁹²¹ For example, St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap.

⁹²² And *only* to pricksong: I have excluded, for example, references to “books to sing on,” such as are described at All Hallows Honey Lane, (see n.916, above). The tables also do not indicate scribal modifications to entries (such as scoring and underlining); these may have been added at any time that the records were in use.

into books” (for example, at St Benet Gracechurch), but this term—especially when functioning as a verb—is ambiguous and could refer to the act of setting down any kind of musical notation, not necessarily polyphonic.⁹²³

⁹²³ See *OED*, s.v. “prick, v., 20a,” for the use of “prick” as a verb. This problem is well highlighted by the reference to pricked books for priests to sing the services at St Mary Woolnoth, see CWD, 48r: *Item paid to Emery for wryting and prykking the bokes for the preistes to syng ther servys in the quyre by note according to the agrement in the vestry on Allhallowen daie, xiiij s. iiij d.* (1547/48). For “pricking” as a term used for the ruling of pages in book production: see Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450–2000* (Oxford, 2008), *Oxford Reference Online* (accessed 15 February 2020).

Table 5.3a. References to pricking and books of pricksong in London parish churches in churchwardens' documents, with additional information provided by the Reformation Inventories, by church.

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| All Hallows Staining | 1548/49, "Paid for [...] other pricked books of the English service" (CWD(1), 144v / clxxix ^o v) |
| All Hallows the Great | Reformation Inventories list "12 other pricksong books" (PRI, 94) |
| Holy Trinity the Less | Reformation Inventories list "four books the which be four pricksong and two of plainsong" [sic] (PRI, 129) |
| St Benet Gracechurch | 1548/49, "Paid to Robert Colson, clerk, for pricking of certain songs into the [four] books" (CWD, 18) 1549/50, "Paid to Robert Colson, clerk, for the pricking of certain songs into the great song books" (CWD, 34) 1550/51, "Paid to Thomas Colson for pricking of certain songs into the four books" (CWD, 43) Reformation Inventories list "four great song books" (PRI, 188) |
| St Christopher le Stocks | 1483, Inventory lists "Prick song book of paper royal with diverse masses, beginning in the second leaf <i>ne filii [sic] uni</i> " (CWD, 29r) |
| St Dunstan in the East | 1500/01, "Paid for a pricksong book" (CWD, 37r) 1501/02, "Paid to John Vincent for paper for pricking of <i>In exitu</i> to be sung on Easter Day at Evensong" (CWD, 41v) |
| St Dunstan in the West | 1541/42, "Paid to James Chaunceler for four prick song books" (CWD, 106v) |
| St Lawrence Pountney | Reformation Inventories list "Four books for pricksong" (PRI, 333) |
| St Margaret Moses | 1547/48, "Paid to Thomas Nobyll, clerk, for five books that he pricked for the church in English" (CWD, 5r) |
| St Mary at Hill | 1483/85, "Paid for a pricked song book for the church" (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 117) 1501/02, "[Paid] for paper royal to prick songs in for the choir" (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 243) 1521/22, "Paid for a pricksong book of Kyries, Alleluias and Sequences, which was bought from John Darlyngton the conduct" (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 314) 1529/30, "[Paid] for a quire of paper royal for the pricked song book [...] Paid to John Northfolke for pricked song books, of the which five of them be with anthems and five of them with masses" (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 350-51) |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| | <p>1531/32, “[Paid for] two quires of paper royal to mend the pricksong book” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 359)</p> <p>1537/38, “[Paid] for five square books” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 378)</p> <p>1539/40, “Paid [...] for pricking of a song book” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 382)</p> <p>1552/53, “Paid for two quires of paper to prick songs in” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 396)</p> |
| St Mary le Bow | Reformation Inventories list “Three pricksong books” (PRI, 437) |
| St Mary Magdalen Milk Street | 1548/49, “Paid for the service in English with certain songs of three parts [...] Paid for the Pater Noster in English of four parts” (CWD, 98v-99r) |
| St Mary Woolchurch | Reformation Inventories list “Seven small books of pricksong for the service of the church” (PRI, 463) |
| St Mary Woolnoth | 1547/48, “Paid to Emery for writing and pricking the books for the priests to sing their service in the quire by note” (CWD, 48r) |
| St Michael Cornhill | <p>1466/67, “Paid to Robert Burton, stationer, for new binding and healing of the new pricked song book” (CWD ed. Overall, 35)</p> <p>1468/69, “Paid to William Barbour for pricking of a mass” (CWD ed. Overall, 40)</p> <p>1473/74, “Paid to Roberd [sic] Clerk for pricking of a mass in the church book” (CWD ed. Overall, 55)</p> |
| St Michael le Quern | <p>1524, Inventory lists three pricksong books, one is called “a great book of pricksong bound with leather” (CWD, 48r)</p> <p>1538, 1544, Inventories and the [1548] Reformation Inventories record one pricksong book each (CWD 95r, 130r; PRI, 510)</p> |
| St Nicholas Shambles | <p>1457, Inventory lists “A pricked song book beginning in the sixth leaf <i>et in terra</i>” (CWD, 3v)</p> <p>1475/76, “Paid [...] for the pricked song book that they sing over in the church on holy days” (CWD, 109r)</p> |
| St Olave Hart Street | Reformation Inventories list “three pricksong books” (PRI, 541) |
| St Peter Cornhill | Reformation Inventories list “Four singing books of pricksong” (PRI, 573) |
| St Peter Westcheap | <p>1431, Inventory lists “A pricksong book, <i>nescio quid disio</i> in the second leaf” (CWD, 173r)</p> <p>Reformation Inventories list “Eight pricksong books” (PRI, 564)</p> |
| St Thomas’ Chapel | 1491, “[Paid] for two books of pricksong containing diverse masses” (STA, 64, 105) |

Table 5.3b. References to pricking and books of pricksong in London parish churches in churchwardens' documents, with additional information provided by the Reformation Inventories, by year.

| | |
|---------|---|
| 1431 | St Peter Westcheap, Inventory lists "A pricksong book, <i>nescio quid disio</i> in the second leaf" (CWD, 173r) |
| 1457 | St Nicholas Shambles, Inventory lists "A pricked song book beginning in the sixth leaf <i>et in terra</i> " (CWD, 3v) |
| 1466/67 | St Michael Cornhill, "Paid to Robert Burton, stationer, for new binding and healing of the new pricked song book" (CWD ed. Overall, 35) |
| 1468/69 | St Michael Cornhill, "Paid to William Barbour for pricking of a mass" (CWD ed. Overall, 40) |
| 1473/74 | St Michael Cornhill, "Paid to Roberd [sic] Clerk for pricking of a mass in the church book" (CWD ed. Overall, 55) |
| 1475/76 | St Nicholas Shambles, "Paid [...] for the pricked song book that they sing over in the church on holy days" (CWD, 109r) |
| 1483 | St Christopher le Stocks, Inventory lists "Prick song book of paper royal with diverse masses, beginning in the second leaf <i>ne filii [sic] uni</i> " (CWD, 29r) |
| 1483/85 | St Mary at Hill, "Paid for a pricked song book for the church" (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 117) |
| 1491 | St Thomas' Chapel, "[Paid] for two books of pricksong containing diverse masses" (STA, 64, 105) |
| 1500/01 | St Dunstan in the East, "Paid for a pricksong book" (CWD, 37r) |
| 1501/02 | St Dunstan in the East, "Paid to John Vincent for paper for pricking of <i>In exitu</i> to be sung on Easter Day at Evensong" (CWD, 41v) St Mary at Hill, "[Paid] for paper royal to prick songs in for the choir" (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 243) |
| 1521/22 | St Mary at Hill, "Paid for a pricksong book of Kyries, Alleluias and Sequences, which was bought from John Darlyngton the conduct" (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 314) |
| 1524 | St Michael le Quern, Inventory lists three pricksong books, one is called "a great book of pricksong bound with leather" (CWD, 48r) |
| 1529/30 | St Mary at Hill, "[Paid] for a quire of paper royal for the pricked song book [...] Paid to John Northfolke for pricked song books, of the which five of them be with anthems and five of them with masses" (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 350-51) |
| 1531/32 | St Mary at Hill, "[Paid for] two quires of paper royal to mend the pricksong book" (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 359) |

| | |
|--|---|
| 1537/38 | St Mary at Hill, “[Paid] for five square books” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 378) |
| 1538 | St Michael le Quern, Inventory lists one pricksong book (CWD 95r) |
| 1539/40 | St Mary at Hill, “Paid [...] for pricking of a song book” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 382) |
| 1541/42 | St Dunstan in the West, “Paid to James Chaunceler for four pricksong books” (CWD, 106v) |
| 1544 | St Michael le Quern, Inventory lists one pricksong book (CWD, 130r) |
| 1547/48 | St Margaret Moses, “Paid to Thomas Nobyll, clerk, for five books that he pricked for the church in English” (CWD, 5r) St Mary Woolnoth, “Paid to Emery for writing and pricking the books for the priests to sing their service in the quire by note” (CWD, 48r) |
| 1548/49 | All Hallows Staining, “Paid for [...] other pricked books of the English service” (CWD(1), 144v / clxxix ^o v) St Benet Gracechurch, “Paid to Robert Colson, clerk, for pricking of certain songs into the [four] books” (CWD, 18) St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, “Paid for the service in English with certain songs of three parts [...] Paid for the Pater Noster in English of four parts” (CWD, 98v-99r) |
| 1549/50 | St Benet Gracechurch, “Paid to Robert Colson, clerk, for the pricking of certain songs into the great song books” (CWD, 34) |
| 1550/51 | St Benet Gracechurch, “Paid to Thomas Colson for pricking of certain songs into the four books” (CWD, 43) |
| 1552/53 | St Mary at Hill, “Paid for two quires of paper to prick songs in” (CWD, ed. Littlehales, 396) |
| Reformation Inventories (1548-1552) | All Hallows the Great, Inventory lists “12 other pricksong books” (PRI, 94) Holy Trinity the Less, Inventory lists “four books the which be four pricksong and two of plainsong” [sic] (PRI, 129) St Lawrence Pountney, 1552, Inventory lists “Four books for pricksong” (PRI, 333) St Mary le Bow, Inventory lists “Three pricksong books” (PRI, 437) St Mary Woolchurch, Inventory lists “Seven small books of pricksong for the service of the church” (PRI, 463) St Michael le Quern, Inventory lists one pricksong book (PRI, 510) St Olave Hart Street, Inventory lists “three pricksong books” (PRI, 541) St Peter Cornhill, Inventory lists “Four singing books of pricksong” (PRI, 573) St Peter Westcheap, Inventory lists “Eight pricksong books” (PRI, 564) |

The documentary evidence presented in Tables 5.3a-b illustrates some points about the occurrence of notated polyphony in London's parish churches. Firstly, and crucially, it is silent on the exact nature of the polyphonic repertoire; only two records specify the texts of the pieces. The setting of *In exitu*, which the accounts of St Dunstan in the East record was intended to be sung at Evensong [i.e., Vespers] on Easter Day 1502,⁹²⁴ was surely a setting of Psalm 113: entries for the chant *In exitu Israel de Aegypto* on the CANTUS database specify that this psalm was associated with Vespers on Sundays (there is one concordance, a Parisian antiphoner of the Use of Cambrai printed by Simon Vostre between 1508-18, that associates the text specifically with Easter Day⁹²⁵). The 1548/49 account of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street records a payment for the *Pater noster* in four parts, at the same time “for the service in English with certain songs in four parts,”⁹²⁶ which probably suggests that the four-part setting of the Lord's Prayer, though called by its old Latin name, was in English in accordance with the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, which instructs that it is to be said by the minister “in English with a loud voice” at Matins and Evensong,⁹²⁷ and following the prayer of consecration at Mass, immediately before the Peace.⁹²⁸

⁹²⁴ St Dunstan in the East CWD, 41v.

⁹²⁵ The source is Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Impr. XVI C 4 / F-CA Impr. XVI C 4; see the Index prepared by Barbara Hagg-Huglo, Charles Downey, and Keith Glaeske for CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant, <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123602> (accessed 26 November 2019).

⁹²⁶ St Mary Magdalen Milk Street CWD, 98v-99r. The payment on 98v for the service in English, made in favour of the parish priest of Bowchurch, could read *iiij* or *iiij partes*, but there does appear to be a very small minim between the three other strokes.

⁹²⁷ *The Book of Common Prayer, 1549*, in Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 12.

⁹²⁸ *The Book of Common Prayer, 1549*, 32.

Beyond these two examples, one is left mostly to wonder about the repertoire of notated polyphony that was known in London's churches. The documentary evidence suggests that it was mostly parts of the Mass⁹²⁹: the inventory of St Nicholas Shambles, compiled in 1457, lists the text *et in terra pax*,⁹³⁰ customarily the first words of the Gloria sung by the choir, after the priest intoned "Gloria in excelsis Deo." It is interesting that this inventory reference should be to the text "beginning in the sixth leaf": because manuscripts were notated by hand, it did not make sense to identify a book by the text that began its opening folio (which could be common to many books); more unique was the text on the verso or on later folios, by which time the scribe's idiosyncrasies of size and pace had established themselves. But this is most commonly the second or sometimes the third leaf; perhaps, if this indeed was a polyphonic book, the first five leaves maybe contained a polyphonic setting of the Kyrie, which, with its brief text, was frequently set melismatically, and there may have been little text on each of the first five folios for the auditor to copy out. The references to polyphonically notated "diverse masses," recorded at St Thomas' Chapel in 1491 are likely settings of portions of the Ordinary,⁹³¹ the record describing a pricksong book "with diverse masses, beginning in the second leaf *ne fili uni*" at St Christopher le Stocks in 1483⁹³² also refers to the Gloria (it must be the latter part of the phrase *Domine fili unigenite, Jesu Christe*), and suggests that there was no polyphonic

⁹²⁹ Consider Baillie's suggestion that it was the Lady Mass that was the most important service of the day, "sung with a good deal more splendour than the other daily offices": Baillie, "London Churches," 45.

⁹³⁰ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 3v. (The text *et in terra* is underlined in the manuscript.)

⁹³¹ STA, 64, 105.

⁹³² St Christopher le Stocks CWD, 29r: note that the scribe has *fili* in place of *fili*.

Kyrie in that book, because so much of the Gloria text must have consumed the first leaf. There were, however, polyphonic settings of the Kyrie in the book that the wardens of St Mary at Hill bought from John Darlyngton, a hired singer, in 1521/22, which also contained alleluias [i.e., gradual chants] and sequences, which are part of the Proper of the Mass.⁹³³ Later that decade, the wardens of St Mary at Hill paid their clerk for another five books of masses,⁹³⁴ which were probably a single set of partbooks; also included in this payment were five books of anthems (perhaps indicating five parts?). Later, in the 1537/38 account, the wardens of St Mary at Hill paid 3*s.* 4*d.* to a certain Marke, probably a clerk, “for Carols for Christmas and for five square books”⁹³⁵ (again, perhaps in five parts). Margaret Bent has suggested that a “square”—the name given to the bottom part of a polyphonic composition, repurposed as a cantus firmus in a later composition—need not be confined to Mass Ordinaries;⁹³⁶ it is possible then that these five books could have contained other music, for example the *Salve Regina*, which was commonly heard in London’s churches; perhaps at St Mary at Hill, the setting of the anthem sung there was in five parts and on a

⁹³³ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 314.

⁹³⁴ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 351: *Paid to Iohn Northfolke for prykkyd song bokes, of the whiche v of them be with Antemys and v with Massis*, [no amount is recorded] (1529/30).

⁹³⁵ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 378.

⁹³⁶ The borrowed “square” can be quoted directly or elaborated, at any pitch and in any voice, and sometimes passed between voices: Margaret Bent, “Square [swarenote, sqwarenote],” *GMO* (accessed 26 November 2019). Magnus Williamson defines the square as “imported melodies co-opted for use as ritual cantus firmi”: Williamson, “English Organ Music,” 99. Baillie previously suggested that these books found their use at the Lady Mass: Baillie, “London Churches,” 227.

square, or perhaps it was notated in five parts in the books of anthems the church purchased in the late 1520s.⁹³⁷

After the *Act of Uniformity* of 1549 made the English-language *Book of Common Prayer* the only legal rite in England, some churches quickly acquired notated polyphony for the new liturgy to be sung in English. The *Pater noster* in English and in four parts, and the “service in English” acquired by St Mary Magdalen Milk Street in 1548/49 have been mentioned; the 1548/49 account of All Hallow Staining also records the purchase of polyphonic books in English.⁹³⁸ By the time of the Reformation Inventories, St Mary Woolchurch also owned seven “small books of pricksong for the service of the church.”⁹³⁹ The term “service” here probably refers to a complete setting of the new Anglican liturgy: John Harper and Peter Le Huray have noted that, in the reign of Edward VI, composers provided complete sets of music for the new liturgical cycle of Matins and Evensong and for Communion.⁹⁴⁰ (The 1550 printing of *The Book of Common Prayer Noted* by John Merbecke was the standard setting, which set the principal texts of the three liturgies to chant drawn from the Latin Rite.⁹⁴¹) In at least one London church, English was

⁹³⁷ See for example, St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 364: *Item, spent at the tavernne the ix day of octobre vppon the pristres & clarkes & strange men that Cam to the Salve, viij d.* (1533/34). The *Salve* was sung nightly at St Mary Woolnoth at least from 1539, see St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 6r (1539/40), *et passim*.

⁹³⁸ All Hallows Staining CWD(1), 144v/clxxix^ov: *Item payd for sarten saltar bokes and odar pryked bokes of the engelles sarvys for the cherche as it Aperyth by ij bylles, xij s viij d.*

⁹³⁹ PRI, 463.

⁹⁴⁰ John Harper and Peter Le Huray, “Service,” *GMO* (accessed 7 February 2020).

⁹⁴¹ Of the principal texts, Harper and Le Huray write: “A service may comprise any or all of the following elements (the texts being in English): for Matins: *Venite, Te Deum, Benedicite, Benedictus, Jubilate*; for Evensong: *Magnificat, Cantate Domino, Nunc dimittis, Deus misereatur*; for Communion: *Kyrie, Gloria, Creed, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei*; and for the Burial Service: *I am the resurrection, I know that my*

apparently already in use even before it was the legal standard in England: the 1547/48 account of St Margaret Moses records that Thomas Nobyll, clerk, was paid to prick five books (of polyphony?) in English.⁹⁴²

It has been noted that the singers who sang polyphony were largely also the ones responsible for its being notated,⁹⁴³ and examples have been given of London clerks notating music as a part of their regular duties to parish churches. Books of polyphony could also be given to churches.⁹⁴⁴ But there is still some evidence of a commercial trade in polyphonically notated books, or at least isolated examples of churches purchasing such books directly from bookmakers. The Bridge House accounts record that, in 1491, “two books of pricksong containing diverse masses” were purchased for 3s. 4d. from William Barell and Robert Felton, stationers.⁹⁴⁵

Richard Lloyd and others have described the difficulties in relying on documentary evidence, such as accounts and inventories used to compile the tables given above, for an accurate understanding of the volume of notated polyphony in any given church. It is true that the evidence itself is problematic: the body of evidence has not survived in full, and if individual records survive, they are often incomplete. But, in a culture that continued to

redeemer liveth, We brought nothing, Man that is born of woman, In the midst of life and I heard a voice”: see Ibid.

⁹⁴² St Margaret Moses CWD, 5r: *Item payd to thomas nobbyll clarke for v bouckes that he pryked for the church in yngleshe, ii s. viij d.* See also the discussion of “prick” as a verb in n.923, above.

⁹⁴³ Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 236; see also Fiona Louise Kisby, “The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel, 1485-1547” (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996), 185 (citing Frank Harrison).

⁹⁴⁴ Wathey, “The Production of Books,” 148.

⁹⁴⁵ STA, 64, 105.

prize memorization and oral transmission, no record, however complete, of the ownership by churches or individuals of notated books of polyphony would fully describe the culture of polyphonic music encountered by the London commoner. Every source of plainchant was itself a source for polyphony, and much of the plainchant repertory could be decorated polyphonically by singers trained to extemporize around it.⁹⁴⁶ Pseudo-Chilston, the theorist who wrote in English on discant in the mid-fifteenth century,⁹⁴⁷ required of his students the ability to visualize (“sight”)—not notate—consonant intervals above a tenor (the tenor, in organum, was chant);⁹⁴⁸ faburden, for example, was created by the addition in performance of two outer voices to a single plainsong line that was taken from a book.⁹⁴⁹

It was noted in the introduction that Chaucer made no certain reference to polyphonic music; neither does any chronicler or witness account from London refer to the

⁹⁴⁶ And singers continued to be trained in these techniques even alongside the performance of mensural polyphony: see the example of Leiden in Rob. C. Wegman, “From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49, no. 3 (1996): 414. Wegman writes, “In Leiden, as elsewhere, extemporized discant constituted an important complement to performances of written polyphony—not as a second-best option in the absence of suitable repertory, but rather as a practice that was applied and appreciated for its own sake.”

⁹⁴⁷ He is not Chilston, though Pseudo-Chilston was attributed to him; see Andrew Hughes, “Chilston,” *GMO* (accessed 5 December 2019).

⁹⁴⁸ Anna Maria Busse Berger, “Oral Composition in Fifteenth-Century Music,” in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 144.

⁹⁴⁹ See John Caldwell, “Plainsong and Polyphony, 1250-1150,” in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 19. The term “faburden” originally referred to the bottom of the three parts but by 1462 referred generally to the technique itself: Brian Trowell, “Faburden [faburdon, faburthon, fabourden, faberthon etc.],” *GMO* (accessed 5 December 2019). Note, as Caldwell describes, that faburden and Continental *fauxbourdon* are quite different (the latter is mensurally notated) but “the resulting sound was similar, and the evidence is that such improvisation [i.e., of faburden] was subjected to the rhythmic criteria of mensural polyphony:” Caldwell, “Plainsong and Polyphony,” 19.

performance of mensural polyphony.⁹⁵⁰ But one chronicler refers explicitly to extemporized polyphony: the author of a chronicle described the choir of St Paul’s Cathedral “singing the litany with faburden” in a procession through the city in November 1535.⁹⁵¹ This was the polyphony that the London commoner (and, probably, the commoner anywhere in western Europe) must have heard more frequently than the music included by Baillie in his “Short Anthology of London Music,”⁹⁵² and other, more complex—but which should not be considered more sophisticated—polyphony, which, Margaret Bent writes, “has always been the preserve of a [...] minority.”⁹⁵³

Private Ownership of Notated Music

There are some examples of privately owned notated music in London. One has already been given: the book of polyphony that John Darlyngton must have owned himself before he sold it to the wardens of St Mary at Hill for 4s. 4d. in 1521/22.⁹⁵⁴ Two much earlier examples are found in the book of Arnold Fitz Thedmar, a notable thirteenth-century Londoner. A song and a fragment of chant are found bound in his book—later called *De*

⁹⁵⁰ One might imagine that mensural polyphony was sung, for example, by the Chapel Royal when they sang with “the clerks of this town” at St Mary at Hill in 1509/10: see St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 270. (The account, of course, provides no information about their repertoire.)

⁹⁵¹ “A London Chronicle: Henry VIII, pages 1-17,” *Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (London: Camden Society, 1910), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020).

⁹⁵² Baillie, “London Churches,” vol. 2, “Select Anthology of Music (Appendix Five).”

⁹⁵³ Margaret Bent, “Polyphonic Sources, ca.1400-1450,” in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 617. See also Trowell, “Faburden,” where he writes: “[Faburden was] a technique much used by unlearned monks and musically unsophisticated canons and vicars-choral, many of whom were in any case not permitted to sing elaborate polyphony.”

⁹⁵⁴ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 314.

Antiquis Legibus Liber, but not called that by Thedmar himself—which he probably left with the Guildhall as he neared the end of his life.⁹⁵⁵ The first song in his collection, a non-religious monophonic song in English and French, beginning *Eyns ne soy/Ar ne kuthe*, has been called “The Prisoner’s Prayer”;⁹⁵⁶ Ian Stone, in his dissertation on Arnold Fitz Thedmar, has proposed that perhaps the song, in which the singer laments his wrongful imprisonment, may have held special meaning for Arnold, who was probably one of forty Londoners imprisoned by Henry III at Windsor Castle in 1265.⁹⁵⁷

The second piece of music in Arnold’s collection is a fragment of a rhymed office of the Translation of St Thomas Becket: Arnold, like many Londoners, may have had a personal devotion to St Thomas Becket, who was himself a Londoner,⁹⁵⁸ but rather than having deliberately sought these folios, Arnold probably acquired them from a clergyman, with this music already notated on them, and made his jottings on the empty folios around them.⁹⁵⁹ Arnold was certainly literate, so it makes sense that he could enjoy a close relationship with the texts of the song and chants, but it is far less certain and probably unlikely that he could read the music. Stone notes that there is no evidence that Arnold ever

⁹⁵⁵ Ian William Stone, “The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar,” (PhD diss., King’s College, University of London, 2016), 16.

⁹⁵⁶ Stone, “The Book of Arnold,” 272-73.

⁹⁵⁷ Stone, “The Book of Arnold,” 27-28, 273.

⁹⁵⁸ For Arnold and Thomas Becket, see Ian Stone, “Arnold Fitz Thedmar: Identity, Politics and the City of London in the Thirteenth Century,” *The London Journal* 40, no. 2: 106-122.

⁹⁵⁹ Stone, “The Book of Arnold,” 272-73.

trained as a cleric,⁹⁶⁰ and musical literacy outside of a clerical education was rare in the Middle Ages.⁹⁶¹

There are other examples, too, of the private ownership by Londoners of notated music: the 1407/08 account of the Mercers' Company records that one William Hedyngton bequeathed a missal to them after his death,⁹⁶² suggesting that he had owned it in life (like Arnold Fitz Thedmar, it is unlikely that Hedyngton, if he were not a priest, could make use of the musically notated prefaces that were probably found in his missal); John Elys, a stationer and parishioner of St Peter Cornhill, left a processional that he owned to a parish church in Kent in 1467;⁹⁶³ and John Multon, a stationer and probably a parishioner of St Michael le Quern, left a Mass book "not fully ended and lying in loose quires" to his nephew, Robert, in his will of 1475.⁹⁶⁴

In the sixteenth century, music ownership and musical literacy is implied in the 1569 testament of William Peryman, who owned a sizable library of notated music and distributed as many as eighteen books of pricksong and tablature among his children

⁹⁶⁰ Stone, "The Book of Arnold," 145.

⁹⁶¹ For example, the author-compiler of the *Quatuor principalia musice*, John of Tewkesbury (*fl.* 1351–92), was a friar (probably Franciscan): Luminita Florea, "John of Tewkesbury," *GMO* (accessed 6 January 2020). John Hothby, English composer and theorist was a Carmelite friar and held a master's degree in sacred theology: Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Hothby [Hocby, Octobi, Ottobi, Otteby], John [Johannes]," *GMO* (accessed 7 January 2020).

⁹⁶² See n.861, above.

⁹⁶³ STA, 102-03.

⁹⁶⁴ STA, 136.

Roberte, Nicholas, Julius, Elinor, and Elizabeth, along with instruments;⁹⁶⁵ evidently, his children—daughters and sons alike—were capable of reading the notation.

Lost Manuscripts

Earlier in this chapter it was observed that the documents from just one London church (St Peter Cornhill) record that it possessed more than the sum of all of the extant and certainly notated books from all of London. The churchwardens' accounts are littered with references to such books, the overwhelming majority of which are either lost or no longer identified with London churches. The accounts' references to these books are far too numerous to list, nor is it easy to distinguish between different books and repeated references to the same book in account entries concerning their purchase, repair, and rebinding. Inventories of church goods compiled by different churchwardens at various times (and by all churchwardens in the Edwardian regime) did sometimes identify particular books and separate them from one another, as in the inventory of 1350 compiled at St Thomas' Chapel, which lists two missals "one of which is in notation, and the other without notation," and another missal "well set to notation, with large letters in gilt,"⁹⁶⁶ or

⁹⁶⁵ Testament of William Peryman, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/015, 337v: *Item I bequeathe to roberte peryman my eldiste sonne a pricke songe booke and a tabletory booke Item I bequeathe vnto nicholas peryman my sonne the greate prickesonge booke and a lesse prickesonge booke and iij bookes of musicke and iiij other bookes for the lute and virginalles and also my beste lute Item I beqwethe vnto julius my sonne a tabletory booke and a prickesonge book Item I will and bequeathe vnto william my sonne ij pewter platters Item I will vnto Elinor my doughter my greate byble booke and a lewte to the saide Elinor and also iiij other bookes to playe to the virginalles and the lewte Item I will and bequeathe vnto Elizabeth my doughter the greate tabletory book and a lute [...]. (Did William the younger not take up the family profession of music?)*

⁹⁶⁶ Memorials: 1350, pages 247-265," *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1868), BHO (accessed 12 February 2020), s.v. "Inventory and valuation of stores belonging to the works at London Bridge, delivered to the Wardens thereof by the outgoing Wardens."

the inventory of December 1524 from St Michael le Quern, which distinguishes between Mass books according to various features.⁹⁶⁷

Other inventories more helpfully identify books by the specific text that begins the verso of the first leaf or the recto of the second. This information, more than descriptions of penmanship and bosses, could aid in the identification of additional books from London in the future, and for this reason, table 5.4, overleaf, lists the references to manuscripts in the churchwardens' accounts that identify books by their texts.⁹⁶⁸ (None of the extant sources described above appears to be among those listed below).

⁹⁶⁷ St Michael le Querne CWD, 45r: *Item a masser with a hy stondyng bosse with sent myell in the tope with a border of syluer [unintelligible] gylt [...] Item a gret masser with a flat bosse with a greffyn of syluer & gylt with ii pecys in the syde of syluer with a playne border [...]*.

⁹⁶⁸ There are, for example, processional, some with Sarum material, but currently of unidentified origins and destinations: see Michel Huglo, ed. *Répertoire internationale des sources musicales*, Vol. II: *France à Afrique du Sud* (Munich: Henle, 2004).

Table 5.4. Books probably with musical notation, and presumably now lost, that are identified by their texts in the churchwardens' accounts.⁹⁶⁹

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>Mass books, missals, noted portos [i.e., noted breviaries]</p> | <p>St Christopher le Stocks (CWD, 26v) Mass book, 2r begins <i>Cum Ramys palmarum</i> Mass book, 2r begins <i>Et finiatur hoc modo</i> [? <i>hitaculo</i>] Mass book, 2r begins <i>Te pater supplices</i> Mass book, 2r begins <i>factoribus istius loci</i> Mass book, 2r begins <i>Reprimus qui inimici</i></p> <p>St Martin Orgar (CWD(2), 2v) Mass book, the calendar names one William Antecroft, who gave the book to the church</p> <p>St Nicholas Shambles (CWD, 3r-3v, 8v, 10r) Mass book, 2r begins <i>et in eodem impno</i> Mass book, 2r begins <i>Dominicis per annum</i> Mass book, 2r begins <i>sit impugnacionibus</i> Mass book, noted, 2r begins <i>in statione ante</i> Mass book, 2r begins <i>potestate et majestate</i> Mass book, 3r begins <i>in illo tempore, cum audisset</i> Mass book, 2r begins <i>client antique</i> Mass book, 3r begins <i>et clemento</i> Portos, noted, 3r begins [-] <i>sacoe gaudere</i> Portos, noted, 3r begins <i>vestra nota</i> Portos, noted, 3r begins <i>domino deus</i></p> <p>St Peter Westcheap (CWD, 173r) Missal, 2r begins <i>effugiat</i> Missal, 2r begins <i>Expugnas</i> Missal, 2r begins <i>gentes multe</i></p> |
|--|--|

⁹⁶⁹ I acknowledge the assistance of Barbara Hagg-Huglo in transcribing some of the incipits in this table, and the assistance of Sarah Powell, as well as the editors of the edition in preparation of the churchwardens' accounts of St Nicholas Shambles, Helen Combes, David Harry, and Christian Steer. Note that I have standardized and formatted all texts in this table; the inventories do not use terminology such as "1v," but often have in its place "the second side of the first leaf," for example, or "beginning in the second leaf," given here as "2r." I have also expanded abbreviations and standardized Latin spelling in most cases, because it may not be the case that the scribe who wrote the inventory paid attention to and accurately replicated the spelling and abbreviations of the Latin found in the manuscripts themselves. The different qualities of the London inventories also indicate that they may have been written quickly, in draft form (probably at the time of compilation), and later rewritten in a fair copy; small idiosyncratic changes to text and spelling could have occurred during these processes. Note that script of St Peter Westcheap's 1431 inventory makes the incipits given there especially difficult to read. The folios are also somewhat faded or damaged. The Rev. Sparrow Simpson, in his transcription of the same inventory, forgivably omitted much of the detail included in it: see W. Sparrow Simpson, "Inventory of the Vestments, Plate, and Books, Belonging to the Church of St. Peter Cheap, in the City of London, in the Year 1431," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 24, no. 2 (1868): 159.

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Mass books etc. (con't.) | <p>Missal, 2r begins [unintelligible] Mass book "portiforum," gift of [unintelligible...] [?preluarit nistum patris] Quire of a missal, 2r begins <i>loco quo crux</i> [later lost, see below] Missal of commemoration, 2r begins <i>in operum</i> [later lost, see below] Gospel Book, 2r begins <i>pelliciam</i></p> |
| Graduals | <p>All Hallows Staining (CWD(2), 8r) Gradual, 1v begins <i>Ad te levavi</i> Gradual, 1v begins <i>Deus virtutis</i> Gradual, 1v is inked with saint Bryget</p> <p>St Christopher le Stocks (CWD, 26v-27r) Gradual, 2r begins <i>Per totom</i> [sic] <i>adventum</i> Gradual, 2r begins <i>Cumque dicatur missa</i> Gradual, 2r begins <i>In diebus illis</i> Gradual, 2r begins <i>Spontanea gra</i></p> <p>St Nicholas Shambles (CWD, 3v) Gradual, 3r begins <i>tua subsequamur</i> Gradual, 3r begins <i>si chorus</i> Gradual, 3r begins <i>secunda die resurrectionis</i></p> <p>St Peter Westcheap (CWD, 173r) Gradual, 2r begins <i>evenerint</i> Gradual, 2r begins <i>ges me domine</i> [later lost, see below] Gradual, 2r begins <i>ministris predictis</i> Gradual, 2r begins <i>illi elle scos</i>[?] [for ?illi sanctos] Gradual, 2r begins [...] <i>illi sanctos</i> [scored out] [later lost, see below] Gradual, 2r begins [unintelligible] <i>secundum</i></p> |
| Antiphoners | <p>St Christopher le Stocks (CWD, 25v-26v) Antiphoner, 2r begins <i>hoc modo dur</i> Antiphoner, 2r begins <i>memorie que procedit</i> Antiphoner, 2r begins <i>alia hec antiphona dicatur</i> Antiphoner, 3r begins <i>Cum panis more selito</i> Antiphoner, 2r begins <i>pares quidem filii</i></p> <p>St Nicholas Shambles (CWD, 3r) Antiphoner, 3r begins <i>salvum faciet</i> Antiphoner, 3r begins <i>pacem ut</i> Antiphoner, 3r begins <i>inceptionem</i> Antiphoner, 3r begins <i>dominus dare</i></p> |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Antiphoners (con't.) | <p>St Peter Westcheap (CWD, 173r) Antiphoner, 2r begins <i>Anno in festis</i> Antiphoner, 2r begins <i>et suscitabo</i> Antiphoner, 2r begins <i>mensia[?] sis</i></p> |
| Processionals | <p>St Christopher le Stocks (CWD, 27r) Processional, 2r begins <i>In finide</i> [? text very difficult] Processional, 2r begins <i>Eradicare</i> [? text very difficult] Processional, 2r begins <i>Propitius</i> [<i>invocationibus?</i> text very difficult] Processional, 2r begins <i>Omnem postestatem</i> Processional, 2r begins <i>Pauperum suorum</i></p> <p>St Nicholas Shambles (CWD, 4r, 8v) Processional, 3r begins <i>miserere mei deus</i> Processional, 3r begins <i>asperges me</i> Processional, 3r begins <i>Amen. si fuerit</i> Processional, 3r begins [-]gat in redeundo Processional, 3r begins <i>te agnus</i></p> <p>St Peter Westcheap (CWD, 173r) Processional, 2r begins <i>deserto</i> Processional, 2r begins <i>orietur</i> Processional, 2r begins <i>habundancia</i> Processional, 2r begins [?Versiculo] <i>vox clamantis</i></p> |
| Hymnals, Sequentiaries | <p>St Christopher le Stocks (CWD, 29r) Hymnal and sequentiary “in one book,” 2r begins <i>Carnem qui vivis</i></p> |
| Dirige books | <p>St Nicholas Shambles (CWD, 3v, 8v) Dirige book “with Christening therein,” 2r begins <i>timium R. crucis</i> Quire “with Placebo and Dirige and Commendations and bearing,” 3r begins <i>meo qui</i></p> |
| Polyphonic books | <p>St Christopher le Stocks (CWD, 29r) Pricksong book of masses, 2r begins <i>ne fili uni</i></p> <p>St Nicholas Shambles (CWD, 3v) Pricksong book [of masses], 6r begins <i>et in terra</i></p> <p>St Peter Westcheap (CWD, 173r) Pricksong book, 2r begins <i>nescio quid disio</i></p> |

Some of the texts given in table 5.4 could be identified, and it is possible to offer some commentary on the chants and liturgies from which they come. Examples include the Mass books from St Christopher le Stocks and St Nicholas Shambles. The text *cum Ramys palmarum* in a Mass book of St Christopher le Stocks probably suggests the Palm Sunday responsory *Ingrediente domino in sanctam civitatem* (cf. CANTUS ID 006961⁹⁷⁰); the folio beginning *Te pater supplices* identifies a Kyrie trope associated with the first Sunday of Advent.⁹⁷¹ The text *vestra nota* in a noted portos [i.e., a noted breviary] is probably from the introit chant sung at Mass on the third Sunday of Advent, beginning *Gaudete in domino semper iterum* (cf. CANTUS ID g00501⁹⁷²); the text *sit impugnationibus* is found twice, in the Sarum rite at the Blessing of Water,⁹⁷³ and, interestingly, within the liturgy for the Dedication of a Church, the anniversaries of which were described in chapter 4.⁹⁷⁴ Another text recorded in a missal of St Christopher le Stocks is probably a rubric (*Et finiatur hoc modo hitaculo[?]*⁹⁷⁵), but the others, *factoribus istius loci* and *reprimus qui inimici* do not

⁹⁷⁰ The full text of the responsory as found (and standardized) on CANTUS is *Ingrediente domino in sanctam civitatem Hebraeorum pueri resurrectionem vitae pronuntiantes cum ramis palmarum hosanna clamabant in excelsis*.

⁹⁷¹ See David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 434-35.

⁹⁷² The full text as found (and standardized) on CANTUS is *Gaudete in domino semper iterum dico gaudete modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus dominus prope est nihil solliciti sitis sed in omni oratione petitiones vestrae innotescant apud deum*.

⁹⁷³ See Christopher Wordsworth, ed., *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), 19.

⁹⁷⁴ See Daniel Thiery, “Welcome to the Parish. Remove Your Cap and Stop Assaulting Your Neighbor,” in *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Douglas L. Biggs, Sharon D. Michalove, A. Compton Reeves (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 243, n.28.

⁹⁷⁵ Possibly *hitaculo* is a scribe’s error and is intended to represent “And it will be finished in this way, *Habitabit in tabernaculo*” (? cf. CANTUS ID 002987).

appear to be concordant with any known chants (their texts do not appear in the CANTUS database, for example), and may be the remnants of local, now lost, liturgies; these short extracts of manuscript texts listed in the churchwardens' documents hint at the extent and liturgical diversity of the plainchant repertoire that was copied into the listed books.

The inventory of St Peter Westcheap is a particularly interesting document. It was probably compiled in 1431,⁹⁷⁶ and the original quires of the inventory are bound together with later accounts, as the Reverend Sparrow Simpson wrote, "quite in the middle of the book."⁹⁷⁷ The list of books, on 173v, contains many more references than those given here (there are, for example, a number of books that were unlikely to contain musical notation, such as a Martyrology and a Legend, and there is also reference to "a little troper without notation" that originally cost 10s.⁹⁷⁸) but on 172v, a later hand has noted that the church "lacks certain books,"⁹⁷⁹ and lists a total of ten books that the church had apparently lost sometime in the fifteenth or in the sixteenth century.⁹⁸⁰

Evidently books were lost by churches despite their efforts to ensure that they were cared for, even before the Reformation. At St Nicholas Shambles, the churchwardens' accounts in the 1480s recorded that one Harry Pavy was required to buy a new processional

⁹⁷⁶ For the suggested date of this inventory, see Sparrow Simpson, "Inventory": 151.

⁹⁷⁷ Sparrow Simpson, "Inventory": 151.

⁹⁷⁸ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 173r.

⁹⁷⁹ St Peter Westcheap CWD, 172v.

⁹⁸⁰ These are listed as "later lost" in table 5.4.

to replace the one that he had lost.⁹⁸¹ The inventory of St Peter Westcheap gives the value of each book at the time of its purchase; it is easy to imagine the frustration of a much later churchwarden, listing those books that were then missing from the church, as he recorded their value for a second time.

Lost Vernacular Songs

Traces of songs now lost have already been mentioned: the speaker of “London Lickpenny” referred to minstrels singing the song of *Jenken and Julian*; chapter 3 alluded to songs that were written in the vernacular and sung by Londoners for their sovereign as he visited their city. Of these, some are lost completely: about the “new ballads made in praise” of Anne Boleyn in 1533, for example, which were sung by a choir of men’s and children’s voices on the roof of St Martin’s Church,⁹⁸² nothing can be said except that copies of them are now lost, if they ever were written down to begin with.⁹⁸³ Other songs certainly were written down: among the costs recorded on the bridge when Elizabeth Woodville, queen to Edward IV, entered London in May 1465, is a payment for six ballads that were written and presented to the Queen,⁹⁸⁴ and later, payments to clerks (named Robert and Roger), boys, and one Holme, singing man, with his boys, is recorded singing to the

⁹⁸¹ St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 132r: *Also of* [i.e., received from] *Sir harry pavy to by with a new processionary for a processionary that longyd to hys chauntry the which was lost thorow hys defawte, v s.* (c.1485/86).

⁹⁸² Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918-20), 1:184, n.3.

⁹⁸³ On the unwritten (and now unrecoverable) carol repertory, see David Fallows, *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols: 1413-1440* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 75.

⁹⁸⁴ Bridgemasters’ Annual Accounts and Rentals, *CL*, 198, and translated, 1190: “And to John Genycote for writing and liming of six ballads [*pro scriptura & lymnyng vi balades*] offered to the queen on her coming, 3s.” For John Genycote, see *STA*, 111.

Queen.⁹⁸⁵ Perhaps these ballads were sung, like the new song of felicitation that had been written was sung for Henry V as he entered London after his victory at Agincourt in 1415. The *Gesta Henrici Quinti* records that that song began “Welcome Henry the fifth, King of England and France,”⁹⁸⁶ and moreover notes that the song was certainly written down: it was sung, the chronicler writes, *litteram prosequentes* (“following [a] text”⁹⁸⁷). Its music and the rest of its text remain untraced—it survives only in incipit, like those records of manuscripts that record only a portion of text, described above—but about two songs, *Sovereign Lord Welcome Ye Be*, sung to Henry VI in 1432, and *Row the Bote Norman*, a song about the city’s mayor, John Norman, it is possible to offer some information, though the original music may not have survived. Both are examples of songs in the vernacular, made and heard by Londoners, which survive today in the documentary evidence.

“Sovereign Lord Welcome Ye Be”

This song was sung to Henry VI when he entered London in 1432.⁹⁸⁸ It is remarkably well attested in chronicles and in the documents: at Henry VI’s entry into the city, *Gregory’s*

⁹⁸⁵ Bridgemasters’ Annual Accounts and Rentals, *CL*, 198-99, and translated, 1191.

⁹⁸⁶ *Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth*, trans. and eds., Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 111: *Welcome Henry ye fifte, Kinge of Englonde and of Fraunce* (and see the footnote, the incipit of the song is written in “larger writing and underlined” in the manuscript).

⁹⁸⁷ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 110-11. The “text” could have been the song’s lyrics only, like the example of those preserved for another song discussed here, but it is also possible that the chronicler is describing musical notation: for the history of *littera* as a “letter that indicates a note, a degree (within a set of pitches),” see the *Lexicon musicum Latinum medii aevi*, s.v. “littera –ae f,” <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/LmL?lemma=littera> (accessed 7 January 2020). One of the examples cited in the entry is John Hothby, see n.961, above. As described in “Royal Occasions,” chapter 3, the chronicle further reports that the singers were “singing together with timbrel and dance”: *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 111, and chapter 3.

⁹⁸⁸ Lydgate’s poetic description of the 1432 Royal Entry calls this song a roundel (*Thes sevyn virgyns, of siht most hevenly / [...] beganne to synge, / Moste aungelyk with hevenly armony, / This same roundell, which I shall now specyfy* [...], lines 204-10), but probably this is a poetic use of the word musical term

Chronicle records that fourteen maidens on London Bridge, in two groups, clothed in blue and white and decorated with golden suns and stars, sang a heavenly song to the King, welcoming him home,⁹⁸⁹ and the Bridge House accounts record payments to fourteen boys—evidently the very same singers—for singing to the King on the bridge.⁹⁹⁰

Caroline Barron has examined the documentary evidence for this song,⁹⁹¹ and has suggested that the next payment recorded in the Bridge House accounts—of 5*d.* “to William Holford, for his reward and his labour”—indicates that he was the choirmaster responsible for the fourteen boys who danced and sang,⁹⁹² and that the payment of 1*s.* to John Steynour, clerk of St Dunstan’s, “for the making of the song”⁹⁹³ indicates that he wrote the music.⁹⁹⁴ It was written and learned quickly; the Bridge House Accounts

“roundel.” Fabyan also uses this word in his *New Chronicle of England and France* to describe “Row the bote Norman,” but the evidence of later versions of that song suggest that it was indeed a roundel. For Lydgate’s text, see *John Lydgate: Mummings and Entertainments*, ed. Claire Sponsler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010), 34; for Fabyan’s text, see Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France, in two parts*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, et al, 1811), 628.

⁹⁸⁹ “Gregory’s Chronicle: 1427-1434, pages 161-177,” in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Camden Society, 1876), BHO (accessed 18 February 2020).

⁹⁹⁰ Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 127, and translated, 1160: “[...] Likewise paid to eleven hired choirboys singing in their order, each one taking 4*d.*, 3*s.* 8*d.*; for three singing boys hired, 3*s.* [...]”

⁹⁹¹ Caroline M. Barron, “Pageantry on London Bridge in the Early Fifteenth Century,” in *Bring Furth the Pagants’: Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*, eds. David N. Klausner and Karen Sawyer Marsalek (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 98.

⁹⁹² Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 127, and translated, 1160: “[...] *Et willelmo holford pro ruardo suo & labore, v s.* He has been identified as a clerk in the Bridge Chapel and the son of Nicholas Holford, also a clerk in the chapel: see Lancashire’s endnote, *CL*, 1262.

⁹⁹³ Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 127, and translated, 1160: “[...] *Et Iohanni Steynour clerico sancti dunstani pro factura cantus, xij d.*

⁹⁹⁴ Barron, “Pageantry on London Bridge,” 98.

especially note that the arrangements for the King's visit were carried out within a short space of time.⁹⁹⁵

The author of *Gregory's Chronicle* gives remarkably precise and accurate details, such as the number of singers, about this occasion. The author's source could have been the account of Henry VI's entry recorded by John Carpenter in the city's Letter Books, which record much of the same detail, including the two groups of seven singers (Carpenter described them as "in the likeness of young girls") and also what is probably the complete text of the song.⁹⁹⁶ (Carpenter's record also notes that it is a "new song or hymn."⁹⁹⁷) Because Carpenter took care to record the text for posterity in his account of the entry in the civic records, Barron suggests that he was also its author.⁹⁹⁸ Moreover, the song is an address of welcome to the King on behalf of the city, and it seems sensible that it was the city's secretary who was charged with preparing such an address, whether spoken or sung.⁹⁹⁹

No traces of Steynour's music for the song have survived, and the poetic form of the text does not suggest anything particular about its musical form, other than that it was strophic, with four quatrains, rhyming *bbba bbba ccca ccca*, beginning with a couplet, also rhyming *aa* ("Sovereign Lord, to your city / With all reverence welcome you be"), that is

⁹⁹⁵ Bridge House Weekly Payments, *CL*, 126, and translated, 1159.

⁹⁹⁶ Letter Book K, *CL*, 121-22, and translated, 1154-55.

⁹⁹⁷ Letter Book K, *CL*, 121, and translated, 1155.

⁹⁹⁸ Barron, "Pageantry on London Bridge," 98.

⁹⁹⁹ For a consideration of city secretaries as authors as much as scribes, see Ester Liberman Cuenca, "Town Clerks and the Authorship of Customals in Medieval England," *Urban History* 46, no. 2 (2019): 180-201.

repeated at the end.¹⁰⁰⁰ Perhaps this couplet functioned as a musical refrain, and the same music heard at the beginning of the song returned at the end. Perhaps, too, the song included parts for instruments playing their own refrains between the four strophes: Carpenter's own account of the event in the city's Letter Books described the boys "rejoicing with set dances" while singing to the King.¹⁰⁰¹ Perhaps this was the duty of William Holford as a clerk: clerks were often expected to have skills on the organ,¹⁰⁰² and the accompaniment of singing by organs at the royal entries in 1392, 1415, and 1426 was described in chapter 3.¹⁰⁰³

"Row the bote Norman"

Robert Fabyan's *Great Chronicle of London* records that when John Norman went to Westminster to take his oath as mayor of London in 1453, the city's watermen made a new song, "Row thy boat Norman."¹⁰⁰⁴ In Fabyan's *New Chronicles of England and France*, he wrote that the Thames watermen "made of [Norman] a roundel or song... which began, *Rowe the bote Norman, rowe to thy lemman.*"¹⁰⁰⁵ John Skelton, poet and tutor to

¹⁰⁰⁰ The overall form is thus *aa bbba bbba ccca ccca aa*: I acknowledge Leofranc Holford-Strevens for his advice on the structure of the song's text. Of the layout in Letter Book K, Holford-Strevens notes that it is the regular way to emphasize "the structural dominance of the *a* rhyme."

¹⁰⁰¹ Letter Book K, *CL*, 121, and translated, 1155.

¹⁰⁰² See "Clerks and Church Musicians," chapter 4.

¹⁰⁰³ See "Royal Occasions," chapter 3.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *The Great Chronicle of London*, eds. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (London and Aylesbury: George W. Jones, 1938), 187: [...] *Wherfor the Watirmen of Temmys made a song of this John Norman Whereof the begynnyng was Rowe thy bote Norman, which newe custom was well allowid and hath Contenuyd from his days to this seson.* For Fabyan's authorship of (at least part of) the *Great Chronicle*, see M. T. W. Payne, "Robert Fabyan and the Nuremberg Chronicle," *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 12, no. 2 (2011): 167.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, 628.

Prince Henry (later Henry VIII), appears to quote the song in *The Bowge of Courte*, written in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁰⁶

*I wolde be mery that wynde that ever blowe,
'Heve and how, rombelow, row the bote, Norman, rowe.'*¹⁰⁰⁷

It is possible that both Fabyan (a draper, sheriff, and alderman of London) and Skelton (being with the Chapel Royal, which was often close to London¹⁰⁰⁸), could have been earwitnesses to the song: Fabyan, in his *Great Chronicle of London* noted that the song continued to be sung from Norman's time to the time of their writing,¹⁰⁰⁹ and it is probable that Skelton himself was quoting it at the end of the fifteenth century as a popular song.¹⁰¹⁰ "Rumbelow" was a common refrain, especially in sailors' rowing songs, from at least the fifteenth century,¹⁰¹¹ and Julia Boffey has suggested that, because it contains language such as *leman* ["a person beloved" or "an unlawful lover or mistress"¹⁰¹²] the

¹⁰⁰⁶ For the poem's date, see the note in *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 395.

¹⁰⁰⁷ John Skelton, *The Bowge of Courte*, in *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 53.

¹⁰⁰⁸ By the mid-fifteenth century, the royal household was mostly focused within a 30-mile radius of London: Kisby, "The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel," 309. The presentation of the mayor was to the King: see "Processions of Civic Officials," chapter 3.

¹⁰⁰⁹ See n.1004, above.

¹⁰¹⁰ I acknowledge here the advice of Professor Julia Boffey. See also [Joseph Riston,] *Ancient Songs, from the time of King Henry the Third, to the Revolution* (London: J. Johnson, 1790), li.

¹⁰¹¹ *OED*, s.v. "rumbelow."

¹⁰¹² *OED*, s.v. "leman, n., 1a, 2." (It could also be used of Christ or the Blessed Virgin Mary in religious or devotional language, see 1b.)

Thames watermen probably repurposed an existing song and inserted mayor Norman's name into it.

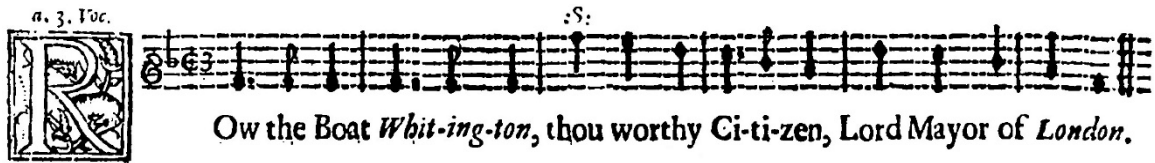
Several histories and chronicles in later centuries also record the connection between Norman and the song, probably taking as their sources Fabyan's chronicles.¹⁰¹³ Of musical rather than historical sources to include the song, the earliest yet traced are William Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1859),¹⁰¹⁴ crediting the source of the tune from "Row the boat Whittington," in *The Musical Companion in two books, the first containing catches and rounds for three voices*, printed by John Playford c.1673.¹⁰¹⁵ (Earlier, in 1658, John Playford had published a "corrected and enlarged" edition of John Hilton's *Catch that catch can, or, A choice collection of catches, rounds & canons for 3 or 4 voyces*;¹⁰¹⁶ the table of contents lists "Row the boat Norman" as one of the songs added to this edition, but it does not actually appear in the book itself.)

¹⁰¹³ For example: *A Complete History of England: With the Lives of all the Kings and Queens Thereof* (London: Printed for Aylmer, Bonwick, Smith, et. al, 1706), 410.

¹⁰¹⁴ W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time; A Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads, and Dance Tunes, Illustrative of the National Music of England*, 2 vols. (London: Cramer, Beale and Chappell, 1859), 2:482.

¹⁰¹⁵ John Playford, *The Musical Companion in Two Books: The First Book Containing Catches and Rounds for Three Voyces: The Second Book Containing Dialogues, Glees, Ayres and Songs for Two, Three and Four Voyces* (London: W. Gobid, 1673), 1:11. (Note, vol. 2 gives the publication date as 1672.)

¹⁰¹⁶ John Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can, or, A Choice Collection of Catches, Rounds and Canons being Three or Foure Parts in One, The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged by J. Playford* (London: W. G., 1658).



Ex. 5.1: “Row the boat Whittington,” from *The Musical Companion* by John Playford.¹⁰¹⁷



Ex. 5.2: “Row the boat Whittington,” as printed in *Popular Music of the Olden Time* by William Chappell.¹⁰¹⁸

It seems to have been the English musicologist Edward Rimbault who, in the nineteenth century, was the first to turn to Skelton’s poem as the source with which to complete the song’s text (the additional texts in Chappell’s and Playford’s versions, both ending “Lord Mayor of London,” are of unknown origin). In his work on *The Rounds, Catches and Canons of England*,¹⁰¹⁹ published c.1865,¹⁰²⁰ Rimbault gave the following transcription (as the second piece in his book, following only the *Sumer* canon).

¹⁰¹⁷ Playford, *The Musical Companion*, 1:11.

¹⁰¹⁸ Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2:482.

¹⁰¹⁹ Edward F. Rimbault, *The Rounds, Catches and Canons of England; A Collection of Specimens of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries Adapted to Modern Use* (London: Cramer, Wood & Co., [186-? 187-?]), xi.

¹⁰²⁰ See W. H. Husk, “Rimbault, Edward (Francis),” revised by Nicholas Temperley, *GMO* (accessed 7 January 2020).

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Heave and how, rum - be - low,
Row the boat, Nor - man, row,
Row to thy le - man.

Ex. 5.3: “Heave and how, rumbelow, Row the boat, Norman, row,” as printed in *Rounds, Catches, and Canons* by Edward F. Rimbault.¹⁰²¹

Rimbault “safely pronounced” this transcription to be the “original music of ‘Row the boat, Norman’,”¹⁰²² and though it is the same tune that first appeared in Playford’s *Musical Companion* of 1672 with the text *Row the boat Whittington* (and was probably the tune he intended to print in 1658 as *Row the boat Norman*), it seems not possible to so surely pronounce it the “original”: if ever such an original can be said to have existed of a song that was probably extemporized and based, like a contrafactum, on existing material, it surely remained part of an oral, not written, musical culture for some time.

¹⁰²¹ Rimbault, *The Rounds, Catches and Canons of England*, xi.

¹⁰²² *Ibid*, n.*.

VI. Conclusion

Most commoners—and probably most musicians, too—did not encounter music in books and on paper but rather in the act of musical performance itself. Though there is some evidence of the private ownership by Londoners of sources of music, most probably could not read the notation they contained, which for a long time remained within the domain of the church and was most commonly accessible only through a clerical education. In this way the parish clerks—who, chapter 4 showed, are already distinct from the other musicians by their organizational role—are further distinguished from most other musicians described in this study, for whom musical literacy was neither an expected nor integral part of their musicianship: this is shown by the Ordinances of the Minstrels' Company, as revised in 1518, which are concerned only with the performance of music, and require an apprentice to demonstrate the ability “to *use his instrument* [...] for the honor of the city.”¹⁰²³

Londoners heard performed music that accompanied their routine and rituals: some of it daily, like the ringing of bells, or else very often, like the clanging of brass pots and pans that led an offender to the pillory or through the market streets. This music, more functional than decorative, emphasized timbre and rhythm over pitch and harmony: Londoners recognized the timbre of the individual bells and the patterns of their ringing, both of which conveyed different messages; they recognized, too, the “ludicrous and strident-sounding” timbre of pots and pans clattering together, chaotically and

¹⁰²³ See “The Minstrels' Company and Regulations for Minstrelsy,” chapter 2, and appendix 3.3, emphasis mine.

arrhythmically, and discerned by this music the inferiority of the people that it accompanied.

Other rituals, like the Midsummer Watches and the processions of the commoners' superiors—civic officials, royal visitors, and perhaps even the person of Christ made present in the Eucharist and carried in procession on Corpus Christi—resonated with music that added melody and pitch to rhythm. (This was music making that was not spontaneous, but planned well ahead of its performance; the Common Council and the commoners themselves, acting as agents on behalf of their companies or their parish churches, sought out the musicians whom they would hire and entered into agreements with them before the event.) Musicians were protected, by the ordinances of the Minstrels' Company, from losing to one of their fellow minstrels any work agreed with a company or church. Of this music, some of it, like the *bas* minstrelsy that was enjoyed in barges or the musicians that sang at dinners, was entirely for commoners and their enjoyment. But not all of it was intended especially for the commoner, though they were most of its audience—probably the intended audience was the king, or God—but as the spectator in the crowd or the parishioner in the church, commoners yet heard music that was intended to appeal to stations well above their own.

These festive occasions—to which should be added the festal liturgies of the churches—resonated with melody: songs were written in praise of kings and the mayor; every feast day had its proper chants that were sung alongside the Ordinary; psalms were chanted (to melodic formulae) in the streets at royal welcomes just as they were in the offices in the churches. The performance of this music was carefully ordered, not spontaneous: chants were sung at specified points in the liturgy (both in the Sarum rite and

in the new rite of the *Book of Common Prayer*), and church documents reveal that no two liturgies overlapped; in the streets, choirs of boys and girls and ensembles of instrumentalists were stationed at specific locations and performed their music as the king rode past.

Among the most challenging questions this dissertation has sought to address is what kind of polyphony the London commoner would probably have encountered. So much of the music that has been described here is monophonic: the enormous repertoire of plainchant—from the Ordinary, Proper, and Common of Saints—that was a requirement of the liturgy; even the psalms chanted by boys in the streets with organ accompaniment, or the singing in churches accompanied by organs was still often monophonic, with one of the principle functions of the organ in this period being to double the vocal lines or play in alternatim with the ensemble of singers.

In performance, the organ or the singers could add one or more additional musical lines that embellished the chant homophonically, but one line—the original chant—remained the most important; the minstrels like the Scottish woman who sang and played on the lute at the Vintners' Company feast offered songs with accompaniment, but where a melodic line remained the most important. And when the commoner encountered actual polyphony, most often this, too, was an act of performance: the realization by trained musicians of several parts from one notated—or perhaps not even notated but known and remembered—part. The volume of this kind of polyphony realized in performance is simply unknowable; every book of plainchant, like those from London identified in chapter 5, could become a source for polyphony in the hands of the singers trained to “sing above

the book”; it could be heard in even those churches for which no extant record attests to the presence of polyphonic books.

Of the music sung by London musicians in the streets for the king, like “Sovereign Lord Welcome Ye Be,” one is left to wonder whether it was mensurally notated, or even polyphonically composed. The evidence indicates that it was sung by a group of choirboys, in whose education musical literacy probably formed a part (and with it, perhaps, an experience of mensural polyphony), but it is worth remembering that in the few allusions to musical performance left by chroniclers, they—like Geoffrey Chaucer—do not refer explicitly to the performance of mensural polyphony; a certain reference to polyphonic music described by a London chronicler is that of *faburden*, extemporized polyphony. Another London chronicle referred to the singing by the Thames boatmen of a “roundel,” which is polyphonic, but only in performance: the polyphony is created by the staggered entries of its single line of music, and in fact, Edward F. Rimbault’s transcription of the boatmen’s “roundel” (given as ex. 5.3, in the previous chapter) is not a transcription of the song itself, but of the polyphony that results when the single melodic line of the song is realized polyphonically in performance after the singer(s) of the first entry repeat the line, as ex. 6.1, overleaf, illustrates.

Heave and how, rum - be - low, Row the boat, Nor - man, row, Row to thy le-man.

Heave and how, rum - be - low,

Heave and how, rum - be - low, Row the boat, Nor - man, row,

ROUNDEL. A.D. 1453

Heave and how, rum - be - low, Row the boat, Nor - man, row, Row to thy le-man.

Row the boat, Nor - man, row, Row to thy le-man. Heave and how, rum - be - low,

Row to thy le-man. Heave and how, rum - be - low, Row the boat, Nor - man, row,

Ex. 6.1: The Thames boatmen's roundel as realized in performance, with Edward Rimbault's transcription (cf. ex 5.3, chapter 5) enclosed in a box.

This is not to suggest that the commoner never encountered pre-composed, mensurally notated music—probably that was the offering when the singers of the Chapel Royal visited London's churches, and of the cathedral's choirboys when they sang at dinners—but rather that mensural polyphony, which continues to be anthologized and allowed to represent almost all musical history since mensural polyphony could be notated by musicians in thirteenth-century Paris, actually represents only a portion of medieval musical culture, and probably not even the greatest portion at that. The surviving evidence for London mostly associates notated polyphony with the liturgy, and churchwardens'

documents explicitly refer to the books of polyphony as those which were used on feast days, implying that it is not the everyday musical experience. This dissertation has confirmed that chant, not polyphony, defined the commoners' experience of music in late medieval London, as elsewhere. Chant was heard in the churches and in the streets, and at worship as well as at civic festivals, and the singing of it is reported by chroniclers.

Accordingly, Frank Harrison observed that the greatest change to the everyday musical experience of medieval Britain—where he placed the close of the medieval period¹⁰²⁴—was the introduction, on 9 June 1549, of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which prescribed a change to the plainchant repertoire. When the *Book of Common Prayer Noted* appeared in 1550, it was not a wholly new document, but a mixture of adapted Sarum chant (especially for the Burial Communion, a simplified rendering of the Sarum *Missa pro defunctis*) and newly-composed music, such as the Creed.¹⁰²⁵

This change in repertoire brought about by the Reformation also meant the end to the livelihoods of some of the musicians that have been met in this dissertation: William Rufford, the curate of St Botolph without Aldgate, who refused to sing the psalms in English, is an example, but there were countless other clerks and priests before him who lost their livelihoods when chantries were dissolved in 1545 and 1547.¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰²⁴ Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 4th ed. (Frits Knuf: Buren, The Netherlands, 1980), xi.

¹⁰²⁵ Robin A. Leaver, "The Prayer Book 'Noted'," in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, eds. Charles Heffling and Cynthia Shattuck (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 40, 42.

¹⁰²⁶ The relevant laws are 37 Hen. 8 c. 4 (1545), and 1 Edw. 6 c. 14 (1547). Note that chantry priests and clerks are excluded from appendix 1; they are too numerous in the documents to be listed here.

Others, like Nycholas Man, a bass at St Mary at Hill,¹⁰²⁷ adapted to changing circumstances and continued on at work; the rich archive of the old chant melodies was still much in their memories, it seems, and present in the new liturgies, now adapted to the new English texts.¹⁰²⁸ Some of the new spoken texts, too, were adaptations of the medieval prayers, and though William Rufford obviously found the English texts alien, a different Londoner who was capable of Latin would have recognized the familiarity between the texts of the new service books, and their Latin predecessors.¹⁰²⁹

In the generation before the Latin liturgy was formally ended, sixteenth-century Londoners had already experienced much change in the musical culture of the city: minstrelsy had not been heard at the annual sheriffs' processions in September since the 1520s; and Henry VIII had tried (unsuccessfully) in the 1530s to end the spectacular Midsummer Watches, with their *haut* minstrelsy and giants, and pageants based on the images (and probably the chants) of the scriptures and the saints, but they did not survive the 1540s; the Boy Bishop customs, which saw choirboys and clerks going from house to house, singing, were finally banned by Henry VIII in 1541. It is possible to imagine that the London choirboys identified in earlier chapters—Robert, Everod and Thomas Bynge—enjoyed taking part in these festivities as choirboys at St Mary at Hill c.1490, and probably

¹⁰²⁷ St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 389 (1548/49).

¹⁰²⁸ John Milsom, "English-Texted Chant before Merbecke," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1, no. 1 (1992): 77-78 especially.

¹⁰²⁹ For a discussion of the preservation of medieval prayer texts in the *Book of Common Prayer*, see "The Making of the *Book of Common Prayer: Medieval Liturgy and the Reformation*," in Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xvi.

lived long enough to see them banned.¹⁰³⁰ Alongside these cultural shifts that appear to have suppressed some music were technological changes that made other music more accessible, such as the advent of single-impression musical printing, as the library of music books that the testament of William Peryman divides among his children suggests. At least one London church, St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, recorded only printed service books and psalters by the time of the Reformation.

Other musicians met in this dissertation (and named in appendix 1) lived their entire lives in the so-called “Middle Ages.” Thomas the trumpeter, for example, whose adult career seems to have spanned from the 1430s and into the 1460s, was a subject of Lancastrian and Yorkist kings, and, due to widespread foundations made to save souls from purgatory, his was a world of chantries, obits, and frequent other supplementary prayers for the dead; he disappears from the records in 1461, and thus never encountered printed music, if indeed he encountered notated music at all.

¹⁰³⁰ The Boy Bishop customs were revived in Mary’s reign in 1554, much to the delight of Henry Machyn, who records: *The v day of Desember was Sant Necolas evyn, and Sant Necolas whentt a-brod in most partt in London syngyng after the old fassyon, and was reseyyd with mony [i.e., many] good pepulle in-to their howses, and had myche good chere as ever they had, in mony plasses.* See *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, edited by John Gough Nichols (New York, London: Camden Society, 1848), 121.

Appendix 1: Roll of Musicians in Late Medieval London— A Preliminary List

Table A1, below, lists more than 300 musicians from late medieval London who have been identified during this study. The roll—a preliminary list and a work in progress—is compiled from those documents listed in the front matter, and occasionally from other primary sources listed in the bibliography. It lists alphabetically (by surname, or by given name if no surname is recorded) all who have been identified in the course of this study, with the exception of adult male singers: those found in secular contexts are included, but adult male singers found in sacred contexts are only included where records associate them with duties beyond singing in the liturgy, such as organ playing, instructing children or “keeping the choir” (the latter two are here called “choirmaster”), or if they have been named in the course of this dissertation. Any individual who is named in the body text of this dissertation is marked with an asterisk *.

The roll must be considered incomplete: there must be many more late-medieval London musicians yet awaiting identification in the city’s archive. The roll should be read in conjunction with the works of Hugh Baillie, Constance Bullock-Davies, Fiona Kisby, and Walter Woodfill, and the London Record Society’s edition of the *The Bede Roll of the Fraternity of St Nicholas*, wherein other musicians with London connections (including clerks and royal musicians) are listed.

Names are presented in the first column according to the style of entries in *Grove Music Online*: in bold, with frequent variant spellings given [bold, in brackets], followed by any additional text, including references to a second entry that may represent the same

person, [in brackets, not bold]. An individual has been called a “player” of an instrument or described according to his/her musical occupation (singer, wait, conduct), except where two or more individuals are grouped together in the records and the instruments of each could not be isolated. In such cases only the names of the instruments themselves are given (usually “kit and tabor”). If the records indicate that an individual belonged to another profession or city company, this is given in parentheses at the end of the record.

The dates given in the “Years Identified” column are the time span of an individual’s appearances in the documents (though there may exist significant gaps when an individual is not recorded). At times it has been possible to identify a date of death.

In the final column, a citation is given to the earliest (yet identified) reference to the individual in the evidence, or, occasionally, to the body text of this dissertation (further information, including occupations and/or surnames, may have come from later references or other sources not cited in this table).

Table A1. Roll of Musicians in Late Medieval London.

| Name [variant spellings]; instrument | Years identified | Earliest record |
|--|-----------------------------|---|
| Adam, John ; tabor player | 1525 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 439 |
| Alen, Andrew ; conduct | 1527-28 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 345 |
| Aleys, Thomas ; wait | 1442 | Letter Book K, <i>CL</i> , 154 |
| Andrewe, William ; minstrel, tabret player [see also Andrews, William] | 1519 | Skinners' Receipts and Payments, <i>CL</i> , 364 |
| * Andrews, William ; minstrel [see also Andrewe, William] | 1551 | Baillie, "London Churches," 38 |
| Antony ; organ maker [see also Duddyngton, Antony] | 1522-23 | St Margaret Pattens CWD, 84r |
| Aprice [Ap Rysse, Aprysse], Thomas ; drum player (pewterer) | 1521-26 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| Aylmayn, James ; (double) pipe player | 1526 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 447 |
| Bacon [Becon], Richard ; wait | 1535-36 | Masters, <i>Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century</i> , BHO |
| Bakerell [Bakrell], David ; drum player | 1526-36 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 447 |
| Baltasere [Baltorsere, Bartaser], Robert ; king's[?] minstrel [see also Baltyser] | 1522 | Court of Common Council, Journal 12, <i>CL</i> , 392 |
| Baltyser ; kit, tabret [see also Baltasere, Robert] | 1522 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |
| * Barber, Antony ; choirmaster | 1541 | John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, <i>EL</i> , 99 |
| Barrowe, William ; minstrel | d.1554 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 2:20 |
| Bartholomewe [Bartholomeue], John ; drum player | 1521-22 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |

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| Beeton, William , snr; organ maker | d.1553 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court</i> , 1:30 |
| Bell, Thomas ; wait | 1535-69 | Masters, <i>Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century</i> , BHO |
| Berrellman [Berrell man?]; organ player | c.1480 | St Stephen Walbrook CWD, 17v |
| Bettes, John ; drum and flute | 1541 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 632 |
| Bettes, William ; drum player | 1541 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 632 |
| Blewet, [William] ; wait | d.1518[?] | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 3, <i>CL</i> , 348 |
| Bothe, John ; organ player | 1521-22 | St Dunstan in the West CWD, 29r |
| Bowbanck [Bowbank, Bowbanke, Boubanke, Bobank, Bowbeck], Thomas ; minstrel | 1525-35 | Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 442 |
| * Bower [Bowere, Bowier, Bowyer, Boweyer], William ; choirmaster[?] | 1489-98 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 148 |
| * Bradley, William ; drum player (cordwainer) | 1536-41 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| Brethhode, [Roger] ; harp player | d.1415 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court</i> , 1:50 |
| Broun [Brown], John ; wait | 1502 | Court of Common Council, Journal 10, <i>CL</i> , 267 |
| * Brown, Thomas ; organ mender (shoemaker) | 1525-26 | All Hallows Staining CWD, 92v/cxxii ^o v |
| Brugge [Brugges], Henry ; minstrel, tabor player | 1520-21 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 371 |
| * Bryan ; trumpet player | 1444 | Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 162 |
| * Bukhurst, Thomas ; wait [of <i>Cales/Calyce</i>] | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| Bull, [Stephen/William] ; [royal] trumpet player | 1524 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 435 |

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| *Burford, Robert; bellfounder | d.1418 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:33 |
| *Burford, William; bellfounder | d.1391 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:33 |
| Burnet, William; [minstrel; Morris dancer] | 1522 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |
| Burroo [Burrough], William; lute player[?] | 1527-49[?] | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 459 |
| *Bynge [Bynghe], Thomas; choirboy | 1489-91 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 148 |
| Byrd, Robert; minstrel | 1413 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:20 |
| Byrse, William; organ player | 1509-10 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 269 |
| *Careaway; harp player | 1448 | Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, <i>CL</i> , 165 |
| *Catere [Caters], Thomas; clerk, choirmaster | 1535 | Ironmongers' Register, <i>CL</i> , 535 |
| *Chamber, John; [minstrel (warden, Minstrels' Company)] | 1518 | Court of Common Council, Journal 11, <i>CL</i> , 341 |
| *Chatirton [Chaterton], Thomas; minstrel, trumpeter | 1437-44 | Mercers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 140 |
| *Chaunceler, James; clerk[?] | 1541-42 | St Dunstan in the West CWD, 106v |
| *Chepman, William; tabor player | 1516 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 328 |
| Cholmeley, William; wait | 1526-27 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 7, <i>CL</i> , 445 |
| Choos, Richard; singer | 1522 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |
| Church [Cherche], John; gytern player | d.1403 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court</i> , 1:77 |
| Clembow [Clymbow], John; organ maker | 1535 | Ironmongers' Register, <i>CL</i> , 535 |

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| Clyff, William ; minstrel | d.1432 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:46 |
| Cobbe, Thomas ; organ player[?] | 1526-27[?] | All Hallows on the Wall CWD, 40v |
| * Colson, Robert ; clerk [see also Colson, Thomas] | 1548/49-55 | St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 18 |
| * Colson, Thomas ; clerk [see also Colson, Robert] | 1550-51 | St Benet Gracechurch CWD, 43 |
| Coulverton ; bellfounder | 1510-11 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 275 |
| Coventr [Coventry], William ; harp player | d.c.1423 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:53 |
| Cowper, Robert ; tabret player [see also Cowper, Thomas] | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 550 |
| Cowper, Thomas ; kit and tabor | 1522-25 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |
| * Crane ; choirmaster | 1486 | Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes, <i>CL</i> , 237 |
| Crase, Thomas ; organ player | 1512-13 | St Martin Outwich CWD, 18v/18 |
| Crathorn, Roger ; harp player | 1525-26 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 437 |
| Currauns ; minstrel | 1555 | Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 806 |
| * Curtes, Jesper [Jasper Cortez?]; [musician?] | c.1540-52 | See chapter 2, <i>s.v.</i> "The Minstrels' Company and Regulations for Minstrelsy" |
| * Danyell ; organ player | 1476-78 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 29 |
| * Darlington, John ; conduct | 1521-22 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 314 |
| Darrall [Darrell], William ; [Morris dancer (leatherseller)] | 1530 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 484 |
| * De Gayton, William ; tabor player | 1310-11 | Bullock Davies, <i>Menestrellorum Multitudo</i> , 97-98 |

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| *De Wymbisse, Richard; bellmaker (potter) | 1312 | See chapter 3, <i>s.v.</i> “Bells” |
| Dictier, John; singer | 1541 | John Foxe, <i>Acts and Monuments</i> , <i>EL</i> , 99 |
| Dier, Edmund; wait | 1535-36 | Masters, <i>Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century</i> , BHO |
| Docter [Master Doctor]; organ mender; organ player[?]; clerk[?] | 1513-15 | St Martin Outwich CWD, 22v/24 |
| *Drake, John; minstrel; [trumpet player?] | 1369 | Goldsmiths’ Wardens’ Accounts and Court Minutes, <i>CL</i> , 10 |
| *Drakys [Drakes]; minstrel | 1489-93 | Drapers’ Wardens’ Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 243 |
| Draner [Drane], John; minstrel; lute player | 1534-d.1552 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 521 |
| Dromslate, Roberte [or <i>Robert</i> , <i>dromslate</i>]; drum player | 1556 | Merchant Taylors’ Pageant Memorandum Book, <i>CL</i> , 818 |
| *Duddyngton, Antony; organ maker | 1519 | Baillie, “London Churches,” 115 |
| Ede, John; flute player | 1534 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 520 |
| *Eton, John; wait [of <i>Cales/Calyce</i>] | 1536 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| Evan, Thomas; kit player | 1529 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 475 |
| *Eve, Thomas; singing man; conduct; choirmaster (tallow chandler) | 1535-41 | Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, <i>CL</i> , 541 |
| *Everod; choirboy | 1491-92 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 172 |
| Fegge [Figge], William; wait | 1442 | Letter Book K, <i>CL</i> , 153 |
| Felde [Feld], John; tabor player | 1521-30 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 384 |
| Fern, Thomas; drum player | 1522 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |

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| *Ferour, Thomas ; clerk | 1487/88 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 131. |
| Fletcher, William ; kit player | 1521-22 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| Florence, [Andre] ; [flute player? drum player?] | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| Florens, Garrard ; drum player (shoemaker[?]) | 1526 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 447 |
| Foresdon [Fursdon], Thomas ; tabor player [see also Frysdon, Thomas] | 1541 | Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 636 |
| Formark, John ; pipe player | 1521 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| Forsdon, Thomas ; tabor player [see also Frysdon, Thomas, snr] | 1521 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| Foster, Geoffray ; wait | 1555 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 13(1), <i>CL</i> , 800 |
| Fount [Fons, Founs], Walter ; [Morris dancer; minstrel] | 1525-36 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 436 |
| Frankleyn [Frankelen] ; minstrel | 1469-70 | Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 205 |
| Franses ; singer[? with "Bowier," see Bower] | 1494-95 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 214 |
| Frere [Friar] , [the elder]; [royal] trumpet player | 1524 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 435 |
| *Frysdon, Thomas, jnr ; kit and tabor | 1525 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 439 |
| *Frysdon, Thomas, snr ; kit and tabor | 1525 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 439 |
| Fryth [Frith, Firth], John ; wait | 1518-36 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 3, <i>CL</i> , 348 |
| *Gatys [Gates], Elys [Eles] ; drum player (pewterer) | 1529-36 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 474 |
| George ; organ player (priest) | 1505-08 | St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 197r |

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| *Gilbert ; clerk | 1343 | See chapter 3, <i>s.v.</i> “Bells” |
| Glewe, Thomas ; minstrel; tomrell and flute | 1519 | Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, <i>CL</i> , 363 |
| *Glocetur [Glowseter, Glocetir, Gloucetter], Mighaell [Michael, Myghell] ; organ maker | 1474-85 | St Michael Cornhill CWD, ed. Overall, 57 [n.b., given here as <i>Myghell Glancets</i>] |
| Golder, Robert ; organ player; choirmaster[?] | 1541-42 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 629 |
| Goldes, Thomas ; organ player | 1510-12 | All Hallows Staining CWD, 48v/lxxvii ^o r |
| Gowge ; Singer[?]; Choirmaster[? with Nutte, John] | 1498-99 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 234 |
| Granger, Thomas ; singer [see also Granger] | 1541 | John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, <i>EL</i> , 99 |
| Granger ; minstrel [see also Granger, Thomas] | 1545 | Armourers and Brasiers’ Wardens’ Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 687 |
| Grene, John ; minstrel, drum player | 1523-26 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 415 |
| Greves, Robert ; [Morris dancer, minstrel] | 1521 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| *Griffeth [Griffith, Gryffith, Greffen], Ric [Richard] ; choirmaster | 1516-25 | St Margaret Pattens CWD, 45v |
| Gyllet [Gillot], Henry [Henre] ; harp player (warden, Minstrels’ Company) | 1518-36 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 349 |
| Haddok, John ; organ player | c.1494-96 | St Dunstan in the East CWD, 7r |
| *Hans ; tomrell player | 1519 | Skinners’ Receipts and Payments, <i>CL</i> , 363 |
| Harnesey, John ; minstrel, tabret player | 1536 | Drapers’ Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 550 |
| Harpour ; minstrel [harp player?] | 1421 | Brewers’ Account and Memorandum Book (Porland), <i>CL</i> , 90 |

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| Heathe, Henry ; harp player (bricklayer) [see Hethe] | 1558 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 14, <i>CL</i> , 834 |
| Hethe ; minstrel [see Heathe, Henry] | 1550 | Carpenters' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 740 |
| Hichecok, Roger ; harp player | 1405 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:97 |
| Higgenson [Hyggenson], Roger ; rebec player | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 550 |
| * Hill, Johanna ; bellfounder | d.1441 | See chapter 3, <i>s.v.</i> "Bells" |
| * Hill, Richard ; bellfounder | c.1391-[?] | See chapter 3, <i>s.v.</i> "Bells" |
| Hingham, John ; minstrel | d.1447 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:97 |
| * Hobb, John ; clerk | 1544-45 | St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 33v |
| Hogon, Walter ; minstrel | d.1393 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:98 |
| Holbek, Thomas ; organ player | 1531-36 | St Dunstan in the West CWD, 66r |
| * Holford, William ; clerk, choirmaster[?] | 1432 | Bridge House Weekly Payments, <i>CL</i> , 127 |
| * Holme ; singing man/cantor | 1465 | Bridgemasters' Annual Accounts and Rentals, <i>CL</i> , 198 |
| Holyn, Adam ; drum player | 1521-22 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| How, Jamys [James?] ; choirmaster[? with Griffith, Richard] | c.1519-21[?] | St Margaret Pattens CWD, 69r |
| * Howe [How Hoo, Hough, Howgh, Oo, (etc.)], John , the younger; organ maker | c.1520- d.1571 | See chapter 4, <i>s.v.</i> "The Organ and Organ Players" |
| * Howe, John , the elder; organ maker | d.1519 | See chapter 4, <i>s.v.</i> "The Organ and Organ Players" |
| * Howe, Thomas ; organ maker | 1551-43 | See chapter 4, <i>s.v.</i> "The Organ and Organ Players" |
| Howlett, Robert ; wait | 1558 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 14, <i>CL</i> , 835 |

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| Ingham [Yngham], John ; minstrel | d.1484 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:103 |
| Israell ; minstrel, tromrel, flute | 1519 | Skinners' Receipts and Payments, <i>CL</i> , 363 |
| Jakys, John ; drum player | 1525 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 436 |
| Jamys [James], John ; drum player | 1525-26 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 436 |
| *Jenynges [Jenyns], Symond [Symon] ; organ player; clerk | 1525-43 | St Martin Outwich CWD, 41r/44. |
| *John ; organ player; clerk | 1476-78 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 30 |
| Johns, Richard ; minstrel | 1531 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 493 |
| Johnson, Thomas ; organ player | c.1519-21[?] | St Margaret Pattens CWD, 69r |
| Kempt [Kemp], William ; lute player | 1517-25 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 339 |
| Kendale, Richard ; wait | 1442 | Letter Book K, <i>CL</i> , 153 |
| Kensey, Richard ; flute player | 1556 | Merchant Taylors' Pageant Memorandum Book, <i>CL</i> , 818 |
| Kyllingworthe [Killingworth], Nicholas ; minstrel [organ player?] | 1541-51 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 634 |
| Langham, Thomas ; tabor player | 1521-26 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| Launde, William ; minstrel | d.1413 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court</i> , 1:228 |
| Laurens, John ; tabor player | 1529 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 475 |
| Le Leuter, John ; [lute player?] | 1330 | See chapter 3, s.v. "Bells" |
| Lee, Robert ; drum player | 1534 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 521 |
| Lenard ; conduct, organ player | 1500-01 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 242 |

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| Leylond [Layland], John ; minstrel (warden, Minstrels' Company) | 1524-d.1558 | Court of Common Council, Journal 12, <i>CL</i> , 422 |
| * Lionel ; singer, choirmaster | 1426 | Bridge House Weekly Payments, <i>CL</i> , 103 |
| Looman, John ; organ player | c.1480 | St Stephen Walbrook CWD, 16v |
| * Loreman [Loryrmer, Lorimer] [see also Lorymer of Paul's]; choirboy[?] | 1450-51 | St Mary at Hill CWD, <i>EL</i> , 27 |
| Lorymer of Paul's ; choirmaster[?] [see also Loreman] | 1500 | St Stephen Coleman Street CWD, 99r |
| Love, Robert ; singer | 1522 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |
| Lovel, Richard ; minstrel | 1540 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 604 |
| Luter [Lutere], Henry [Henre] ; choirmaster | 1455-69 | Merchant Taylors' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 177 |
| Lymmyr, John ; [Morris dancer; minstrel (bowstring maker)] | 1541 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 631 |
| Marchall [Mychall], John ; wait | 1502 | Court of Common Council, Journal 10, <i>CL</i> , 267 |
| * Marke ; clerk | 1537-38 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 378 |
| Martyn, George ; drum player | 1541 | Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 636 |
| * Martyn, John ; conduct, choirmaster | 1501-04 | St Dunstan in the East CWD, 41r |
| Mason, Olyver ; organ maker[?] | 1510-11 | St Stephen Walbrook CWD, 41r/7r |
| Mason, Roger ; singing man, choirmaster | 1522- d.1531[?] | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 316 |
| Massy [Massye] Robert ; drum player | 1529-30 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 475 |
| Maughan [Maghan], George ; [minstrel] | d.1518 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 2:179 |
| Mawndefylde ; organ player | c.1519-21[?] | St Margaret Pattens CWD, 69r |

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| Maye, William; shawm player | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| Maynard, Thomas; minstrel | 1519-d.1550 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 360 |
| Mede; organ player[?] | 1516 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 103 |
| Mexborough; minstrel | 1436 | Brewers' Account and Memorandum Book (Porland), <i>CL</i> , 139 |
| Mitton; choirmaster | 1495-96 | St Dunstan in the East CWD, 12v |
| More, John; singing man of Paul's | 1555 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 13(1), <i>CL</i> , 801 |
| Morecok, Robert; conduct, choirmaster[?] | 1542-45 | St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 19v |
| Morres; bass [i.e., singer] | 1524-25 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 329 |
| *Mundye, William; clerk | 1557 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 406 |
| Nayler [Wayles], John; wait | 1502 | Court of Common Council, Journal 10, <i>CL</i> , 267 |
| Nedeham [Nedham], Christofer; drum and flute | 1541 | Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 635 |
| Nele, John; [organ]bellows maker | 1547-48 | St Margaret Pattens CWD, 98v |
| Nelson [Master Nelson]; organ player | 1514-15 | St Martin Outwich CWD, 26r |
| Nevyllman[?], Harry; organ player | c.1466-68 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 16 |
| Nicholas; organ player | 1522-23 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 113 |
| Norman, Robert; wait | 1535-36 | Masters, <i>Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century</i> , BHO |
| *Northfolke [Norff.], John; choirmaster, conduct, organ player | 1523-30 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 321 |

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| Nutte [Nott], John ; singer, choirmaster[? with Gowge] | 1498-1500 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 234 |
| Offer, Thomas ; tabret player | 1522 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |
| Ok lond, Robert ; organ player | 1533-35 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 365 |
| *Olyff, Thomas ; minstrel | 1519 | Skinners' Receipts and Payments, <i>CL</i> , 365 |
| *Olyver, John ; [minstrel (master, Minstrels' Company)] | 1518 | Court of Common Council, Journal 11, <i>CL</i> , 341 |
| *Orlow, Henry ; choirmaster | 1509 | <i>EL</i> , appendix 10, 317 |
| Page ; kit and tabor | 1522 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |
| Pallyng, William ; wait | 1502 | Court of Common Council, Journal 10, <i>CL</i> , 267 |
| *Patinson, Henry ; choirmaster[?] | 1541 | John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, <i>EL</i> , 99 |
| Paton, Richard ; singer | 1522 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |
| *Pauel [Paul, Pavel] ; minstrel | 1403 | Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book), <i>CL</i> , 40 |
| Pavy, Harry [Henry] ; organ player (priest) | 1468-86 | St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 87v |
| Peke [Pyke], William ; minstrel (weaver, <i>later</i> minstrel) | 1547 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 11, <i>CL</i> , 711 |
| Peper, John ; drum player | 1526 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 447 |
| Pertre [Peartree, Peartrie, Piertre], John ; harp player [see also Pertre] | 1534-d.1540 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 521 |
| Pertre ; minstrel [see also Pertre, John] | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| *Peryman, Elinor ; [lute player, virginal player] | 1569 | Testament of William Peryman, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/015, 337v |

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| *Peryman, Elizabeth; [lute player] | 1569 | Testament of William Peryman, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/015, 337v |
| *Peryman, Julius; [musician] | 1569 | Testament of William Peryman, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/015, 337v |
| *Peryman, Nicholas; [lute player, virginal player] | 1569 | Testament of William Peryman, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/015, 337v |
| *Peryman, Roberte; [musician] | 1569 | Testament of William Peryman, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/015, 337v |
| *Peryman, William; musician [lute player, virginal player] | d.1569 | Testament of William Peryman, LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/015, 337v |
| Peryn, William; minstrel [see also Peryman, William] | 1546 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 11, <i>CL</i> , 693 |
| Perys, John; drum player | 1526 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 447 |
| Plesaunce, Water [Walter?]; organ player | 1477-79 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 81 |
| Polgrave; choirboy[?] | 1518 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 3, <i>CL</i> , 347 |
| Porter, Richard; wait | 1442 | Letter Book K, <i>CL</i> , 154 |
| Powtrell, William; bellfounder | d.1439 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:149 |
| Preston, John; organ player | 1544-45 | St Dunstan in the West CWD, 115v |
| *Pycard, John; minstrel | 1519 | Skinners' Receipts and Payments, <i>CL</i> , 365 |
| Pye; singer[? with "Bowier," see Bower] | 1492-94 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 186 |
| Pygyn, Thomas; minstrel (master, Minstrels' Company)] | 1524 | Court of Common Council, Journal 12, <i>CL</i> , 422 |
| *Pyke [see also Pike, William]; minstrel | 1552-57 | Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 775 |
| Pynnax, Alexander; drum, flute | 1541 | Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 635 |
| *Pyper [Piper], John; minstrel | 1448-56 | Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, <i>CL</i> , 165 |

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| *Qwyntyn, Joysee ; flute player | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| Raumpayn [Rampayn], William ; wait | 1442 | Letter Book K, <i>CL</i> , 153 |
| Reymer, Thomas ; trumpet player [civic musician?] | 1430-61 | See chapter 2, <i>s.v.</i> "Thomas the Trumpeter" |
| Reynolde ; organ player | 1513 | St Martin Outwich CWD, 22v/24 |
| Richard [Richard the bass] ; bass [i.e., singer] | 1531-32 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 359 |
| Robatte, John ; minstrel | d.1406 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court</i> , 1:318 |
| *Robert ; clerk | 1465 | Bridgemasters' Annual Accounts and Rentals, <i>CL</i> , 198 |
| *Robert ; choirboy | 1489-91 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 148 |
| Robson, Steven ; organ player | 1550-51 | St Michael Cornhill CWD, ed. Overall, 92 |
| Roger [see Crathorn, Roger]; minstrel | 1526 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 447 |
| *Roger ; choirmaster; clerk | 1465 | Bridgemasters' Annual Accounts and Rentals, <i>CL</i> , 198 |
| Ryghtshawe, Laurens ; [minstrel] | 1537 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 10, <i>CL</i> , 569 |
| Ryppes, Nicholas ; wait | 1502 | Court of Common Council, Journal 10, <i>CL</i> , 267 |
| Ryppys, John ; wait | 1518 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 3, <i>CL</i> , 348 |
| Ryse, Philipp ; organ player | 1547-48 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 386 |
| Ryse, William [given as "Ryse William"]; organ player, conduct, choirmaster | 1547-48 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 386 |
| *Salmon, John ; minstrel | 1537 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 9, <i>CL</i> , 561 |

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| *Scarlet [Scarlat, Scarlett], John; organ player | 1517-25 | St Dunstan in the West CWD, 8r |
| *Scarlette [Scarlett, Skarlet], Robert; organ player | c.1495-99 | St Dunstan in the East CWD, 12r |
| Scoles, John; minstrel | 1540 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 604 |
| *Selers, John; choirmaster[?] | 1500-01 | St Dunstan in the East CWD, 37r |
| Seward, John; minstrel, tabret player | 1519 | Skinners' Receipts and Payments, <i>CL</i> , 364 |
| Sheale, Richarde; [minstrel] | 1555 | Court of Common Council, Repertory 13(1), <i>CL</i> , 800 |
| Short, James; organ player | 1527-28 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 123 |
| *Smith, John; organ player [see also Smythe, John] | 1506-07 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 88 |
| Smyth, Peter; singer | 1522 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 402 |
| *Smythe [Smyth, Smeth], Thomas; organ maker | 1519-28 | St Stephen Walbrook CWD, 55r/2r |
| *Smythe, John; organ maker [see also Smith, John] | 1523-24 | St Peter Westcheap CWD, 202v |
| Spencer, Laurens; kit player | 1521 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| Spenley, Symon; drum player | 1541 | Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 635 |
| Squier [Squyer], William; choirmaster, conduct | 1544-46 | St Mary Woolnoth CWD, 33v |
| Stanley, Frere [Friar?]; organ player | c.1466 | St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 84r |
| *Steynour, John; clerk | 1432 | Bridge House Weekly Payments, <i>CL</i> , 127 |
| *Stoderd [Stodern], William; choirmaster; clerk | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| Stokes [Stoke], William; bellfounder | d.1434 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 1:176 |

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| Strachon, John [see Stracy, Richard]; wait | 1535-36 | Masters, <i>Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century</i> , BHO |
| Strachon, Richard [see Stracy, Richard]; wait | 1535-36 | Masters, <i>Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century</i> , BHO |
| *Strachy, Robert [See Stracy, Richard]; [minstrel (warden, Minstrels' Company)] | 1518 | Court of Common Council, Journal 11, <i>CL</i> , 341 |
| Stracy [Streache], Richard [see Strachy, Robert]; wait | 1541-55 | Mercers' Register of Writings, <i>CL</i> , 656 |
| Stretton, Thomas ; choirmaster[?] | 1541 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 629 |
| *Sturdy, Johanna ; bellfounder | d.c.1460 | See chapter 3, s.v. "Bells" |
| *Sturdy, John ; bellfounder | c.1441-[?] | See chapter 3, s.v. "Bells" |
| Swayne, Lawrence ; organ player | 1510-11 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 272 |
| Talbot [Talbot], Henry ; singer | d. 1543 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 2:259 |
| Tallis [Tallies], Thomas ; conduct | 1536-38 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 375 |
| Tanner [Tanner the bass] ; bass [i.e., singer] | 1557-58 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 409 |
| Tassell, John ; wait | 1442 | Letter Book K, <i>CL</i> , 153 |
| Tayllour, William ; minstrel (weaver, later minstrel) | 1547 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 11, <i>CL</i> , 711 |
| Tenne, John ; organ player | 1521-22 | St Dunstan in the West CWD, 29r |
| *Thomas [Thomas the child] ; organ player | 1459-64 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 10 |
| Thomas ; organ player | 1511-15 | St Martin Outwich CWD, 15v/14 |
| Thornell, John ; tabret player | 1529 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 475 |
| Thursdon, Thomas ; tabret player | 1530 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 485 |

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| Toly, John ; drum player | 1541 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 632 |
| Tornour, John [see Turnour, John]; minstrel | 1523 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 415 |
| *Townsend [Townesend], Harry [Henry] ; clerk | 1540-[?] | St Martin Outwich CWD, 49r/54 |
| Trachye, Robert ; [royal] minstrel | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 553 |
| Tredwyn [Trewell, Tredwell], Roger ; lute player | 1534-36 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 525 |
| *Trumpour, William ; minstrel [trumpet player] | 1369 | Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, <i>CL</i> , 10 |
| *Turke, William ; minstrel | 1527-d.1552 | Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 461 |
| Turnour, John [see Tornour, John]; singer (sergeant) | 1527 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 7, <i>CL</i> , 457 |
| *Twyllie [Twyllie], John ; drum player, flute player (barber) | 1534-36 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 520 |
| Tydie, John ; tabor player | 1530 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 486 |
| Tyndall, Anthony ; wait | 1557 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 13(2), <i>CL</i> , 827 |
| *Umfreye, William ; Wait [of <i>Cales/Calyce</i>] | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| Wake, Wylliam ; organ maker | d.1517 | Fitch, <i>Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court</i> , 2:274 |
| *Warreyn, [Waren, Warren], John ; wait | 1526-28 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 7, <i>CL</i> , 445 |
| Warrok [Warrock], Thomas ; harp player | 1436-38 | Brewers' Account and Memorandum Book (Porland), <i>CL</i> , 139 |
| Water [Walter?]; lute player | 1511 | Grocers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 305 |
| Watson, Richard ; kit player [see also Watson, Robert] | 1536 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 550 |

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| *Watson, Robert ; minstrel, tabret player, fiddle player, drum player, kit [see also Watson, Richard] | 1520-30 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 371 |
| Waypowle ; organ player | 1524-25 | St Dunstan in the West CWD, 44v |
| Wayt [Wayte], Robert ; drum player (painter) | 1539-54 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 10, <i>CL</i> , 586 |
| *Wayte, John ; minstrel [trumpet player?] | 1369 | Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes, <i>CL</i> , 10 |
| Whytman [Whitman, Wyghtman], Henre [Henry] ; rebec player | 1536-41 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 551 |
| *Wikes [Wykes], John ; minstrel, wait [see also Wykes, John, jnr] | 1495 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 1, <i>CL</i> , 251 |
| Wikes, John , snr; wait | 1442 | Letter Book K, <i>CL</i> , 154 |
| Wikes, Richard ; wait | 1442 | Letter Book K, <i>CL</i> , 154 |
| Wild ; choirmaster[?] | 1527-28 | St Mary at Hill CWD, ed. Littlehales, 345 |
| Willes, Thomas ; harp player | 1534 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 521 |
| William [Blind William]; minstrel | 1425 | Brewers' Account and Memorandum Book (Porland), <i>CL</i> , 104 |
| William [Esyngwold?]; conduct, organ player | 1505-08 | St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 197r |
| *William ; lute player | 1534 | Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 528 |
| William ; minstrel | 1550 | Wax Chandlers' Master and Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 743 |
| William ; organ player | 1510-11 | St Martin Outwich CWD, 13r/8 |
| William ; organ player | 1526-27 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 121 |
| Williamson [Wylliamson] ; wait | 1558 | Court of Aldermen, Repertory 14, <i>CL</i> , 834 |

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| Willyam or Willyson [indecipherable]; organ mender | 1502-03 | St Dunstan in the East CWD, 46r |
| *Wodehousson ; organ player | 1459-64 | St Andrew Hubbard CWD, ed. Burgess, 9 |
| Wolf, John ; drum player | 1521 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| *Wolnor, John ; tabor player | 1521 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 384 |
| Wolston, Wyllyam ; bellfounder | 1461-62 | St Nicholas Shambles CWD, 61v |
| Wortes, William ; drum player (tiler[?], tailor[?]) | 1526 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 447 |
| Wright, William ; organ player (priest) | 1508-12 | St Martin Outwich CWD, 10r/7 |
| Wygges, Peter ; tabor player | 1521-22 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 385 |
| Wykes [Wikes], John , jnr; wait | 1442 | Letter Book K, <i>CL</i> , 154 |
| Wylliam ; minstrel | 1540 | Clothworkers' Wardens' Accounts, <i>CL</i> , 601 |
| Wylliams, Robert ; harp player | 1517-27 | Drapers' Minutes and Records, <i>CL</i> , 339 |

Appendix 2: Minstrels and Musicians at Civic Processions— Two Calendars of Data

The two tables given in this appendix list the known information about minstrels and musicians in the annual processions of the sheriffs (in September) and mayor (in October) in London (see chapter 3, “Processions of Civic Officials”). The purpose of the tables is to show, where it can be determined from the documents, the number of musicians, who they were, and the payments made to them, and whether they also received a special livery hood, if this is indicated.

The data are not presented in their complete form, but rather in calendar form where only the payment to musicians and the number of them are included; the purchase of livery hoods (or hats, bonnets, or tippetts) is included because their number often helps to clarify the number of musicians implied in the record, but the amounts for the hoods are omitted.

All sums have been standardized to the simplest expression of pounds, shillings, and pence, as described in the front matter. Where a record explicitly separates the “costs of musicians” from “other costs,” I have subtracted those other costs: the Drapers’ account of the mayors’ procession in 1503, for example, actually records

*Item to the Marshall & xj Trumpetoures for Sir William
Capell Maire With ij s. for drinking money Amount lv. s.
iiij d.*

I have subtracted the 2s. “for drinking money” and record here

Paid to the marshal and eleven trumpeters, £2 13s. 4d.

[Square brackets] in the records indicate information not explicitly stated, usually about the number of musicians that is inferred from elsewhere in the evidence. The ellipsis ... indicates that a record provides other information or amounts that are omitted here, usually because it is not possible to distinguish the actual payments made to musicians from greater sums not destined only to them.

Several records are provided with commentary, on the right-hand side, that signals the averages of musicians' wages, and the payments (or lack of them) made to musicians that were, or probably were, on the civic payroll. The commentary especially notes those years when the average wage of musicians could equal 6*s.* 8*d.*, which is explicitly stated as the wage given to each of the eight trumpeters in the Mercers' Wardens' Accounts in 1427 (see *CL*, 107, and translated, 1142). Especially for the mid-fifteenth century, the commentary on the right suggests a possible number of musicians, based on this average and the total amount recorded in each account. This commentary supports the discussion in chapter 2 ("London's Waits" and "Thomas the Trumpeter") and chapter 3 ("Processions of Civic Officials").

For table A2.1, the sign **(M)** before a record indicates that a member of that company held the office of mayor that year. Even companies to which the incoming mayor did not belong contributed to the procession as part of their civic duty until 1409. It seems that only those companies to which the incoming sheriffs belonged provided minstrels and musicians for the sheriffs' processions, so no such indication is necessary for table A2.2.

Table A2.1: Calendar of Data for the Mayor's Processions, 1369-1558.

| Year | Record | [Commentary where relevant] |
|-------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1369 | (M) Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes (<i>CL</i> , 10, 1056) Paid to nine minstrels, including John Drake, John Wayte, and William Trumpour, 3s. 4d. each, total, £1 10s. Paid for their hoods. | |
| 1370-76 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1377 | Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes (<i>CL</i> , 13, 1059) Paid for minstrels, 10s. | |
| 1378-87 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1388 | (M) Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes (<i>CL</i> , 30, 1076) Paid to minstrels, £2 13s. 4d. | |
| 1389-92 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1393 | Mercers' Wardens' Accounts (<i>CL</i> , 32, 1078) Paid to the minstrels, £1 6s. 8d. | |
| 1394-95 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1396 | Mercers' Wardens' Accounts (<i>CL</i> , 33, 1078) Paid for costs of minstrels, 4s. 7d. | |
| 1397 | Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book) (<i>CL</i> , 34, 1079) Paid for six minstrels, £2 3s. 4d. Paid for their hoods. | |
| 1398 | Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book) (<i>CL</i> , 35, 1080) Paid for seven minstrels, £2 6s. 8d. [Average 6s. 8d. each.] Paid for their hoods. | |
| | Mercers' Wardens' Accounts (<i>CL</i> , 35, 1080) Paid for minstrels' costs... Paid for minstrels' hoods. | |
| | Merchant Taylors' Accounts (<i>CL</i> , 36, 1080-81) Paid to minstrels, £2. Paid for their hoods. | |

- 1399** **(M) Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book)** (*CL*, 36, 1081)
 Paid to the minstrels, £2 6s. 8d. [Average 6s. 8d. each.]
 Paid for their hoods.
- Mercers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 36, 1081)
 Paid for minstrels and other costs...
- Merchant Taylors' Accounts** (*CL*, 37, 1082)
 Paid for minstrels, £1 4s.
 Paid for their hoods.
- 1400** **Mercers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 38, 1082)
 Paid to the minstrels...
- Merchant Taylors' Accounts** (*CL*, 38, 1083)
 Paid for the minstrels, £1 12s. 4d.
 Paid for their hoods.
- 1401** **Merchant Taylors' Accounts** (*CL*, 39, 1084)
 Paid for five minstrels, £1 13s. 4d. [Average 6s. 8d. each.]
 Paid for their hoods.
- 1402** **Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book)** (*CL*, 40, 1084)
 Paid for six minstrels, 15s. [Average 2s. 6d. each.]
 Paid for their hoods.
- Mercers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 40, 1085)
 Paid to minstrels, with their costs...
- 1403** **Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book)** (*CL*, 41, 1086)
 Paid for [seven] minstrels, £2 6s. 8d. [Average 6s. 8d. each.]
 Paid for seven hoods.
- Merchant Taylors' Accounts** (*CL*, 42, 1086)
 Paid for minstrels, £1 6s.
 Paid for their hoods.
- 1404** **Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book)** (*CL*, 44, 1088)
 Paid to [six] minstrels, £2. [Average 6s. 8d. each.]
 Paid for six hoods.
- Mercers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 44, 1088)
 Paid for costs of minstrels...
- Merchant Taylors' Accounts** (*CL*, 44, 1088)
 Paid for minstrels, £1 5s.
 Paid for their hoods.

- 1412 **(M) Mercers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 61, 1103)
Paid for minstrels, £3 13s. 6½ *d.*
- 1413-17 *No data*
- 1418 **(M) Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book)** (*CL*, 75, 1115)
Paid to [fourteen] minstrels, £4 13s. 4*d.* [Average 6s. 8*d.* each.]
Paid for fourteen hoods.
- 1419 **(M) Mercers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 76, 1116)
Paid to eight trumpeters, four pipers, and one kettle-drum player, £3 14s. 4*d.*
Paid for thirteen hoods.
- 1420 **(M) Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book)** (*CL*, 77, 1117)
Paid to fourteen minstrels, £5 6s. 8*d.*
Paid for their hoods.
- 1421 **(M) Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book)** (*CL*, 91, 1129)
Paid to fourteen minstrels, £4 13s. 4*d.* [Average 6s. 8*d.* each.]
Paid for fourteen hoods for minstrels.
- 1422 [The usual procession took place this year, but without any kind of minstrelsy. The king, Henry V, had died on 31 August; his funeral was scheduled for November: see Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 146-47. The decision to process *with outen any mynstrall* is recorded in the Brewers' Accounts and Memorandum Book (Porland), *CL*, 91.]
- 1423 **(M) Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 97, 1134)
Paid to fifteen minstrels, £5. [Average 6s. 8*d.* each.]
Paid for their hoods.
- 1424-28 *No data*
- 1429 **(M) Mercers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 114, 1148)
Paid for sixteen minstrels £5 6s. 8*d.* [Average 6s. 8*d.* each.]
Paid for hoods for minstrels.
- 1430 *No data*
- 1431 **(M) Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book)** (*CL*, 129, 1161)
Paid for seventeen minstrels and for [Note this "Thomas with the
thomas ou le staffes, £5 10s. staffs" is apparently included
Paid for eighteen hoods for minstrels. in the payment for minstrels
but the scribe takes care to
separate them.]
- 1432 *No data*

- 1521 **(M) Drapers' Minutes and Records** (*CL*, 400-401)
 Paid to trumpeters, £3.
 Paid for twenty hats for the marshal [of the trumpeters], twelve trumpeters, six Waits, and the master of the barge. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]
- 1522-23 *No data*
- 1524 **(M) Drapers' Minutes and Records** (*CL*, 435)
 Paid to Frere & Bull, two of the trumpeters, for their wages [i.e., all trumpeters—more than two?] and drink... ["Frere & Bull" are likely John Frere/Friar the elder, and either Stephen or William Bull, whom Fiona Kisby lists as king's minstrels and trumpeters at this time: see Fiona Kisby, "Royal Minstrels in the City and Suburbs of Early Tudor London: Professional Activities and Private Interests," *Early Music* 25, no. 2 (1997): 202-04.]
 Paid for 22 hats for the marshal [of the trumpeters], trumpeters, Waits, and master of the barge. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]
- 1525-26 *No data*
- 1527 **(M) Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 468-69)
 Paid to the king's trumpeters, £6 4s.
 Paid for 35 hats for trumpeters, Waits and bargemen. [The company provides hoods for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]
- 1528 **(M) Drapers' Minutes and Records** (*CL*, 473)
 Paid to the king's sergeant and twelve trumpeters, with drinking money...
 Paid for 24 hats for trumpeters, Waits and bargemen. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]
- 1529-32 *No data*
- 1533 **(M) Drapers' Minutes and Records** (*CL*, 519)
 Paid to the king's sergeant and fifteen trumpeters, with drinking money...
 Paid for 24 hats for the sergeant, trumpeters, Waits and bargemen. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]

- 1534 **(M) Skinners' Receipts and Payments (CL, 538)**
 Paid to the trumpeters, £3 2s.
 Paid for 21 hats for trumpeters and Waits. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]
- 1535-39 *No data*
- 1540 **(M) Drapers' Minutes and Records (CL, 626)**
 "Paid to the sergeant trumpeter for six trumpeters, who came riding hither out of the country because we could have no other at that time because of the plague," £2 6s. 8d.
 "Memorandum that the Waits of the city had six red hats [...] yet they disappointed the fellowship after dinner." [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]
 [The procession went to the Tower this year, rather than to Westminster.]
- 1541 **(M) Mercers Register of Writings (CL, 656-58)**
 Paid to the sergeant and twelve trumpeters, with drinks...
 [The memorandum records a total of 24 trumpeters, six Waits, and the sergeant of the king's trumpeters "who went before them in honest apparel doing nothing."]
- 1542 *No data*
- 1543 **(M) Drapers' Wardens' Accounts (CL, 680)**
 [Given] to the trumpeters, £3.
- 1544 (April) [On 21 April 1544, Ralph Warren, mercer, was presented as mayor at Westminster; he was elected following the death of William Bowyer, draper, who would have processed to Westminster in October 1543, for which no records of music are extant. Bowyer died while still in office on 13 April 1544. No accounts of musical expenses at this extraordinary procession are extant either, though a description of it, in the Court of Common Council's Journal, notes that the new mayor was "accompanied thither [i.e., to Westminster]" without "precious ornaments and minstrelsy, other than the Waits of the city and the trumpets that attended upon my Lord Mayor's barge only." (Court of Common Council, Journal 15, CL, 677). For Warren and Bowyer, see MSL, 1035.]
- October 1544–1545 *No data*

- 1555 *No data*
- [Henry Machyn describes trumpeters, shawm players, Waits: see *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 96.]
- 1556 **(M) Merchant Taylors' Pageant Memorandum Book** (*CL* 813-23)
[Details arrangements for the Lord Mayor's Show, including trumpeters and their sergeant, a drummer, a flute player, Waits, children singing and playing upon instruments.]
- [Henry Machyn describes trumpeters, Waits: see *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 117-18.]
- 1557 **Mercers' Register of Writings** (*CL*, 839)
[Records trumpeters and other minstrels eating at the dinner at the Guildhall on the 29 October.]
- [Henry Machyn describes trumpeters, Waits: see *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 155-56.]
- 1558 **(M) Mercers Register of Writings** (*CL*, 847-49)
[Arrangements mention trumpeters and the Waits.]
- [There is no record of the October procession in Henry Machyn's diary for 1558.]

Table A2.2: Calendar of Data for the Sheriffs' Processions, 1382-1521.

| Year | Record | [Commentary where relevant] |
|--|---|--|
| 1382 or 1383 (probably 1382) | Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes (<i>CL</i> , 25, 1071) Paid to minstrels, 6s. | [Probably it was 1382, as no Goldsmith was sheriff in 1383; for this problem, see Lancashire's endnote, <i>CL</i> , 1239.] |
| 1384-85 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1386 | Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book) (<i>CL</i> , 28, 1073) Paid to the minstrels, with their hoods and costs... | |
| 1387-90 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1391 | Mercers' Wardens' Accounts (<i>CL</i> , 31, 1077) Paid for minstrels, £2. | |
| 1392 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1393 | Mercers' Wardens' Accounts (<i>CL</i> , 32, 1077) Paid for minstrels, £1. | |
| 1394-95 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1396 | Mercers' Wardens' Accounts (<i>CL</i> , 33, 1078) Paid to minstrels, £1. | |
| 1397-1401 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1402 | Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book) (<i>CL</i> , 39, 1083) Paid for seven minstrels, £2 6s. 8d. Paid for their hoods. | [Average 6s. 8d. each.] |
| 1403-06 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1407 | Grocers' Memorandum and Ordinance Book (Black Book) (<i>CL</i> , 48, 1092) [Paid to seven minstrels, £2 6s. 8d.] | [The actual payment recorded combines the mayor's and sheriffs' processions that year, but it is halved here; if correct, the average remains 6s. 8d. each.] |
| 1408-10 | <i>No data</i> | |
| 1411 | Mercers' Wardens' Accounts (<i>CL</i> , 56, 1099) Paid for minstrels, £1 4s. | |

- 1468** **Grocers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 203)
 Paid for eight trumpeters, £2 13s. 4d. [Average 6s. 8d. each.]
 Paid for eight-and-a-half hoods [*viiij hodies* & *di.*] for trumpeters. [The company does not record a payment for this ninth trumpeter, as he is in addition to musicians that were paid. the other half of his hood was probably paid for by the Drapers.]
- 1469-71** *No data*
- 1472** **Grocers' Memorandum, Ordinance, and Account Book** (*CL*, 208)
 Received for minstrels...
- 1473** *No data*
- 1474** **Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes** (*CL*, 212-13)
 Paid for eight trumpeters, and for eight-and-a-half hats [*viiij White hattes & di.*], for the trumpeters and marshal, and their drink...
- Grocers' Memorandum, Ordinance, and Account Book** (*CL*, 213)
 Received for minstrels...
- 1475** **Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes** (*CL*, 214)
 Paid to eight trumpeters and the marshal, £2 13s. 4d.
 Paid for their hats.
- 1476** *No data*
- 1477** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 220)
 Paid to minstrels [with their costs?], £2 15s. 4d.
- 1478** **Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes** (*CL*, 221)
 Paid to eight trumpeters and half the marshal's wage, £2 16s. 8d.
 Paid for eight hats [for the trumpeters] and half a hat [for the marshal].
- Ironmongers' Register** (*CL*, 221-22)
 Paid to eight trumpeters and to the marshal, £2 16s. 8d. [The Ironmongers are probably paying half the marshal's wage, and half the costs of his hat, as the Goldsmiths' record suggests. The average for seventeen trumpeters is 6s. 8d. each.]
 Paid for eight hats for the trumpeters and a hat for the marshal.
- 1479** **Grocers' Memorandum, Ordinance, and Account Book** (*CL*, 222)
 Received for minstrels...
- 1480-81** *No data*

- 1482** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 227-28)
 Paid to the minstrels, £2 15s. 4d.
 Paid for hats for the minstrels.
- 1483** *No data*
- 1484** **Ironmongers' Register** (*CL*, 231-32)
 Paid to the [eight] king's minstrels, £2 15s. 4d.
 Paid for nine hats for the minstrels and the marshal.
- 1485** [This table excludes the 11 February 1485 presentation of Ralph Astry, fishmonger, at Westminster; no record describing music at that procession has survived, though it was noted in Letter Book L that Astry was presented "at Westminster, with the gear of all the barges, as has been accustomed to happen in the past during the presentations of the sheriffs," which may imply the sounding of trumpets: see Letter Book L, *CL*, 232, and translated, 1196. Astry had been elected sheriff following the death of Richard Chester, skinner, who was a part of the September 1484 procession. Chester died while still in office on 6 February 1485: see *MSL*, 1026-27.]
- 1486** **Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes** (*CL*, 238)
 [The Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes records that £26 13s. 4d. was taken "out of the treasure for Master Percyvele, sheriff." The next line in the record is for an amount "to be taken out of the treasure for the minstrels and for the new banners and hats," but the amount itself is unrecorded. For John Percyvale, see *MSL*, 1027.]
- 1487** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 238)
 Paid to the [eight] minstrels and their marshal, £2 16s. 8d. [Average 6s. 8d., assuming the marshal's wage is shared between the Drapers and the Fishmongers, who also had a sheriff in office that year.]

 Paid for nine hats for the minstrels and their marshal.
 Paid to the marshal for a reward for drinking money, 1s. 8d.
- 1488** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 241)
 Paid to eight trumpeters and their marshal, £2 16s. 8d. [Average 6s. 8d., assuming the marshal's wage is shared between the Drapers and the Grocers, who also had a sheriff in office that year.]

 Paid for nine hats for the trumpeters and marshal.

Grocers' Memorandum, Ordinance, and Account Book (*CL*, 241)
 Received for the minstrels...

- 1489** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 242-43)
 Paid for eight trumpeters and their marshal, £2 16s. 8d. [Average 6s. 8d., assuming the marshal's wage is shared between the Drapers and the Grocers, who also had a sheriff in office that year.]
- Paid for nine hats for eight minstrels and their marshal.
- 1490** *No data*
- 1491 (March)** **Merchant Tailors' Treasury Record Book** (*CL*, 246)
 Paid for trumpeters and hats for them, and other costs...
- [This record refers to the 2 March 1491 presentation of Hugh Pemberton, tailor, at the Tower. He was elected sheriff following the death of Robert Revell, grocer, who would have been presented at Westminster in September 1490. No records concerning music at the September 1490 procession are extant. Revell died while still in office on 23 February 1491: see *MSL*, 1027.]
- 1491 (Sept.)-1492** *No data*
- 1493** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 247)
 Paid for trumpeters and their hats...
- 1494-1500** *No data*
- 1501** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 265-66)
 Paid for "one part" of the costs of the marshal and twenty trumpeters... [The costs are split between the Drapers' and Ironmongers' companies. The Drapers total recorded costs is £2 16s. 2d.; The Ironmongers recorded a lump sum of £2 16s. 8d. There is a discrepancy of 2d. between the costs each company paid for the hats. Note that the Drapers provide hats for the Waits but do not record a payment to them.]
 Paid for "our part" of 27 hats for [twenty] trumpeters, [the marshal], and Waits.

Ironmongers' Register (*CL*, 266)
 Paid to trumpeters...
 Paid for hats for the trumpeters...
- 1502** *No data*

1503 (Sept.)

Drapers' Wardens' Accounts (CL, 274)

Paid to the marshal and eleven trumpeters,
£2 13s. 4d.

Paid for fourteen hats for trumpeters and
three of the Waits.

[The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them. Note that the number of hats and the number of musicians, including the Waits, does not add up—it should total fifteen, if the marshal, trumpeters and Waits all received them, as in 1504 and 1505. The hats for the other three Waits were probably paid for by the Mercers.]

1503 (Nov.)

Skinner's Receipts and Payments (CL, 279)

Paid for eight trumpeters, £2 13s. 4d.

[Average 6s. 8d. each.]

Paid to the Waits for their fee, 3s. 4d.

[The fee paid to the Waits is considerably smaller than the amount paid to the trumpeters.]

Paid for fourteen hats for [eight]
trumpeters and [six] Waits.

[This record refers to the 13 November 1503 presentation of Thomas Graunger, skinner, at Westminster. He was elected sheriff following the death of Robert Watts, draper, who was a part of the September 1503 procession. Watts died while still in office in November 1503: see MSL, 1029. The Skinners are probably paying all of the Waits' expenses, which would usually be shared between two companies, as this is a replacement sheriff and the costs are not being shared with another company.]

1504

Drapers' Wardens' Accounts (CL, 278)

Paid to the marshal and nine trumpeters,
£2 13s. 4d.

Paid for thirteen hats for the marshal,
[nine] trumpeters and three Waits.

[The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them. Hats for the other three Waits were probably paid for by the Mercers.]

- 1505** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 282)
 Paid for the marshal and seven trumpeters, £2 6s. 8d.
 Paid for twelve hats for the trumpeters, [the marshal], three Waits and the master of the barge. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them. Hats for the other three Waits were probably paid for by the Grocers.]
- 1506** **Goldsmiths' Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes** (*CL*, 283)
 Paid to nine trumpeters and the marshal, £3.
 Paid for fifteen hats for [nine] trumpeters, [the marshal,] and the Waits. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]
- [The Goldsmiths' accounts record these expenses, which were intended for the presentation of Robert Johnson, goldsmith (along with William Copynger, fishmonger). The King, however, refused Johnson's admission to the office. The sheriffs for 1506-07 were thus William Copynger, fishmonger, and William Fitz William, merchant taylor: see *MSL*, 1029-30, and especially n.379. The Goldsmiths' expenses are recorded in their 1506-07 accounts, beginning and ending 19 May.]
- 1507-08** *No data*
- 1509** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 289)
 Paid to [twelve] trumpeters, £2 13s. 4d.
 Paid for sixteen hats for the marshal, twelve trumpeters, and three Waits. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them. Hats for the other three Waits were probably paid for by the Merchant Taylors.]
- 1510** **Drapers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 297)
 Paid for nine trumpeters, £2 13s. 4d.
 Paid for fourteen hats for trumpeters, Waits, and the master of the barge. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]
- 1511** **Skinnners' Receipts and Payments** (*CL*, 307)
 Paid to the marshal for him and eleven trumpeters, £2 16s. 8d.
 Paid to the Waits, 3s. 4d. [The amount paid to the Waits is considerably less than the amount paid to the marshal and trumpeters.]
- Paid for sixteen hats for the trumpeters and Waits.

- 1512 *No data*
- 1513 **Grocers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 315)
 Paid for hats for the Waits and the master of the barge.
 Paid to the Waits for their attendance "because there were no trumpets," 3s. 4d.
- 1514 *No data*
- 1515 **Ironmongers' Register** (*CL*, 323)
 Paid to ten trumpeters, £3.
 Paid for ten hats for the trumpeters, three hats for the Waits, and a hat for the master of the barge. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them. Hats for the other three Waits were probably paid for by the Goldsmiths, who also had a sheriff in office that year.]
- [Richard Grey, ironmonger, was elected sheriff and presented in September 1515, but died in office in October 1515. His replacement, William Bayley, draper, was presented at Westminster on 29 October 1515, as part of the mayor's procession. The Grocers' account for the October 1515 mayoral procession attests to the presence of trumpeters that year. For Grey and Bayley, see MSL, 1031.]
- 1516-17 *No data*
- 1518 **Vintners' Master and Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 353)
 Paid to the trumpeters, £3 2s.
 Paid for sixteen hats for the trumpeters, the Waits, and the bargemen. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them.]
- 1519 **Drapers' Minutes and Records** (*CL*, 361)
 Paid to twelve trumpeters and the marshal, £2 13s. 4d.
 Paid for seventeen hats for the [twelve] trumpeters, [the marshal,] three Waits, and the master of the barge. [The company provides hats for the Waits but does not record a payment to them. Hats for the other three Waits were probably paid for by the Grocers, who record a payment for fifteen hats.]
- Grocers' Wardens' Accounts** (*CL*, 368)
 Paid to the king's trumpeters, £2 13s. 4d.
 Paid for fifteen hats.
- 1520-21 *No data*

Appendix 3: Ordinances of the Minstrels' Company

Appendix 3.1: Ordinances, 1350 (from Edgar, *Handbook of the Worshipful Company of Musicians*, 3rd ed., 13-16, public domain)

Translation of

THE ORDINANCES OF THE GUILD OF MINSTRELS.

(1350.)

To the honour and in the name of our most gentle Lord Jesus Christ and of His Blessed Mother Saint Mary, our advocate. Amen.

Know all people who this writing shall see or hear that there is an agreement between the Minstrels of London and other good people in the same city dwelling in the year of the Incarnation of our gentle Lord Jesus one thousand three hundred and fifty, in the year of the reign of our Lord King Edward the Third after his conquest the twenty-fourth;

That is to say that they have ordained and established between them a Fraternity to endure for the term of their lives;

And by their common consent they have ordained a common box to which box each one of them aforesaid during their lives and the life of each one of them shall place every year thirteen pence sterling, commencing the first time on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing after the date of this [deed];

And the said box shall remain in the keeping of one of the said company. And two others shall each one of them have a key of the said box in their keeping. And they shall be dwellers in the city. And from year to year each one after the other elected shall have the said box and also a paper in which the names of the said company who pay to the said box are

contained. And two others [shall have] the two keys without refusal or demur when their turn shall come. Or otherwise let it be permitted to him who desires to refuse the custody of the said box or two keys to be discharged for the year when his turn shall come, paying to the said box for the year in which it shall come into his hands, eleven pence for the support of their alms, within fifteen days of his being discharged, unless there be excuse of poverty or for other good cause.

And moreover the before-named keepers of the box and of the keys, or three others of the said company in the absence of the others, shall have power in the name of the whole of the said company to ordain and do that which they shall deem most profitable and most safe for the whole company for the increase of the box.

Also it is ordained that if any one of the said fraternity [suffer] by chance of poverty, illness, robbery, maiming, old age, or loss of property or false imprisonment or by any sudden event by the hand of God, and he himself not be the cause of his loss, he shall have each week fourteen pence sterling from the box by consent of all the companions aforesaid. And then after he is able to work the said company shall lend him from the money in the box, if there be any therein, a sum by their common consent to aid him to recover.

Also it is agreed among them that if any one of the said fraternity or of those who are companions of the said fraternity is unwilling to perform the covenant in accordance with the form aforesaid and fails of his payment for a whole year and eleven days and is dwelling in the said city or suburbs of London and is able to pay ;

Or if any one of the said company shall offend or cause strife with another and refuse to make amends to him after having been three times requested so to do and fairly admonished by the said companions and will yet persist in his conduct and malice ; that they then expel him from the said fraternity without

re-admission. In which case no question shall be raised as to the money he shall have put into the said box but he shall be named and enrolled among the benefactors inscribed in the obituary roll of the Carmelite Friars of the said city so that the benefits conferred upon the said fraternity shall not be lost sight of nor forgotten, but shall always be remembered.

And in case any one or many desire to enter the said fraternity and they are deemed worthy and loyal to the said company, they shall be received, doing and paying to the box aforesaid in all things as the wardens and the said companions may deem good for the maintenance of their well-being and for the honour of God and of his Mother.

In like manner the aforesaid companions will and guarantee to each one of the said fraternity that [if he suffer loss and be in need of] money, the wardens of the said box shall lend him a sum, on a sufficient security of its value or more, until a certain fixed day. And in case he fails to repay the said money on that day the security shall be taken to recoup the box for the sum thus lent.

Likewise it is agreed that if any one of the said companions should be impleaded in any false suit made against him by way of malice or wrong the wardens shall help to effect reconciliation between the parties, but if they are unwilling to give cheerful assent or to be guided by them, let the common law settle it between them in the name of God.

And at what time any one of the said company who now are or shall be is summoned by God let all the company assist in burying him. And within the third day of his decease let there be said from the common box aforesaid thirty masses for his soul and the souls of all christians.

And this covenant and ordinance well and loyally to maintain and keep in the form aforesaid the companions of the fraternity have sworn.

And touching the goods and chattels to the same fraternity
belonging :—

There is in the box xliij s. v d.

Also a security on which they have lent money ...viij s.

And they have for the company a special garment.

Appendix 3.2: Ordinances, 1500 (from *CL*, 258-61, reproduced with permission)

Court of Common Council, Journal 10 LMA: COL/CC/01/01/010
ff 183–5* (16 March)

To the right honourable lord and worshipfull soueraignes my lord Maire
and Aldermen

°Intratur°

In humble wise shewen And compleyne vnto youre good lordship and
Mastershippes *your* dayly bedemen the wardens and ffelasshippe of Mynstrelx 15
[d] ffremen of this Citee that where as the continuell Recourse of foreyn
Mynstrelx daily resorting to this Citee out of all the contrayes of Englande
occupying here at more libertie than fremen causith your said Suppliantes
ffremen to be brought in suche pouertie and decaye that they be not of power
or habilite to bere charges to pay lott and scot And do their dutie as other 20
ffremen doon be cause their lyving is taken from them by suche maner of
foreyns And where also as these foreyn Mynstrelx be accustomed to do gret
displesure And greuously ennoye the Citezens of this Citee as in presing to
their tables vpon the Churchehalydayes dedicacions Churchinges weddinges
and other ffeestes malgre the owners of houses where as they Resort *without* 25
desire of any persone sumtyme v or vj *without* Cunnyng standing vnware at
a *bourdes* ende to the gret greef and displesure of the Citezens and of their
honest freendes and neighbours as happen as happen to be *present* And to the
gret hurt and hynderance of *your* said suppliantes Please it *your* lordship and
Mastershippes in consideracion of the *premisses* And to thentent that *your* 30
said Suppliantes fremen I myght haue some furthirance ad relief before foreyns/
to graunte enacte and establishe thies Articles folowyng as ferre as they be
reasnable atte Reuerence of god and of Seint Anthonye their patrone/ to
whome they shall continually pray for the *prosperous* state of you and of
thys noble Citee 35
ffyrst to ordeyn enacte and establishe that no maner foreyn of what so euer
condicion he be of/ occupie any Ministrelcye singyng or playeng vpon any

4/ bothe dayis: *at the feast time*

18/ than: n *corrected over t*

28/ as happen as happen: *dittography*

31/ ad: *for and*

Instrument *within* any *parissh*e of this Citee or franchise thereof vpon any churchehalydayes or dedicacion dayes halowed or kepte *within* the same parishe or any of them/ neither at no churchynges weddynges or brothirhedis made or kept *within* the same Citee or franchis vpon payn euery such foreyn Ministrell after [mete] monicion to hym yeven by the wardeyns to pay for 5
euery tyme that he shalbe found dooyng contrarye to thys Acte iij s. iiij d. the oon half thereof to Remayn to the comon vse of this Cete and that othir half to the comon box of the said Craft

Also for good and honest Rewle and order to be fromhensforth vsed and contynewed amonges your said supplyantes/ Pleas it your lordship and 10
Maisterships to ordeyn and enacte that the feloship of Ministrelx fremen of this Citee now beyng and their successours haue power autorite and libertie euery yere for euer more after to Assemble in A place where as they shall thynk conuenient and a day by them to be limted/ And soo by their common 15
voix and assent or of the gretter l *partie* of them to chese ij able persones of the same feloship for to be wardeyns of the saide Craft for the yere folowyng/ And if any persone soo chosen wadeyn refuse and forsake the said office off wardeynship euery persone so refusyng to [pey] pay xx s. half there to Remayn to the common vse of this Cytte and that othire half to the common box 20
aforsaid

Also [for good] to ordeyn and enacte that the common box of the said feleship be And Remayn fro yere to yere in the custodye and kepyng of the wardeyns of of the said craft for the tyme beyng/ And of all such money as the same wardeyns shall Receve in the tyme of their wardeynshype to yeve and yeld 25
vp[on] vnto the hole feleshyp or to the gretter *partie* of them a trew and A iust accompt in wrytyng *within* a Moneth after they shalbe discharged of theyr offyce vpon peyn euery of them to pay xx s. to be deuyted to the vse and box abouesaid/ And as for the keyes of the said common box to be in the keping of ij honest persones freemen of the said Craft such as by the 30
common [vox] voix or of the mor *partie* of the feleshype shalbe thereto named and Assigned

Also that euery freeman or brothir of the said Crafte/ paye yerely to the supportacion of the charges of the said Craft xij d. by yere/ to is to saye iij d. at euery quarter day/ Euery persone not payenge this maner of quarterage at euery quarter day or *within* xx dayes next and immedyatly folowyng to pay 35
as often iij s. iiij d. to Remayn and to be diuided to the common vse and box aboue said

6/ thys: *corrected over* the
15/ assent: e *corrected*
17/ wadeyn: *for* wardeyn
23/ of of: *ditto*graphy
33/ to is: *for* that is

Also ¹[(...)] that euery freeman of the said Craft *present* euerich of his apprentices to the wardeyn of the said Crafte for the tyme beyng *within* a moneth immediatly after that any such apprentyce shalbe bounde payeng at his *presentacion* to the *common vse* of the said Crafte xx d. And yef any persone be founde necligent and doe/ not *present* hys apprentice *within* a monyeth payeng the fyen of xx d. as is aforrehered that euery such persone to forfaite x s. half therof to Remayn to the vse of this Cytee and that othir half to the *common box* of [of] the sayd Craft

Also to ordeyn that if any persone enfranchised in the said Craft or brothir of the same warned by the bedyll of the craft/ for to come to the quarter dayes or to the Assemble of the wardeyns of the said Craft for the tyme beyng. And *without* Resonable excuse absentith hym self or not willyng to *comme*. to paye as often ij s. half therof to Remayn to the *common vse* and that othir half to the box aforesaid

Also to ordeyn that no persone enfranchised of the said Crafte or brothir of the same [warned] presume to Rebuke Reville or greve ¹*with* any Sclanderous wordes or wordes of velanys to the wardeyns of the said Craft for the tyme beyng or to any othir persone brothir or freeman of the said feloship vpon peyn to paye at euery tyme that any of them shalbe founde culpable of such on fityng langage vj s. viij d. half thereof to Remayn to the *common vse* of this | of this Citee and that othir half to the *common box* of the said Crafte

Also to ordeyn that non of the said feleship Ministrelx enfranchised or brothir of the saide Craft tech or informe any other persone then hys own apprentice in any poynt of the feat of Minstralsy vpon payn of forfeiture of xx s. to be employed in *fourme* aforesaid Neuertheles if any Gentilman or marchant be disposid for to lerne any thyng for their pleasure/ that it be leifull to euerich of that the said Craft to enforme and teche euery such gentilman or marchant

Also to ordeyn that no freman of the said Craft take any *seruant* allowes *seruant* by yere or in *convenant* for any terme more or lese othir wise than by apprenticehode for vij yeres accordyng to the laudable coustome of this Citee vpon peyn of forfeiture of xl s. half therof to Remayn to the *common vse* of this Citee and othir half to the *common box* of the said Craft

Provided alway that the foresaid Actes and ordynance exstend not or bee preudyciall to the kinges Ministrelx the [Quens] ¹*Quenes* the prences the kinges Moders or to any Lordes Ministrelles of the *parlyament* but that they and euery of them vse and occupie the feat of Ministrelcye *within* the same Citee as they dede or ought to doo before the making of this ordenance soo

1/ [...]: 17mm illegible

5/ doe: possibly doo; separated from not by virgule

10/ craft: separated from for by virgule

20-1/ of this | of this: dittography

as they be not Resident enhabet or *contynually conuersaunt within* the same
Citee
Qua quidem *billā &c. Concestā est per curiam &c.*

Appendix 3.3: Ordinances, 1518 (from *CL*, 341-44, reproduced with permission)

Court of Common Council, Journal 11 LMA: COL/CC/01/01/011
ff 320–1v*

Intratw

Lez Mynstrelles

Memorandum quod die Iouis scilicet xxj^o die Ianuarij Anno regni regis henrici viijⁱ ix^o Magister Gardiani & alij probi homines Artis siue Mistere liberorum hominum Ministrallorum Ciuitatis londonij venerunt hic in Curia dicti Domini Regis in Camera Guihalde eiusdem Ciuitatis Coram Thoma Exmewe Maiore laurencio Aylmer Milite Georgio Monoux [^] willelmo[†] [Thoma] Butler Milite Iohanne Rest Thoma Myrfyn Iacobo yarford Iohanne Brugge Iohanne Milbourne henrico warley Roberto Aldernes Iohanne Mundy willelmo Bailly Iohanne Alen Thoma Semar Iacobo Spencer Nicholao Partriche Iohanne wilkynson et Thoma Baldry Aldermannis Ciuitatis predicte et porrexerunt eisdem Maiori & Aldermannis quandam billam siue Supplicacionem Cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba/

To the full honourable Lord & right discrete soueragnes the Maire & Aldremen of this famous Citie of london. Pleas it your good lordship & Maisterships to graunte vnto your Oratourz Iohn Olyuer Maister Iohn Chamber & Robert Strachy wardeyns/ And other good ffolkes of the Craft or Mistere of Mynstrelles of this Citie for the Relevyng and better maynteynyng of the ffeliship of the seid Mistere certeyn necessarie Actes and ordynances to be establisshed & auctorised by this honourable Courte after the fourme here vnder ensueyng the same Actes & ordynances to endure foreuermore And to be entred of Record in the Chamber of the Guyhall of this Citie that is to say/

20

25

30

35

40

¶ ffirst Where in the tyme of Mairaltie of Mr *Nicholas Alwyn* amonges other
 Actes and ordynances there was graunted to the seid ffeliship of Mynstrelles
 power & Auctoritie to chose euery yere of theym self iij able persones. that
 is to say. a *Master* & ij wardeyns of the seid ffeliship for the yere folowyng.
 which acte for many consideracions is thought to your seid Oratours right 5
 chargeable and not conuenient/ And that it is full necessarie & behouefull
 to haue that Acte reformed. Be it therefore ordeyned & established that
 the *Maister* & wardeyns of the seid Mistere of Mynstrelles of this Citie of
 london foreuermore for this tyme beyng *with* thassent of such as haue been
 Maisters and wardeyns and of other ffremen of the seid Mistere euery ij yeres 10
 amonges theymself may assemble togider in a place conuenient at a day
 certeyn by the seid *Maister* & wardeyns for the tyme beyng to be lymytted
 Orelles | as nede & case shall requyre/ And may chose of & amonges theymself
 iij able persones. that is to say a *Maister* & ij wardeyns to Rule & Govern
 the ffeliship of the same Craft And to punyssh such as in tyme to com shall 15
 make defaulte mysuse or offende in any Actes or ordynances belongyng to
 the seid Mistere & approved by this honourable Courte/ And if any persone
 so chosen *Maister* or wardeyn Refuse to take vpon hym such seide office of
Maister or wardeyn/ that than euery such persone so refusyng to pay at euery
 tyme xx s. to be employed the oon half to the vse of the Chamber of the 20
 Citie of london And the other half to thuse of the comen box of the seid
 ffeliship/

¶ Also be it ordeyned that it shall not be liefull to eny ffremman of the seid
 Mistere vnder the payn of fforfaiture of vj s. viij d. to be employed to the
 equall vses aforeseid to sue or emplede another ffremman of the same Mistere 25
 in any Courte of Record *spirituall* or *temporall* for eny maner cause or matier
 vnto the tyme that the *partie* greved Compleyne & shewe ffirst his grif vnto
 the *Maister* & wardeyns [for the honestie] of the seid Mistere for the tyme
 beyng to thentent that the same *Maister* & wardeyns of the seid Mistere for
 the honestie of the seid ffeliship shall Charitably call the seid *parties* afore 30
 them/ they to here & examyn the matier in varyaunce bitwene the the seid
parties And therupon the seid *Maister* & wardeyns if they can or may. to
 sette the seid *parties* at Reest & peace And if the seid *Maister* & wardeyns
 can not so doo/ that than they to Remytte the matier And the *partie* greved
 in that behalf to take than such remedy as he can opteyne by the lawe/ the 35
 seid penaltie *notwithstandyng*/

¶ Also be it ordeyned that no maner of persone of the same occupacion
 entise procure or counseile any mannys *seruant* or *Apprentice* of the same
 occupacion out or from the *service* of his *Maister* duryng the tyme of his

1/ Mr ... Alwyn: *Nicholas Ailwyn, mercer, mayor*
1499–1500

28/ Mistere: *Mi written over erasure*
31/ the the: *dittography*

retheynder or aslong as the *Maister* & *seruant* be in Covenant vpon payn to euery persone offendyng this ordynance to forfeite at euery tyme to the vses aforeseid xx s. or more or lesse after the discrecions of the *Maister* & wardeyns for the tyme beyng Except it be ordred by the same *Maister* & wardeyns that the same *seruant* shalbe out & at libertie from the *seruyce* of his *Maister*/

Item be it ordeyned that if any persone ffreman of the seid ffeliship of Mynstrelles be so mysaduysed to Rebuke or Revyle *with* vnsittyng language or smyte an other persone ffreman of the same in the presens of the seid *Maister* & wardeyns or in any open audience. that then vpon a due *profe* therof had before the seid *Maister* & wardens the same persone so beyng mysaduysed or ouerseen shall pay such Reasonable fyne to the equall vses aforeseid as shalbe assessed therupon by the seid *Maister* & wardeyns for the tyme beyng alweies Regardaunt to the qualitie & quantitie of the seid misbehauour/

Moreouer be it ordeyned that if any persone of the seid ffeliship *withyn* the Citie of london [^] or libertyes of the same¹ of what Condicion so euer he be/ hereafter be founde disobedient moch obstynate & contrarious ayenst the *Maister* and wardeyns of the seid ffeliship for the tyme beyng or ayenst eny of theym so that they may not lauffully exercise theirre office accordyng to theirre grauntes & ordynances vpon a due *profe* therof had. the same *Maister* & wardeyns by the help Assistance & consent of the Maire of the Citie of london or of the Chamberleyn of the same for the tyme beyng shall commytte the same persone vnto warde there to abide such punysshement as shalbe thought reasonable to the seid Maire or Chamberleyn & the seid *Maister* & wardens for the tyme beyng/

Also be it ordeyned that no persone of the seid Mistere beyng a ffreman of the seid Citie shall ffromhensforth haue take or kepe in his *seruyce* at oonys but oonly one Apprentice To thentent that the same Apprentice may the better be applied lerned & sette a worke Except those persones of the seid Mistere which be or haue been *Maister* or warden of the same to whom it shalbe liefull to haue tak & kepe in his *seruyce* at oonys ij Apprentices & not aboute And if any persone of the seid Mistere doo contrary to this ordynance he shall forfeite at euery tyme so doyng xl s. to be applied to the vses aforeseid

Also be it ordeyned that it shall not be liefull to eny Mynstrell ffreman of the seid ffeliship to supplante hire or gete oute another Mynstrell ffreman of the same ffeliship beyng hired or spoken to ffor to *serue* at eny Tryvmphes ffeestes dyners Sowpers Mariages Gildes or Bretherhedes or eny such other doynges wherby eny such Mynstrell shuld haue parte of his lvyng vnder the

8/ vnsittyng: for vnfitting

payn to euery such Supplanter as often as he so doth of xl s. to be employed to thuses aforeseid/

Also be it ordeyned that none Apprentice to eny Mynstrell ffreman of the seid Mistere shall vse or occupie his Instrument openly or prively *witbyn* eny Tavern Hostrye or Alehous *witbyn* this Citie or at eny ffeestes Gildes Maryages Dyners Sowpers or such other vnto the tyme that the same Apprentice by the Maister & wardeyns of the seid Mistere for the tyme beyng be ffirst examyned & opposed And by theym abled to vse his Instrument in *fourme* aforeseid for honour of this Citie And honestie of the seid Mistere And that Maister that suffreth his Apprentice to doo the Contrary shall forfait as often as he so doth vj s. viij d. to be dyuyded in *fourme* aforeseid/

Qua quidem billa siue supplicacione[m] lecta & per dictos Maiorem et Aldermannos plenius Intellecta quia videtur eisdem Maiori & Aldermannis quod Articuli in dicta billa siue supplicacione[m] contenti sunt boni & honesti ac Racioni consonantes vnanimi assensu & voluntate ordinauerunt & decreuerunt quod ^{predicti} articuli hic intrentur de Recordo modo & forma quibus petuntur futuris temporibus firmiter obseruandi/

...

Appendix 3.4: Ordinances, 1553 (from *CL*, 758, 760-62, reproduced with permission)

Court of Common Council, Journal 16 LMA: COL/CC/01/01/016

[...]

ff 253–4* (2 March) (Common council)

® Mynstrelles
and Players®

foreyn
Mynstrelles/

terme for
Apprentices

...
fforasmuche as dyuerse & menye forein mynstrelles from the lyberties & 10
fremomme of this Cytie of london haue of late & yet doo as comenly exercyse
vse & practyse their said scyence of mynstralsie *within* the same Cytie &
the lyberties therof as though thei were free of the same Cytie not onely to
the great losse & hindraunse of the gaines & *profittes* of the poore [people
(..)] | Mynstrelles being fremen of the same Cytie but also dyrectly in menie 15
pointes contrarie to the good auntyent & alowed Actes Lawes & ordeinaunces
heretofore taken made & establysshed *within* the said Cytie concerning the
said mynstrelles being free of the same Cytie/ wherby muche dysordre evill
Rule vyce & synne dothe secretly springe growe & dayly insue *within* the
said Cytie & the lyberties of the same/ Be yt therefore enacted ordayned & 20
establysshed by the lorde Maire Aldremen & comens in this present comen
counsail assembled & by the aucthorytie of the same that no maner of
person or persons comenly exercysing or vsing the mysterie of mynstralcie
being A forein or foreins of what estate degree or condycion soeuer he or
thei be doo at any tyme from hensforward vse occupie or exercyse eny 25
mynstralsie singing or playing vpon eny Instrument or instrumentes [shall]
in any [^]comen hall Taverne, Inne, Alehouse[s], or eny other lyke place or
places *within* this Cytie & lyberties therof vpon paine that euerie suche
[offendour] fforrein mynstrell after monysson to him gevin by the maister
or by the wardeins of the ffellowship of mynstrelles shall lose forfeite/ And 30
paye for euerye tyme that he shalbe founde doing contrarie to this Acte iij
s. iiij d./ thone half therof to thuse of the poore infantes in crystes hospytall
& thother half to the comen boxe of the same ffellowship/. Be yt also ordeined
& enacted by the aucthorytie aforesaid that no person of the said mysterie
or ffellowship being A free man of the said Cytie & occupying mynstralcie 35
shall from hensforth haue or take to keape in his *servyce* at ones but onely
one apprentyce to thentent that the same Apprentyce [to thentente that the

p 759, l.28–p 760, l.4/ By ... yoven: also in Letter Book R, f 260v

5/ xxijth: first x corrected

6/ Blakwell: William Blackwell, common clerk

10/ menye: n corrected over y

same apprentyce] maye the better be aplyed lerned & sett a woorke excepte
 those *persones* of the sayd mysterie *which* be or haue bein *master* or wardein
 of the same to whom it shalbe leifull to haue take & keape in his *servyce* at
 once ij apprentyses & not aboue/. And yf eny *person* of the said mysterie
 doo contrarie to this ordeinaunce he shall forfayte at euerye tyme so doynge 5
 xl s./ to be applyed to thuse aforesaid/ & after monycion gevin to putt away
 suche apprentyce [^]orels^o to forfait x s. for euerye monethe [for] [^]that he
 shall^o kepe[ng] [of] the same apprentyce to be applyed as aforesaid/ And
 further be it ordeined & enacted by the said aucthorytie that no manner of
 person or *persones* vsing or occupying playing vpon any Instrument or 10
 Instrumentes/ doo from hensforth playe vpon any *maner* of Instrument
within the said Cytie or lyberties of the same in the open streates Lanes or
 Alleis therof from or after .x. of the clock in the Evenyng vntyll .v. of the
 clock in the mornyng vpon paine of forfaiture of .x. s. of Lafulfull money of
 England for euerye tyme that he or thei shall so offende contrarie to the true 15
 meanyng of this present Acte to be employed to thuse aforesaid [And after
 monycion gevin to putt away suche apprentyce to forfait .x. s. euerye
 monethe for keping of the same apprentyce to be] | [applyed as aforesaid/
 And further be yt ordeyned & enacted by the said aucthorytie that no
 manner of person or *persones* vsing or occupying] All *which* forefaytures to 20
 be recouered by accion of dett byll plaint or informacion to be brought in
 the name of the presenter or presentours in the kinges maisties court holden
 before the lorde Maire & Aldremen of the said Cytie for the tyme being in
 the vtter Chamber of the Guyldehall of the same Cytie in *which* accion no
 wager of Lawe or essoynne for the defendaunt shalbe admytted or allowed/ 25
 Provyded alwayes that this present Acte or eny thing ther in conteyned
 shall not extende or be preiudyciall to the comen waytes of the said Cytie
 in pleying or keping their accustomed watche as thei at their accustomed
 tymes & howres vse & heretofore haue vsed the same eny thing afore rehersed
 to the contrarie in eny wyse not *withstanding*/ Item forasmuche as dyuerse 30
 & menie Artyfycers & handye craftes men as Tayllours Showmakers &
 suche other leving the vse & exercyse of their craftes & manuall ocupacions
 & geving them selves holy to wandering abrode Ryott vyce & Idlenes doo
 comenly vse nowe A dayes to singe songes called thre mens songes in the
 Tavernes Alehouses Innes & suche other places of this Cytie/ & also at 35
 weadinges & other great feastes made *within* the same Cytie to the great
 Losse preiudyce & hindraunce of the said poore felowshop of the mynstrelles
 of the said Cytie/ Be yt therefore also ordeined & enacted by the aucthorytie
 aforesaid that no *maner* of person or persons whether he or thei be free of

for pleying in
open streates

®°Thomas
Hardinge°

®°Arl°

8/ kepe[ng]: second e corrected over i

33/ geving: v corrected

the said Cytie or not free vsing to singe eny songes comenly called thre mens
songes shall from hensforth synge in or at any Taverne Inne Alehouse wedinges
ffeastes or eny other lyke place or places *within* the said Cytie or lyberties
therof eny maner of suche songe or songes (except the same be songe in A
comen playe or enterlude vpon paine of forfeiture by euerye suche person 5
& persons after monycion to him or them gevin of this present Acte by the
Maisters or wardeins of the said felowship for the tyme being for euerye
tyme that he or thei shalbe founde so doing contrarie to the purporte &
trewe meanyng of this Acte iij s. iiij d. to be recouered & imployed as ys
aforesaid Provyded also & be it enacted & by the aucthorytie aforesaid that 10
yt shall not be lefull to any mynstrell either [^]forain or ^lfreman or any other
person to keape or teache any sko[l]le of daunsing *within* the said Cytie or
lyberties therof vpon paine to forfeite for euerye suche offence x li. the same
to be recouered & imployed in suche sorte as before ys remembred/.

® for daunsyng
scoles/

...

15

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