



Records of Early English Drama

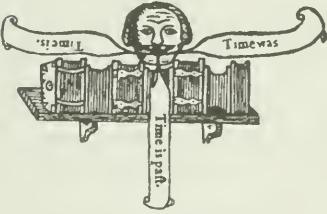
LINCOLNSHIRE

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Editorial Apparatus

RECORDS OF EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA

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LINCOLNSHIRE

EDITED BY JAMES STOKES

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Historical Background

Lincolnshire is England's second largest county. Situated as a peninsula at the coastal edge of the east Midlands, it is bordered by the North Sea to the east (and by that part of the North Sea known as The Wash), the River Humber to the north, and (as one moves west to south) small parts of south Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire, and Norfolk.

The county falls into several alternating geological regions that run north-south through the county (as one moves west to east): Trent Vale, Lincoln Edge, Clay Vale, Wolds, coastal marshlands, and (in the south) the Fens.¹ Historians commonly observe that Lincolnshire's location at the far eastern edge of the Midlands, together with 'the natural barriers of the Humber in the north and the fens in the south,' has given the county an insular quality contributing to the development of its distinct identity within the east Midlands.² And the county's variety of geographical features has certainly given each part of the county a unique economic and social identity within the larger culture of Lincolnshire. But as Lincolnshire historian Graham Platts also observes, even as late as the Middle Ages, Lincolnshire was nothing so simple as a homogeneous county: 'nothing like Lincolnshire's modern identity (prior to the creation of South Humberside in 1974) would have existed in the minds of its inhabitants during the Middle Ages.'³

Historians also agree that Lincolnshire – especially the city of Lincoln – enjoyed its greatest political, economic, religious, and cultural importance between the Roman period and the thirteenth century, but that its regional impact had begun to wane by the beginning of the fourteenth century. During the Roman occupation Lincoln evolved from an important military outpost into 'by far the largest and most important town in the area,' and during the early Middle Ages it was a no less important regional city (see discussion below).⁴ But during the later Middle Ages many factors (for example, the changing patterns of major roadways and shipping) combined to increase the relative isolation of the entire county, as well as the economic decline of such Lincolnshire towns as the port of Boston. Although records survive of Roman games at Lincoln, and of traditional parish entertainments and drama at Lincoln during the thirteenth century, most dramatic records from Lincolnshire date from the fourteenth through the mid-seventeenth centuries.⁵

Lincolnshire's early importance and its eventual relative isolation are reflected in the changing patterns of its transportation systems. Two of the major roads built by the Romans – Ermine

Street and the Fosse Way – converged at Lincoln. Ermine Street, by which the Romans travelled from London to the northern parts of England, paralleled the ancient Jurassic Way in Lincolnshire, running north-south along the Lincoln Edge. Evidence of regularly spaced Roman settlements suggests that Ermine Street's main importance was military. Fosse Way, 'the direct link between Lincoln and Leicester,' was a 'service road to the frontier established by AD 47.'⁶ Archaeologists have found ample evidence of smaller Roman roads in the county, some running generally east-west (Salters Way, Tillbridge Lane, what is now Wragby Road), some running generally north-south (King Street, the Bourne to Ermine Street Trunk, the Boston Outgang, Sewstern Lane, and others). The Romans also built two major canals – the Car Dyke in south Lincolnshire (fifty-six miles long) and Foss Dyke in the northwest (eleven miles long), both for conveyance of military supplies and commercial goods by boat.⁷ Mobility and communication were clearly considerable in Roman Lincolnshire. References in the Domesday Book to passages, fords, and ferries in Lincolnshire give clues suggesting that many of the Roman roads, especially Ermine Street, the Fosse Way, and roads branching off from them, as well as some roads in east Lincolnshire between the Wolds and the coast, continued to be used during the Anglo-Saxon period. According to F.M. Stenton there was a late eleventh-century tradition that four great roads, including Ermine Street and the Fosse Way, 'had formed continuous lines of travel' for a period that 'was already remote in the eleventh century.'⁸

The anonymous Gough map identifies four roads in the county during the fourteenth century, all of them following generally north-south routes: one from Barton upon Humber to Spalding via Horncastle, Bolingbroke, and Boston; one from Boston to Wainfleet paralleling The Wash; a third from Barton upon Humber to Sleaford via Glanford Brigg, Spital, and Lincoln, following Ermine Street in some places north of Lincoln; and the Old North Road that had supplanted Ermine Street as the main route from London to the north, travelling from Stamford to Grantham, then out of the county to Newark and Doncaster.⁹ The Gough map identifies what may be a fifth road, one travelling east from Lincoln, halfway to Boston. The map also identifies three waterways (the Foss Dyke, and the Rivers Witham and Welland). Other roads no doubt existed. As Lincoln historian Francis Hill points out, the Fosse Way between Newark and Lincoln was used during this period; there must also have been a road (the old Ermine Street) connecting Grantham and Lincoln (and probably used to transport the captured French king, John, to Somerton Castle in 1359), and King Street in southern Lincolnshire.¹⁰

The striking feature of the Gough map – the fact that all the indicated roads follow generally north-south patterns – supports the observation made by Platts that topography served to 'heighten the division between the two halves [eastern and western] of Lincolnshire,' as did patterns of dialect. However, a number of factors indicate that the movement of long-distance travellers between the eastern and western parts of the county was likely considerable. Boston, for example, having been one of England's most important and prosperous medieval ports and a Hansa steelyard, and being, as S.H. Rigby says, 'a major centre of alien merchants' (see pp 385–8), would have seen a continual flow of people travelling between the east Midlands and the coast, through Boston and the North Sea ports. The earliest payments to travelling entertainers in Lincolnshire (some belonging to important national figures living in areas to

the west, north, or south of Lincolnshire) turn up in fifteenth-century Grimsby and early sixteenth-century Boston and Louth (for example, see pp 35–6, 238).¹¹ An account roll of 1480 by the bursar of Selby Abbey in Yorkshire, which survives among the records of Crowle Manor in Lincolnshire, indicates that the bursar must have used unspecified roadways, and perhaps waterways, in order to visit various Lincolnshire properties owned by the abbot.¹²

Roadways and waterways in Tudor and Stuart Lincolnshire reflect the county's solidifying identity as an isolated region; its thriving agriculture, domestic industry, and community life; and its exporting enterprises and coastal trade. Gerald A.J. Hodgett identifies a number of major roads: the Great North Road; the Roman road from Lincoln to the Humber (veering off to Barton); parts of Ermine Street, with a branch to Sleaford; a road from the Humber through Louth and Spilsby to Boston; roads from Boston to Spalding, Crowland, and Market Deeping; a road from Doncaster to Lincoln via Gainsborough; and the Fosse Way between Newark and Lincoln. Travellers and exporters also used considerable water transport, notably the River Witham between Lincoln and Boston, the River Welland between Spalding and the sea, and perhaps part of the River Glen from Boston to the River Welland.¹³

In addition to the larger (though declining) ports of Boston and Grimsby, and the inland port of Lincoln, small working ports survived into the late sixteenth century at Fishtoft, Fleet, Fosdyke, Frampton, Kirton, Leake, and Wainfleet. Exporters and traders would have needed innumerable small local roads to get their goods from farm to ship or town. The many payments by towns to players from other towns in sixteenth-century records indicate extensive local travel and communication among parishes some distance apart (see p 419 below). Predictably many such payments show cultural connections between major commercial and population centres (Boston, Bourne, Grimsby, Louth, and Spalding) and smaller parishes (Frampton, Kirton, and Long Sutton, among others), indicating a high level of interaction between urban and rural populations in this essentially agricultural county.¹⁴

Social and Economic Features

Early Lincolnshire had one of the more densely populated regions of the country. David Roffe notes that Lincolnshire Domesday identifies 790 entities representing many more villages, though the nature of documents from the period makes it impossible to fix the size of the population with any certainty. Historians speculate that by the end of the eleventh century, Lincolnshire had a population of perhaps 120,000 persons. The county experienced its greatest population growth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While acknowledging that the means of arriving at exact figures are less than certain, Graham Platts tentatively estimates that in 1300 Lincolnshire had a population of perhaps 400,000, but due to the Black Death, reduced trade, climatic deterioration, and wars, the population was half that number by 1377.¹⁵ With similar caution Hodgett estimates Lincolnshire's population in 1563 as approximately 109,400 persons, and 115,767 in 1603, including 150 well-to-do families representing 1.4 per cent of the population. The principal population centres were the city of Lincoln; the eight major boroughs of Boston, Bourne, Grantham, Grimsby, Horncastle, Louth, Spalding, and Stamford; and numerous smaller market towns.¹⁶ The county's population generally expanded

between 1563 and 1723 but in complex ways. While population numbers stagnated throughout much of the county during the seventeenth century, they increased by more than fifty per cent in boroughs (excluding Grimsby), in unincorporated market towns, and in the Fens, as impoverished people migrated into towns and the Fens to find work.¹⁷

Though comprised of geologically defined regions with distinctive personalities, Lincolnshire appears to have been unified (to the extent that it was unified) by three interrelated factors: its identity as 'an overwhelmingly agricultural county' with interests in both domestic production and foreign commerce;¹⁸ its pre-Reformation religious and festive culture, whose essential features appear to have been present throughout the county (see pp 404–59 below); and the structure of civil administration by which Lincolnshire was governed. All three factors appear to have had defining influences on the county's traditional drama, custom, and ceremony, visible for example in the ubiquity of Marian motifs and the processional drama and ceremony jointly produced by church and community.

As described by Joan Thirsk and others, Lincoln had four agricultural regions. The Wolds and Lincoln Heath engaged in 'the sheep-barley husbandry of the hills' (plus wheat), supplying wool to makers of cloth in East Anglia and Yorkshire. The sparse population of this area, its grazing-farm geography, and its ready access to ports reduced the problem of poverty and brought considerable wealth to local owners of large farms. The clay-land vales had many twenty- to thirty-acre farms with meadow, pasture, and arable lands which sustained sheep, cattle, and pigs, and crops of barley, wheat, and peas. Farmers in the marshlands raised livestock and grew crops of wheat, corn, and beans. This area of the county had an ample population of farmers, 'many of whom were exceedingly rich squires and yeomen.' In addition salt production had been a major industry in the Lincolnshire marshlands from Roman times, though it died out during the sixteenth century. The fourth region, the Fens (encompassing the rich farmlands of Holland, and parts of Kesteven and Lindsey), emphasized fishing, fowling, and cattle. The Fens was a densely populated area characterized by large nucleated villages and financially comfortable farmers. It had, according to Thirsk, 'a social organization and economy' mirroring that of East Anglia's fens. The effort to reclaim land from the sea and the fenlands in Holland was a complex, long-term project with national importance. Reclamation projects had begun well before 1100 but the biggest efforts to drain the fenlands occurred between the Conquest and the thirteenth century.¹⁹

During the early Middle Ages, Lincolnshire was one of the most important producers of wool and fabric in the kingdom, for domestic and foreign consumption. Four of its important towns – Boston, Grimsby, Lincoln, and Stamford – engaged in considerable international trading of wool and cloth, both as marketing and manufacturing centres, but cloth-making and economic growth in general were over long before the Tudor period. With the imposition of enclosure laws husbandry gave way to depopulation and a use of the land for sheep pasturing during the sixteenth century; but in the seventeenth century sheep farming declined, as did the economy in general, while legal conflicts between wealthy landowners and small farmers intensified.²⁰

Such industry as there was in early Lincolnshire generally mirrored the county's agricultural identity. Maritime trade and fishing were important in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when, as Simon Pawley observes, 'Lincolnshire's coastline was dotted with small ports and

havens' and 'seagoing vessels could once be found as far inland as Lincoln, Horncastle and Gainsborough.'²¹ Considerable international trade flourished during those early centuries, especially in wool via Boston, but also with imports of timber, cloth, fish, and wine and exports of grain, cloth, and wool. Lincolnshire's powerful religious houses played an important part in the trading of salt and fish. Herring and seasonal fishing were significant as well, as at Spalding. By the fourteenth century an irreversible decline had set in, and during the fifteenth century, the port of Boston, for example, declined as foreign merchants increasingly turned southward, taking the lucrative international commerce and trade to the ports of East Anglia, London, and Southampton. By the mid-sixteenth century Lincolnshire's shipping almost entirely involved short coastal trips. Much the same could be said of its wool and cloth trade, but demand for metal goods related to agriculture never waned. During the sixteenth century and after, craftsmen such as smiths, braziers, basket-makers, and boat repairmen generally flourished; goods such as sackcloth, hemp fibre, and rush plaiting always found a market.²²

The economic and social diversity of its geographical regions notwithstanding, pre-Reformation Lincolnshire also appears to have had a distinctive, coherent religious identity and a sophisticated, if varied, culture, reflected in its communities and institutions. That coherence appears to have developed between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, when the agriculture-driven economic power and the strategic importance of the county were at their apex.

There appear to have been strong agreements and understandings between the rural and urban communities at every level. After all, farmers had to be able to get their goods to market and traders had to be able to transport and sell them. Domesday mentions only seven markets in Lincolnshire but between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries 131 markets and fairs received licences (fifty-five of them in the second half of the thirteenth century). Markets and fairs could be found in most towns and villages in and near the Fens. During the earlier Middle Ages the fairs at Boston and Stamford attracted merchants from distant English towns and cities and from abroad. A few of the large fairs lasted fifteen days but most lasted three days and were held during the summer or early autumn.²³ Such fairs and markets might of course attract itinerant entertainers of every stripe, as happened at Grimsby and Louth. As well Lincolnshire historian Clive Holmes describes a tradition of 'intercommoning' (the sharing of fields) among villages that was widespread as late as the seventeenth century; social, cultural, and economic interaction among villages and Lincolnshire's thirty-seven market towns was seemingly intensive.²⁴

Graham Platts describes a complex of commercial relationships among a number of Lincolnshire's towns, radiating out from Lincoln as "relay towns", places which developed partly as staging posts in the transportation of merchandise and produce to and from the city and county' and as 'centres of local administration which collected and dispatched revenues and dispensed justice.' In the eleventh century Lincoln and Stamford were the two premier towns in the county and the centres of trade, in part because both were located on rivers and on Ermine Street, both had burgage tenure from very early dates, and both had mints (as did Torksey). While Lincoln was the clear centre of commerce in the region, Boston was scarcely less important as a centre of shipping and trade. A taxpayers' list of 1332 shows great clusters of population in numerous towns in the fenlands of Holland and further north along Lincolnshire's coast, all of which served as important 'relay towns,' for the conveyance of goods and

produce bound for Boston. While most Lincolnshire towns ‘had a population of between 500–1,000 in the first half of the fourteenth century,’ towns such as Fleet, Moulton, Pinchbeck, Spalding, Long Sutton, and Weston, according to H.E. Hallam, had populations between 3,000 and 5,000.²⁵

The traditional commercial and social relationships among hamlets, villages, and towns appear to have survived the economic decline that Lincolnshire suffered during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; civic and parish records show local players travelling long distances to promote their fund-raising plays, and receiving support from the parishes they visited as late as 1581. But the seventeenth century saw intensifying conflict as tradesmen, corporations, and manorial lords sought, by claiming control of market tolls, customary rents, and profits from produce being sold at a time of increasing prices and growing population, to maximize their profits and assert their rights of ownership. They are extensively recorded in the records of Special Commissions and the courts of the Exchequer and Star Chamber. They were often between locals who worked the land and wealthy landowners, but conflicts among the landowners themselves were no less explosive (see, for example, the conflict between the earl of Lincoln and Sir Edward Dymoke of South Kyme, pp 269–304).²⁶

Integral to the economic, social, and religious system that gave Lincolnshire its identity as an agricultural county were the socio-religious and craft guilds. Their origin in Lincolnshire is uncertain but many of them appear to date from the twelfth century. The famous guild certificates of 1389 describe many of Lincolnshire’s religious guilds as ancient by that date and their origins as obscure. Five of Lincolnshire’s towns (Gainsborough, Grimsby, Lincoln, Stamford—during the early Middle Ages, and Torksey) were royal boroughs, and three of them developed independent town governments with mayors and councils of burgesses. Two others, Grantham and Wainfleet, incorporated during the fifteenth century. But most of the towns in Lincolnshire (Barton, Boston, and Louth, for example) were seignorial, meaning that their lord (secular or episcopal) retained ultimate power and control into the sixteenth century or beyond. In practice most of these towns had burgage tenure (the right to levy fees from occupants for land or tenement or services); they could develop a guild merchant (as at Barton, Gainsborough, and elsewhere) which functioned much as a local government. Others, as was the case at Boston until 1545, had powerful religious guilds which, in the words of S.H. Rigby, ‘could function as a “club” for leading townsmen or even as a “shadow government.”’ Such towns could not elect a mayor or appoint a council of burgesses until receiving their charter. What emerged in most towns was an odd mixture of manorial control and freedom; such towns received limited charters, obtained borough courts, and gained the power to levy money and regulate trading. In that environment local governance was conducted by the religious guilds and the guilds of artisans and craftsmen. Often religious and craft guilds, up to the dissolutions, were indistinguishable, functioning as a single entity.²⁷

Schools

The sophistication of Lincolnshire’s early culture can be seen in its schools. A.F. Leach lists

eighteen schools (four of them in Lincoln) as existing by the early sixteenth century, a total that excludes the schools in religious houses and chantries. Nicholas Orme, drawing on Leach and his own research, lists fifteen secular schools between 1066 and 1530. Although historians criticize Leach for his tendency to treat 'any and every reference to schooling as evidence of an established school which remained continuously in being down the centuries,' no one disputes his claim that 'Lincolnshire is more thickly studded with ancient schools than perhaps any other county.' Of the eighteen schools that Leach identifies three date from the twelfth century or earlier, two from the thirteenth (though a Scottish record suggests that several more existed), nine from the fourteenth, two from the fifteenth, and two from the early sixteenth century. Twelve of these eighteen earliest were grammar schools while the other six were either song schools or a combination of grammar and song, or they remain unidentified. The earliest reference to a school in the county is to the grammar school at Lincoln, which was part of the original church and first mentioned in September 1090, though in all probability it was actually instituted at a later date. Leach lists the establishment of an additional eighteen chartered schools between 1548 and 1638.²⁸

The location of the earliest schools reflects the contemporary importance of the places in which they were established, or occasionally the importance of the person endowing them. At Lincoln Cathedral a song school, grammar school, and a school for higher studies were operating by the twelfth century. Schools date from the thirteenth century at Louth (where the bishop was lord of the manor) and the early fourteenth century at Stamford. During the fourteenth century the proliferation of schools included those at Barton upon Humber, Boston, Bourne, Grantham, Grimsby, Horncastle, Partney, and Strubby, all but the latter two being among the more important towns of Lincolnshire. The cathedral chapter established a grammar school strictly for choristers during the fourteenth century. A number of these fourteenth century schools may actually have been much older. The schools endowed during the fifteenth century include a song and grammar school at Tattershall (which had a medieval college) and at Wainfleet (then an important local port). The two which appeared in the mid-sixteenth century were at Alford (begun by a private benefactor) and at Crowland (former site of an abbey). Many more schools proliferated during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.²⁹

The Church was, of course, the earliest source of formal education in Lincolnshire, led by the grammar and song schools at Lincoln Cathedral and by schools at other ecclesiastical centres, including religious houses. Bishops such as Hugh of Wells (fl. 1209–35) and Robert Grosseteste (fl. 1235–53) mandated better learning for the parochial clergy, which indirectly increased the dissemination of knowledge to parishioners, especially via preaching. These earliest schools taught a select few who were being prepared for advancement into holy orders. But increasing engagement between the Church and Lincolnshire towns appears to have been a significant factor in expanding the accessibility of education in the county. Most notably the arrival of the mendicant orders in the early thirteenth century 'coincided with a phase of urbanization in which towns developed from being primarily market centres to become above all centres of production.' The friars focused their preaching partly on the laity and developed schools not only for themselves but for the secular clergy, who in turn began to bring education

to select laity in towns and rural settings. The efforts of the friars appear to have spurred a similar zeal for education by the diocese and the towns; almost all the schools that emerged in the fourteenth century were established by the bishop or his surrogates in and for Lincolnshire's major towns, gradually bringing literacy to some of the middle classes.³⁰

Though women remain almost invisible in the records of early schools, they appear to have made major contributions to education in Lincolnshire during the Middle Ages and later. In 1400 a Matilda Mareflete is named a member of Boston's Corpus Christi guild and identified as a schoolmistress (*Magistra scholarum* in Boston). The register had referred to a male schoolmaster (without naming him) in 1367–8. Leach speculates that Mareflete was mistress of an elementary or petty school, that is, one for small children, whom Leach assumes were boys, rather than of the grammar school. Eve Rachele Sanders has shown that during the Middle Ages women held a central theological position as educators of small children, and that 'images of women learning and teaching became common features of Christian art' during that time.³¹ The presence of Mareflete also illustrates the full equity that women enjoyed as members of the guilds, a fact that appears to have been a signal feature of local religious guilds in Lincolnshire and elsewhere. It is also clear from a visitation to Nun Cotham Priory in 1531 that at least during the early sixteenth century nuns too had been teaching both boys and girls in a school within the priory walls (see p 349).

One of the most significant impacts on education came with the dissolution of the chantries in 1547. Together with related acts that followed, it shifted responsibility for, and ownership of, those local grammar schools that were operated by guilds and chantries onto governors of the towns. As Joan Simon says, 'now the policy was to strengthen the parish clergy and settle local grammar schools under boroughs or lay governing bodies.' While that shift did not immediately result in a great many new schools, it did make existing schools tuition-free and broadened their accessibility. According to Hodgett, access to basic education expanded greatly during the final twenty years of the Tudor period, with schoolmasters or teachers recorded in thirty-one townships or other places between 1580 and 1585, in thirty-three places by 1594, and in eighty-five places by 1604. Interestingly the greatest number are recorded in the affluent parts of the county (the marshlands, Fens, and Wolds). As Hodgett says, 'Lincolnshire men and women in the Tudor period showed considerable interest in education,' and Lincolnshire 'excelled most counties in educational provisions.'³²

Clive Holmes argues that changes to schools in the seventeenth century reflect changes in the contemporary notions of community, including the developing 'of market-day lectureships in certain towns' and the endowing of schools by the gentry. Schools became a matter of local pride and were assiduously governed by boards of local trustees or wardens, especially in seignorial towns, where control of schools reflected the larger civic drive toward self-governance. Schools also reflected the seventeenth-century ecclesiastical emphasis on preaching, mirroring the puritan belief that the educated clergy's work was to educate spiritually the youth of the flock. By 1607 they were doing so in sixty-two Lincolnshire villages, in addition to the many schools in towns. Though the influence of zealous clergy was thus great during the seventeenth century, it was the local gentry, as trustees of the schools and as 'local administrative and judicial agents of the central government,' who dominated education in Lincolnshire.³³

As such important institutions schools contributed to performance traditions in the county in significant and various ways from the thirteenth century onward, perhaps earlier (see pp 432–5 below).

Civil Administration

The third factor in creating the Lincolnshire identity – its civil administration – reflects a complicated political and legal environment in which a variety of powerful individuals and institutions jockeyed endlessly for advantage and control. Great landholding families governed in the county on behalf of the Crown, even as they worked to expand their own power, wealth, and holdings. Some were local lords (for example, the Dymokes and Willoughbys) who lived within the physical boundaries of the shire, and whose predecessors had done so for centuries. Others of those secular lords lived elsewhere but possessed vast manors and lands in Lincolnshire (for example, the successive earls of Derby) and claimed manorial (and greater) lord's judicial and executive prerogatives awarded by the king himself. Among ecclesiastical lords the bishop of Lincoln was a major landowner (with estates, manor houses, palaces, and a castle and town in the county), who was 'absorbed by the management of his estates, the maintenance of his position as a landed magnate, and the performance of his feudal duties, especially the giving of counsel to the king.' As Dorothy Owen notes, 'the diocesan administration, from the bishop down to the lowliest of officials, formed a vigorous, active, pervasive influence in the life of the county.' However, the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham were far larger landowners in Lincolnshire than was the bishop of Lincoln. Boundaries between the ecclesiastical and secular court systems sometimes blurred; visitation articles frequently asked whether parishes were (wrongly) permitting secular courts to meet in their local churches. Religious houses were major manorial landholders too, and abbots were lords at least as powerful in the secular administration and economic life of the county as were the bishops. Further, towns sought endlessly to free themselves (almost always incrementally and slowly) from the control of their feudal landlords, both secular and ecclesiastical, and to win the right to govern their own affairs, retain their own wealth, and conduct their own local courts. Towns were a fundamental part of the structure of civil administration in the county. The development of the medieval system of courts shifted the practical application of power from the Crown to the shire; however, the increasing use of royal itinerant judges from the twelfth century on removed much of the local judicial autonomy that had evolved. During the thirteenth century manorial lords eventually usurped authority over the hundreds and often were given effective control of the wapentakes, a trend offset in the fourteenth century by the increasing use of royal commissions. From those commissions evolved the justices of the peace and quarter sessions courts, which assumed the judicial functions of the sheriffs during the fifteenth century and lessened the powers of manorial and other courts. During the sixteenth century the manorial vill (a settlement held by the lord of a manor) gave way to the parish as the principal foundation of local governance; it is sixteenth-century parish and town records that document the growing role of those two religio-civic entities (parish and town) as patrons, sponsors, and producers of drama, music, and custom.³⁴

The ever-changing currents of power directly affected lordship in Lincolnshire. Generally existing estates survived the Conquest intact but usually with new Norman landlords, the most powerful and wealthy of them being, of course, those most closely tied to William the Conqueror. But the actual situation in the county was complex. As Graham Platts says, Lincolnshire's post-Conquest lords 'were a heterogeneous collection of individuals: local and non-resident barons and ecclesiastics, influential sub-tenants and knights.'³⁵ By the end of the twelfth century the proliferation of monasteries had made churchmen a particularly powerful group among those lords. Post-Conquest Lincolnshire had at least eighty substantial landowners. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was considerable wealth in the county, especially among a few nationally important families, and historians have identified at least thirty-six castles. But of the families who held the thirteen Lincolnshire baronies at the end of the thirteenth century (at least six of them directly descended from Norman families), many soon died out and none of them figure in the subsequent dramatic records, though places such as Kyme and Tattershall, to which they gave their names, often do. Others of the early families declined and vanished because of defeat in conflicts with the king, failure to produce an heir, or mismanagement of their wealth, including economic difficulties arising from pressures to serve the Crown as knights.³⁶

Platts describes a fourteenth-century pattern in which a hierarchy of lordship developed, creating a gulf between, on the one hand, powerful nobles (such as John of Gaunt and Henry of Bolingbroke), who were, in effect, absentee landlords, and on the other hand, local gentry who were directly engaged in the life of the county as resident landowners and local governors. With the power and wealth of the county then at its apex, these baronial families were substantial. Of the twenty-two men known to have been elected to parliament between 1386 and 1421, at least two-thirds were knights of the shire. One (Sir John Bussy) was speaker of the House four times. He and Sir Philip Tilney were successive stewards of the duchy of Lancaster. A number of the Lincolnshire MPs had additional estates in other counties and a variety of ties to the Crown. However, in the words of Carole Rawcliffe, the county 'was so large and possessed so many affluent landowners that no single family or group was able to dominate the county.' Notable among these fourteenth-century families involved in the administration of Lincolnshire, in addition to Bussy, were the Hiltons, Skipwiths, Tailboys, Tilneys, Tirwhits, and Willoughbys – some of them closely related by holdings, marriage, and other common interests. Most survived the fall of Richard II but a few did not.³⁷ Life in important castles such as those at Bolingbroke, Gainsborough, Lincoln, Somerton, Stamford, and Tattershall must have included lavish entertainments, but the records do not survive from the early centuries, with the exception of royal household accounts of King John of France during his brief sojourn at Somerton Castle in 1359–60.

By the mid-fifteenth century three members of the nobility, all major landowners and Lancastrian in their sympathies, dominated the county: John, first Viscount Beaumont, of Folkingham; Ralph, third Baron Cromwell, of Tattershall; and Lionel, sixth Baron Welles, of Belleau and Lincoln. However, everything began to change as the fifteenth century came to a close, creating an unusual social structure and political situation in Lincolnshire. First, the influence of the three dominant families died out with the arrival of the Yorkist regime: John

Beaumont died in battle in 1460; Ralph Cromwell died in 1457; Lionel de Welles was beheaded and attainted in 1461. By the later fifteenth century the vast holdings of their families had reverted to the Crown and, with the holdings of the duchy of Lancaster, made the Crown the overwhelming landlord in the county. However, the Crown was an absentee landlord, leaving Lincolnshire essentially without clear leadership early in the Tudor period. Power devolved onto the local barons, who served as bailiffs for Crown properties and effectively ran the county. Notable among the ascendant local families during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were the Disneys of Norton Disney, the Dymokes of Scrivelsby, and the Skipwiths of South Ormsby. The religious sympathies of some of these baronial families, together with their sense of importance, would later exacerbate conditions leading to the Lincolnshire rising of 1536 (see pp 382–3 below).

In the wake of the Lincolnshire rising Henry VIII permanently changed the course of civil administration and political control in the county by installing three powerful magnates: Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, at Grimsthorpe Castle; Edward Fiennes (or Clinton), ninth Lord Clinton and later sixteenth earl of Lincoln, at Tattershall Castle; and Thomas Manners, Lord Ros and third Earl of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle. All three provided patronage to players and other performers as did Brandon's wife, Katherine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk (see p 456). Hodgett identifies seven local gentry, six royal officials, and several members of the minor gentry and yeomanry who also benefited from the Dissolution between 1538 and 1540, but only two of those families (the Dightons of Lincoln and the Dymokes of Kyme and Scrivelsby) figure in the dramatic records. The one exception was John, Lord Hussey of Sleaford, generally agreed to be the most powerful man of his time in the county. Hussey's father had been lord chief justice under four English kings, and Hussey himself was a favoured minister of Henry VII, and later a senior member of the nobility during the reign of Henry VIII. In Lincolnshire, as Simon Pawley observes, Hussey held thirty estates, was royal steward for others, was chief steward of fifteen religious houses, and was the bishop of Lincoln's representative at Sleaford. It would be difficult to overestimate his power in the county. However, Hussey had fallen out of favour with Henry VIII because he had opposed the Reformation; his tepid, ambiguous response to the Lincolnshire rising of 1536 cost him his vast estates and his life.³⁸

Seventeenth-century families in Lincolnshire present a somewhat contradictory picture. On the one hand their practical and immediate involvement in the life of the county intensified. Inevitably some ancient families declined or disappeared; new families eclipsed them. Clive Holmes describes a group that were generally ostentatious, shire-focused, concerned with manners and modes of behaviour, given to feuds, intensely involved in local government as magistrates, sheriffs, and deputy-lieutenants, and, most problematically, inclined to assert their manorial rights as a way of increasing their income. This latter tendency brought them into serious conflict with towns that were equally determined to assert rights as independent boroughs. Protracted legal battles occurred in towns as diverse as Gainsborough, Louth, and Sleaford (see p 401 below). On the other hand many of those same members of the local gentry demonstrated keen interest in life outside the county, especially as it concerned life at court, the law, and the world of commerce and speculation.³⁹ Even as the local gentry's

concern with performances at court intensified (see, for example, pp 352–5 for the Armines and pp 361–2 for the Berties), their role as local patrons appears to have declined sharply during the seventeenth century, given the lack of payments to players in surviving family papers.

Diocese of Lincoln

The medieval diocese of Lincoln, then the largest in England, included land in nine counties stretching from the Thames to the Humber, and from the borders of East Anglia to the Cotswolds. The seat of the bishop was at Lincoln though he had manor houses and palaces – even a castle at Somerton in Lincolnshire – at various sites throughout his vast diocese. Originally the diocese had seven archdeacons that coincided roughly with the counties of the diocese, but in the twelfth century the diocese removed Cambridgeshire to Ely and added the archdeaconry of Stow (the west riding of Lindsey) in north Lincolnshire, giving Lincolnshire two archdeacons: Lincoln with twenty-one rural deaneries and Stow with four.⁴⁰ As Nicholas Bennett notes, with a few exceptions in ‘Lincolnshire, the boundaries of the deaneries bore a close relationship with the boundaries of the equivalent civil divisions, known as wapentakes.’ That organizational structure remained in place until the nineteenth century, though long ‘before the Reformation, rural deans were moribund and in many places practically extinct,’ and their work was taken over by archdeacons at the Reformation.⁴¹

Between 1067 and 1521 the diocese of Lincoln had thirty-two bishops, who had the almost impossible task of managing and ministering to a vast and various collection of counties, populations, and local traditions.⁴² As Dorothy Owen observes, the bishop was simultaneously the principal spiritual leader of the diocese, a major landholder, and an administrator with financial and legal obligations to the Crown. In the tenor of their responses to these inter-related duties, the individual bishops ranged from the revered St Hugh of Lincoln (1186–1200); to Robert Grosseteste (1235–53), one of the greatest intellects of the Middle Ages; to Thomas Wolsey (1514), William Atwater (1514–21), and John Longland (1521–47), appointees of Henry VIII, who carried out his mandates for change.⁴³ Given the sheer size of the diocese the bishops of Lincoln were often absent from any given county in the diocese. Perhaps in part because of that size, a complex system of administration had developed in Lincolnshire, as it did elsewhere, by the mid-thirteenth century. It used an elaborate structure of episcopal administrators who did much of the work of the diocese as the bishop’s surrogates and deputies. Among its other functions that system included a method for appeals to the papal curia, the administrative quality control of benefices, the use of local synods and visitations, an elaborate set of episcopal and archidiaconal courts, the meticulous administration of wills, and much more.⁴⁴

Although the cathedral church was, in Dorothy Owen’s words, nominally ‘the bishop’s “own” church, the “mother church,”’ and the cathedral chapter was originally designed to provide the bishop with support in carrying out his pastoral duties, in truth the chapter at Lincoln (as it did elsewhere) became a large bureaucratic household with statutory and traditionally evolved rights and privileges, giving it a certain independence from, and occasional opposition to, the bishop. As Owen says, the customary rules and organizational structure of the chapter were

in place by the twelfth century, and codified in writing by the fifteenth century.⁴⁵ The chapter ran the several cathedral schools; supplied 'administrators, lawyers, and theologians' for the diocese; came to have 'a formal and corporate place in diocesan affairs'; operated the cathedral shrines; and managed a considerable financial structure that included bequests, offerings, estates, endowments, assessments, and operating costs of the cathedral and chapter, which included a very large household indeed.⁴⁶ The chapter even had a 'grant of judicial autonomy, which virtually freed the dean and chapter, their manors and churches, and Minster Yard from all interference by the episcopal authority.' This 'ecclesiastical privilege,' as Owen says, 'was matched by a civil autonomy.'⁴⁷

Nearly all the medieval bishops of Lincoln from St Hugh forward undertook reform programs of one focus or another, whether to respond to the succession of councils and synods, to improve the quality of parochial clergy and pastoral care, or to regularize the administrative practices of the diocese. Often their efforts addressed all three. Documents occasionally record tension between bishop and chapter but more often between bishop and parochial clergy, or among officers within the chapter. Records of those conflicts sometimes provide useful glimpses into the world of traditional entertainment. See, for example, the thirteenth-century letters of Robert Grosseteste (pp 3–7, 103) and the fourteenth-century visitation by Bishop John Buckingham (p 109).

Between 1470 and 1521 the diocese of Lincoln reached the furthest extent of its unifying power and influence on the religious and cultural life of the county. In Platts' words, the pre-Reformation church 'offered a cosmological scheme,' with the parish church as its tangible focal point, that gave Lincolnshire significant social cohesion.⁴⁸ Pre-Reformation performance in Lincolnshire, as the records amply attest, certainly reflected a general and definable unanimity in matters of religious art, as, for example, the focus on the Virgin Mary in processional ceremonies and performances jointly mounted by church and town in places as distant as Holbeach, Lincoln, and Sleaford (see pp 413–17, 424–5, 427–8).

As 'spiritual noblemen' pre-Reformation bishops 'were possessed of all the trappings of authority that the church and monarchy could offer.'⁴⁹ In Lincolnshire alone, the bishop of Lincoln held ten estates, including the magnificent palace at Lincoln and his large, wealthy, estates at Louth, Sleaford, Stow.⁵⁰ In the years immediately preceding the upheavals of the 1530s he governed the spiritual care of 630 parishes in Lincolnshire's rural deaneries, and twenty more in Lincoln and Stow, plus numerous chapels and chantries. Also under his aegis in Lincolnshire, at least nominally, were fifty-one monastic foundations housing more than 500 men and women representing 'all the great orders with the exception of the Cluniac,' as well as several small dependent cells, three preceptories of the Knights Hospitaller, three secular colleges, and fifteen friaries.⁵¹ The cathedral church had fifty-eight canons, all of whom held prebends. According to Margaret Bowker, of 125 non-resident clerks nominally appointed to canonries and prebends of Lincoln between 1495 and 1520, 105 had attended Oxford or Cambridge and 'three-quarters of the graduates held higher degrees.' As well 'the resident canons of Lincoln cathedral were men of some standing,' either from prominent families or having 'risen from obscurity by obtaining a degree.'⁵² During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, as Bowker further observes, the cathedral was a major centre of

pilgrimage, instruction, and entertainment. Among other evidence cathedral accounts record visits by clergy who gathered to watch Corpus Christi plays in the close, then dined together (see, for example, p 123).

But the pre-Reformation diocese was not without problems in Lincolnshire. When he arrived in 1521 Bishop John Longland began to visit the most disobedient religious houses in the county (and throughout the diocese). He also found matters among parish clergy that concerned him: a failure by some to remain celibate, deficiencies in the level of their education, a deteriorating church fabric, and living conditions in which many clergy were 'poorly paid and badly housed.'⁵³ Conversely, in the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lincoln he found an opposite set of problems. As Stanford Lehmborg has pointed out, 'the great wealth of Lincoln is immediately apparent' and 'the revenues of Lincoln and the members of its staff were thus more than £1,000 greater than those of the second-ranking secular cathedral, Salisbury.' He reports the income of the chief officers at Lincoln as being the extraordinary amounts of £368 3s 1d (dean), £188 11s 3d (precentor), £235 10s 4d (chancellor), and £191 2s 4d (treasurer). The cathedral also received significant revenue from the shrine of St Hugh and from bequests in wills by the pious faithful. The individual income of the vicars choral, cantarists, and choristers was significantly lower than that of the officers but it was still comparatively generous.⁵⁴ While 'the canons in residence in the close at Lincoln were devoted and rarely quarrelled (and then only on matters which touched their pockets),' as Margaret Bowker puts it, the chapter was 'quite unable to control the vicars choral and poor clerks,' who often scandalized the community with their distinctly unreligious behaviour. The affluence, insularity, and power of the cathedral had generated resentment among the laity and reformers. 'The collegiate churches,' in Bowker's words, 'were giving rise to gossip.'⁵⁵

Because of well-known changes in royal policy and the religious disputes that characterize the age, the sixteenth century saw a sea change that was generally catastrophic to the bishops' fortunes, gradually extinguishing the role of the diocese – from cathedral chapter to rural parishes – as patron and producer of drama and quasi-dramatic services. The central crisis of the sixteenth century was, of course, the series of events that collectively have come to be known as the Reformation. In spite of the problems represented by the parochial clergy, Longland initially focused his efforts at reform during the 1520s mainly on the detection of heretics and on the cathedral church, instituting new statutes controlling the behaviour of the poor clerks, and on creating more fiduciary control of the cathedral's common fund. In general, though, 'the earliest stages of the Reformation affected the cathedrals relatively little,' including Lincoln Cathedral, and seem to have had no discernable impact on diocesan sponsorship of traditional religious entertainments, whether in the cathedral or in the parishes.⁵⁶

Much more serious was the suppression of smaller religious houses in 1535–6, carried out by royal commissioners and Longland. It led to the episode known as the Lincolnshire rising of 1536, generally taken to be the opening act in the much larger northern rising, the Pilgrimage of Grace. In the Lincolnshire rising townsmen, priests, and monks, inflamed by the suppression of lesser monasteries, by the imposition of levies by the government (including the so-called 'First Fruits,' a payment representing the first year's income, previously paid to the pope), and by rumours of an impending seizure of larger religious houses, began to take action. They

confronted diocesan officials, local gentry, and, most dangerously for themselves, royal commissioners. Groups set out from Caistor, Horncastle, and Louth, en route to Lincoln, intent on sacking the cathedral close and ousting or killing the officials there. Along the way they did, in fact, kill several officials who came under their control, including the bishop's vicar general. Henry VIII suppressed the rebels in rather short order. Some fifty were executed in Lincoln and London; many hundreds of others were pardoned or, in some cases, imprisoned. The violent and decisive suppression had its desired effect. While one can subsequently find many evidences of residual anti-Reformation sentiment in the county, the records offer no evidence of organized resistance (save a brief disturbance, quickly quelled, in 1558), whether by parishes, towns, or cathedral city, of the kind to be seen in, say, the diocese of Bath and Wells.⁵⁷

It was between 1536 and 1558 that the diocese experienced its greatest period of change and diminution as spiritual, administrative, and economic force, and as patron, in Lincolnshire. In the words of Felicity Heal the Reformation 'simplified the obligations of churchmen, for they now served but one master' (the Crown); bishops carried out the Crown's reformist doctrinal policies rather than those of the papacy.⁵⁸ But that new mastership brought recurring intrusions into a bishop's traditional religious and administrative jurisdiction, what Margaret Bowker calls, 'an invasion of his rights as diocesan' that also reduced his 'spiritualities.'⁵⁹ Such inroads inevitably involved money and the diocese of Lincoln, as did the others, eventually lost much of its institutional wealth to its rapacious new master. At Lincoln Cathedral the Crown required inventories in 1536 and again in 1548 of all the cathedral's jewels, vestments, and other ornaments (see p 163). In 1540 a royal commission dismantled the shrine of St Hugh and, according to Stanford Lehmborg, by June 1540 'more than 2,620 ounces of gold and 4,280 ounces of silver from Lincoln, together with numerous pearls and precious stones, were in the King's Jewel House.' The city itself eventually seized all the ornaments and properties of the great guild of St Mary to raise money for its lawsuits petitioning the Crown.⁶⁰

Of course the greatest economic loss to the diocese was the Dissolution of the monasteries. Between 1536 and 1540 the Crown seized the more than thirty religious houses and their vast properties in Lincolnshire, eventually permitting their sale to individuals and families, and the absorption of some 900 clergy into the community by various means. The recipients, as outlined by Hodgett, ranged from the most important noblemen in the county (the duke of Suffolk and the earls of Lincoln and Rutland), to prominent gentry (the Carr, Cust, Heneage, and Skipwith families, among others), to ascending members of the yeomanry (the Bellows and Dightons, among others), to royal officials. While the seizure of such massive wealth left the diocese permanently struggling to create revenue, it also 'had a profound effect upon the structure of society in Lincolnshire,' immensely enriching a secular ruling class at the expense of the church.⁶¹

While 'the services of the English church and its cathedrals remained traditional so long as Henry lived,' the economic despoliation was profound and, for the most part, irreversible.⁶² Precise amounts of ecclesiastical income for earlier periods are notoriously difficult to fix with certainty, but one set of examples provided by Heal illustrates the losses inflicted on the bishop between 1536 and 1553. In 1535 the net taxable income of the bishop of Lincoln's forty

estates throughout his diocese was reported as £1,962, making Lincoln the sixth wealthiest bishopric in the kingdom at that moment, but between 1547 and 1549, during the reign of Edward VI, the bishop lost thirty manors to the Crown and the total declared valuation of his estates fell to £1,374. Further, royal injunctions ordered changes affecting cathedral schools, ceremonial practices, and the language to be used in services. By far the greatest loss of income to the cathedral resulted from the dissolution of the chantries late in 1547.⁵⁴ This dissolution reverberated through the entire ecclesiastical and civic structures of the county, destroying the principal means for the sponsoring and producing of local traditional religious drama and the mounting of customary and commemorative celebrations.

By 1553 the bishop's estimated income from his estates had plummeted by half to £960 (as compared to £1,330 at York and £2,420 at Ely). During the reign of Mary the bishopric was vacant. With the Elizabethan Settlement 'the principle of royal control over the fortunes of the clergy became an accepted part of the pattern of the church,' and as Heal observes, unfortunately 'for the bishops, Elizabeth and her ministers did not perceive episcopal estates as a good to be conserved, wholly for the benefit of the church.'⁵⁵ That is, the loss of manorial income continued apace. Nevertheless in 1568 the level of reported income actually remained constant with that in 1553. Though diminished, the bishop apparently continued to live in relative personal wealth and comfort and, indeed, a few of the properties taken earlier were restored or, more often, replaced in the early decades of the seventeenth century.⁵⁶

On the religious level Elizabethan bishops found themselves under threat, on the one side, from resentful commoners with traditionalist sympathies who deeply resented the bishops' role in the spoliation of parish churches and the destruction of customary practices and, on the other side, from puritan reformers who despised the episcopal structure in and of itself. But although most clergy suffered financially, the diocese stabilized during Elizabeth's reign. Her injunctions restored a form of Protestant religion and as 'the Tudor age closed, the cathedrals appeared to have weathered the storm of the Reformation and to have adjusted to new circumstances without compromising their essential character.'⁵⁶ However, the decline of the diocese as sponsor of religious drama, custom, and ceremony was never reversed. Throughout the county traditional, church-sponsored entertainments declined and eventually all but disappeared during the second half of the sixteenth century, likely an indication of the direction in which religious sympathies were tending in the later sixteenth century.

The one extraordinary exception was church music. Alone among traditional forms Lincoln Cathedral's great tradition of music continued, as it does to this day. The vicars choral had survived the Reformation and the 1559 injunction of Elizabeth I (in opposition to puritan wishes) ensured that the tradition of singing men and boys would be institutionally protected. New music by William Byrd and others enriched the tradition even further at Lincoln and eventually at the Chapel Royal. Lincoln Cathedral had twelve choristers until 1560 and nine thereafter; they ranged in age from six to fourteen, and attended the grammar school between six and nine AM and one and three PM. Some former choristers eventually became poor clerks of the cathedral (for discussion of their involvement in entertainments, see pp 433–4 below). Cathedrals had always experienced difficulty in controlling their vicars choral and Lincoln was no exception. A certain notoriety had attached to the vicars choral, with problems ranging from the frequenting of taverns and drunkenness to non-attendance at services to involvement

with women. Yet a very few ascended through the ranks, one becoming a sub-dean of the cathedral. The most famous cathedral musician of them all – William Byrd (master of the choristers at Lincoln from March 1562/3 to February 1571/2) – ‘was the greatest and most prolific composer of the Tudor period.’ In its musical tradition Lincoln was undeniably distinguished among cathedrals.⁶⁷

Cities, Towns, and Villages

Lincolnshire has a number of ancient towns, located in each of the county’s four regions and advantageously situated near important roads and waterways. All towns for which records survive figure in the dramatic, musical, and customary history of the county. The unique way in which each town developed as a corporate entity appears to have had a significant effect on the way in which each town’s civic and religious entertainment traditions developed.

BOSTON

The town of Boston, in that part of the shire known as Holland, lies near the mouth of the River Witham at a spot proximate to a medieval road that ‘coming south off the Wolds joined the coastal road running through the townlands villages ... an area about four or five miles wide, lying in a curve between the tidal Wash and the inland fens.’⁶⁸ Then, as now, the Witham was a navigable waterway connecting Lincoln, as a port, to Boston and to the sea. Boston itself is situated eleven feet above sea level, adjoining rich agricultural farmlands. Most of the medieval town lay east of the river, its main street running north-south; it had both a moat and a wall, with four gates into the town.⁶⁹

Boston’s absentee lords of the manor (and the town) were members of the royal family from the time of Edward III until 1545, giving Boston both the protections and the civic and fiscal limitations attending that connection. At the time of the Conquest, William I had awarded the site on which Boston would later develop, together with other estates seized from the last Saxon earl of Mercia, to Alan the Red of Brittany. In time many of those estates, including the emerging town of Boston, became part of the honour of Richmond. In 1204 Boston received a limited charter from King John, granting it the right to choose its own bailiff and to be outside the jurisdiction of external officials. When the honour of Richmond lapsed to the Crown, Edward III granted control of Boston to his son, the duke of Lancaster, as a source of income, making the town bailiff a joint officer of the duke and of the burgesses. In 1545, aided by the advocacy of important friends at court, Boston received a charter directly from the Crown making it a free and corporate borough and conferring the entire manor of Richmond, including religious houses, guild properties, other properties, and the power to levy assessments, to the town. A mayor, twelve aldermen, and a council of eighteen burgesses replaced guild officers who had previously administered the town’s business. Between 1546 and 1553 the new town officers sold the church furniture and other possessions of the parish and guild; they used former guild properties to help establish a free grammar school in the Hallgarth or Mart Yard, where it still stands today.⁷⁰

Boston’s extraordinary growth and importance as a port, a mercantile power, and an

ecclesiastical centre had begun by the early part of the twelfth century. As S.H. Rigby says, with 'the re-opening of the Foss Dyke in 1121 Boston was placed at the entrance to a system of inland waterways giving access to the Trent, Humber, and Ouse,' and 'by the beginning of the 13th century the port was amongst the leading centres of England's overseas trade.'⁷¹ The peak of Boston's prosperity and influence occurred during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The presence of the Hansa steelyard brought trade and many Hanseatic merchants to Boston, and Lincolnshire became the foremost producer of wool in the country while Boston became a major exporter (from Torksey through Lincoln to Boston) of Lincolnshire wool to German and Flemish coasts, and of woollen cloth, sea-salt, lead, and grain from the Midlands to the continent. In the thirteenth century Boston recorded more customs duty on wool and skins than London. In turn it imported wines, cloth, furs, timber, fish, weapons, and various other goods and staples for distribution throughout the Midlands.⁷²

During the thirteenth century the many religious foundations in the area around Boston also became important contributors to the economy of the region, particularly in the exporting of wool via Boston. To facilitate their business dealings a number of monasteries purchased residential houses in Boston, as did foreign merchants. Religious orders present in Boston itself included the Dominicans (from 1222), Franciscans (from 1268), Carmelites (from 1293), and Augustinian Friars (before 1307). The Knights Hospitaller operated the Hospital of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, with almshouses and an infirmary. The rector of the parish church in 1299 was a papal nuncio. Boston's greatest fair, an eight-day event (later much expanded) at Midsummer, dates from 1200. By the thirteenth century Boston was collecting tolls and conducting local law courts. A great fire destroyed much of the town in 1281 and in 1287 rioters used the occasion of a tournament to attack the town, kill a number of people, and make off with much of the town's wealth.⁷³

In the tax valuation of 1334 Boston was among the richest towns in the kingdom, and in 1377 it had the tenth highest population, with an estimated 5,700 residents (the population would fall to a number variously estimated between 2,000 and 2,800 by 1563 but was slightly higher in 1603). During the fourteenth century Boston became a staple town, began to rebuild its great parish church of St Botolph, saw the establishment of its fourteen religious guilds, and provided residences for many foreign merchants. In 1359 it was able to furnish seventeen ships to the navy, and it paved the streets of the town in 1313 and 1320. A series of papal indulgences and privileges also made the town something of a centre of pilgrimage. A papal decree designating the Chapel of Our Lady in St Botolph's Church as a shrine of the Chapel of Our Lady of Scala Caeli meant that any worshippers visiting the chapel on feast days would receive the same remission of sins as if they had visited the chapel in Rome. The chapel in St Botolph's was one of only three comparable shrines in England.⁷⁴

From the fifteenth through the early seventeenth centuries Boston experienced a long, accumulating, economic decline. The international trade which had made Boston prosperous ceased to be important, increasingly replaced by coastal trade which provided income, if on a more modest scale. The decline in international commerce reflected the general shift of trading by international vendors to London. St Botolph's fair faded in importance as a regional commercial magnet. Other factors also hurt Boston economically: a reduction in the wool

trade, the silting up of the Foss Dyke and the River Witham, and recurring visitations of pestilence, which depleted its population. The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were no less difficult for Boston, characterized by impoverished religious houses, social and religious conflict growing out of the Reformation, the levying of royal fines because of the town's rather minor complicity in the Lincolnshire rising of 1536, widespread sickness and death caused by pestilence, bad harvests in 1587 and 1594, severe winter and floods in 1614–15, the imprisonment and trials of religious non-conformists who then fled to America as 'the pilgrims' in 1607–8, and a condition of general poverty in the town. In 1625 the town did not even hold its great fair for fear of the plague.⁷⁵ Yet an unrelieved portrait of decline oversimplifies the reality in Boston. The accounts of the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary – a guild run by the local laity – list very substantial wealth between 1514–15 and 1525–6. As S.H. Rigby observes, John Leland, in his visit in 1530, described not only decay but substantial dwellings inhabited by wealthy merchants. The Boston of the 1530s, though suffering, 'was still a major regional centre and the main market and only town of any size in one of the richest areas of early 16th century England,' in part because its participation in coastal shipping increased significantly during the sixteenth century.⁷⁶

The particular character of Boston's pre-Reformation performance traditions reflects its civic limitations as a non-chartered borough, its importance as both a commercial and an ecclesiastical centre, and the particular effects, positive and negative, of having royal landlords and a variety of others who had legal and financial claims on the town. Boston had no mayor and council until 1545 and, before that time, local religious guilds conducted much of its local business. While Boston was not officially a free borough it very much acted as one through the services of its religious guilds. The town had at least five incorporated religious guilds and ten lesser ones; its craft guilds, on the other hand, appear to have come into being (or to have attained formal status) only during the reign of Elizabeth, although the guild returns of 1389 included a guild of leatherworkers. By far the most important of the religious guilds – and one with a national and royal membership – was the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary (hereafter 'guild of the *BVM*'). In effect it functioned as the town's governing body until the town's incorporation in 1545. It collected at least £1,360 annually in gross receipts, owned and managed extensive properties in Boston and many other communities, repaired houses and river landing places and diked pastures, collected rents, ran the grammar school, produced Boston's Whitsuntide and Corpus Christi processions and entertainments, including the parading of its Noah ship, and paid professional performers, ranging from civic waits to professional acting troupes, including the king's own company. The guild's accounts, which survive for the years between 1514 and 1538–9, provide nearly all the surviving information about pre-Reformation performances in Boston.⁷⁷

The organizational structure of the guild of the *BVM*, as gleaned from the guild accounts, illustrates the guild's similarity both to a local civic bureaucracy and to a large religious house. It had three sets of officers (an alderman, two chamberlains, and two bailiffs), each of whom had his own accounts and responsibilities. The alderman was the guild's chief financial officer. The two chamberlains (one for southern parts, one for northern parts, assisted by four vice-generals) collected monies from the guild's members throughout England and Wales. The

two bailiffs collected guild rents in the Boston area and managed properties, assisted by exponditors and supervisors. In addition the guild employed two auditors of accounts, a counsel, a secretary, a registrar, ten chaplains (one of whom was the master of the grammar school), ten clerks, eight choristers, a number of poor bedesmen, a housekeeper for the guildhall, a cook, and a maker of wax. The guild made its decisions concerning loans at an assembly that may have been the forerunner of the borough council.⁷⁸

It seems odd that within a fifty-year period a town could evolve with such relative ease from a major centre of traditional Catholicism into a 'Puritan stronghold.'⁷⁹ One obvious reason for Boston's rush to Protestantism is the wish to avoid the wrath of the Crown, but Claire Cross has persuasively shown how that transformation might also be explainable partially in terms of Boston's particular historical identity. First the records from Boston's religious guilds show a thriving commitment to traditional pious Catholic practices in Boston on the eve of the Reformation. Second, unlike many comparable towns, Boston had a single parish that was coterminous with the township, so the people of Boston 'could concentrate their energies upon their single great church of St. Botolph.' Third Boston had never had to contend with great resident landlords, so the people of Boston 'could exercise a remarkable degree of urban enterprise'; their religious initiatives were 'largely lay inspired and lay dominated.' Fourth, in that context, Boston's local religious guilds became large, intricately structured administratively, and powerful; and they were run by the laity. Making use of the guilds and the local friars, residents expressed their piety and civic prominence by arranging elaborate, customized memorials for themselves that included singing, processions, sermons, and communal ceremonies. Cross speculates that the very intensity and communal nature of lay piety in Boston, which 'valued the Catholic Lenten preaching in the parish church,' may have 'progressed spontaneously to an appreciation of the sermons of Protestant ministers'; Boston's independent-thinking brand of orthodox Catholicism, fuelled by the preaching friars, had had an anti-papal flavour well before the Reformation. With the elaborate administrative organization of the guilds, Boston had in place a system of local governance that provided a model for organized and pious civic government and facilitated 'the transition from a religion of sacraments to a religion of the word' when the guilds were abolished. In Cross' words the oligarchy of Boston 'looked to the outward performance of religion as an expression of corporate unity.' She sees the unlikely shift that occurred in the sixteenth century as a reflection of the fact that 'religion in Boston over the course of the century remained the chief vehicle for the public expression of corporate values, the community at prayer.'⁸⁰

GRANTHAM

The ancient borough of Grantham lies in a valley below the limestone ridge that runs north-south in southwest Lincolnshire. Three factors made Grantham a significant place in the life of the country from very early times: its geographical position near Ermine Street (the ancient Roman road) and on the Great North Road; its administrative and legal powers as a soke, a royal demesne, and eventually a free borough; and its status as a trading centre. Its early local records are few but sufficient to show the presence of civic waits (an indicator of a town's

corporate identity) and religious guild-sponsored customs similar to those in other Lincolnshire boroughs, such as Boston, Lincoln, and Louth.⁸¹

At Domesday Grantham was a Saxon royal manor, described as having 111 burgesses. Though still but a small town, it was also a soke of considerable size. In 1205 King John gave both the place and the soke to William de Warenne, earl of Surrey. In 1312 a commercial charter made Grantham a town, freeing its burgesses from manorial services for properties that they held in the town and confirming their right to have an alderman, though the market and its rents remained the lord's. In 1347 the lordship reverted to the Crown. In 1463 a charter of incorporation from Edward IV made Grantham a free borough with the right to sue, to make by-laws, to elect aldermen and burgesses, and to have a guild merchant and commission of peace, among others, thereby giving it Yorkist connections. A charter of 1484 granting the borough its own fair (in the fifth week of Lent) and market made it a commercial rival to the lord of the manor, and a succession of sixteenth-century charters confirmed the earlier ones. In 1604 James I licensed a wool market for relief of the poor and established a weekly court, another blow to the declining manorial court and its system. In 1631 a charter from Charles I further articulated the borough's rights and governing structure. Its first surviving corporation minute book dates from 1633, shortly after that charter of 1631.⁸²

Though never a large place Grantham was one of the 'five centres of population' in the county before 1300, and one of nine such centres in the sixteenth century, though the numbers of its citizens fluctuated. Peter Clark and Jean Hosking estimate that its population was *c.* 1,350 in 1563 and 1,510 in 1603. Graham Platts estimates that it was *c.* 1,500 in 1548.⁸³ Its population at Domesday has been estimated at 1,000, but in the decades after the fourteenth-century plagues it appears in records as a 'very small' town, with a population of between 250 and 500 citizens.⁸⁴ During the seventeenth century, as the town's mercantile importance grew, local officials complained of the great numbers of poor people who had come into the town from elsewhere. Grantham derived its early wealth from the wool and cloth trade and from traffic via the Great North Road, as well as from iron-working and some connection with commerce related to the salt-making trade. However, in time the main parts of its wealth came from agriculture and its role as a regional market centre; Grantham had a merchant community by the fifteenth century, and both victualling and leather-related industries.⁸⁵

Grantham had a school by the fourteenth century. In 1528 the bishop of Winchester established a free grammar school on the north side of the churchyard in a large stone building. In 1553 a charter from Edward VI refounded the school, endowing it from properties formerly belonging to the guild of the Holy Trinity. In 1571 an Elizabethan charter confirmed the school's foundation.⁸⁶ Before the Conquest Grantham had been what Dorothy Owen describes as an 'old minster' or 'mother church.' Unlike many towns of similar size, medieval Grantham had a single parish church, dedicated to St Wulfram and built mainly during the fourteenth century, but the parish itself was very large, encompassing Grantham, nine villages, and two vicarages. Local religious guilds maintained at least eight chantries (local historians disagree as to the exact number) within the town, including Corpus Christi, St John Baptist, St George, the Blessed Virgin, Holy Trinity, St Peter, St Catherine, and Thomas Becket, plus nine more in the deanery of Grantham. B. Street says that the town also had a guild of wool-staplers,

though whether it was a religious or a craft guild is unclear from what he says. The Grey Friars founded a priory in Grantham in 1290 and records mention a hospital in 1462–3, referred to in 1497–8 as St Leonard's Hospital. Grantham celebrated its feast of dedication with a fair and the town appears to have sponsored a big Corpus Christi procession that was similar to Boston's, though few details survive.⁸⁷

GRIMSBY

The ancient coastal town of Grimsby, situated near the mouth of the River Humber, is known for its presumed Danish origins and for its historic involvement in the coastal fishing trades.⁸⁸ Grimsby lies on flat land bordered east and west by marshlands, and during the early Middle Ages it was connected with the rest of Lincolnshire by only one road.

Grimsby is one of the oldest boroughs in the county. Documents refer to it as a borough in 1162 and to its burgesses in 1189; according to S.H. Rigby the borough of Pontefract used the borough customs of Grimsby as a model for its own in 1194. A series of limited charters gave it the ability to function as a free borough in all but name by the beginning of the thirteenth century. In 1201 two charters from King John gave it a weekly court, a fifteen-day annual fair starting on 25 May, and a number of other legal and economic prerogatives. It obtained the permanent right of the fee farm of Grimsby in 1205–6 – a right reaffirmed by a charter in 1227. It also had two bailiffs by 1212 and a mayor by 1216 (perhaps as early as 1202). It received further economic privileges for its burgesses in 1258 and a charter confirming and articulating its medieval liberties in 1319. Although Grimsby did not receive 'a formal charter of incorporation until the reign of James II,' it enjoyed 'a de facto incorporation following a legal judgement of 1467–8 whereby those towns which held at fee farm were henceforth to be regarded as incorporate.'⁸⁹ So, Grimsby was an important Lincolnshire town from very early times.

Grimsby's economy had always been built upon the activity of its port. During the Middle Ages Grimsby engaged in some overseas trade with the Baltic, East Prussia, Norway, and the Low Countries, plus some with Hanseatic and French interests, but much more important was its coastal, river, and inland trade along the Humber. As Edward Gillett observes, the town was more involved in the trading of fish than in ocean fishing itself. Grimsby exported great amounts of fish and corn to the north, while importing coal from Newcastle upon Tyne, as well as wine, timber, oil, tar, and cloth from the continent (during the thirteenth century). Piracy, no less than commerce, also flourished in Grimsby, some by its own men, some against them. Grimsby continually struggled with deterioration of the town, the silting up of its port haven, and competition from bigger port towns. Following its early prosperity it experienced a long economic decline that continued from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries; Gillett estimates that its population shrank from 2,000 in the late thirteenth century to 1,000 or fewer in 1491, to even fewer in 1591. Clark and Hosking estimate a population of 730 in 1563, and 750 in 1603. It was never the commercial equal of bigger and better positioned east coast ports but its importance as a supplier of goods and services to the towns and villages in its own area never diminished.⁹⁰

The structure of local governance in Grimsby also developed early. Its borough court (awarded in 1201) became the 'centre of Grimsby's political and administrative life' in that the town's elected officials also served as the officers of the court. Grimsby had a 'mayor, two bailiffs, two chamberlains, two coroners, four quartermen, the common clerk, three sergeants, and a variety of other officials,' most of whom held parallel positions in the judicial process.⁹¹ Grimsby had resident artisans representing more than twenty trades during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most of them, as might be expected, in the textile, victualling, and building trades, but there is no evidence of craft guilds until a single reference to a Tailors' guild in 1507. The one exception is the Mariners' guild (reflecting Grimsby's chief industry), which seems to have combined the qualities of a craft and a religious guild. It maintained an altar in St Mary's Church; buried drowned mariners in that church, which was known as the mariners' church; and kept a pageant ship before the plough light in the church, parading the ship through the town in solemn procession on Plough Monday. Thus the local governing authority apparently faced no competition for that authority. S.H. Rigby has shown that while the town could partition itself in several ways for purposes of taxing, assessing, policing, or electing (by quarters, divisions, parts, jurisdictions, or parishes), those divisions in no way lessened the central governing powers of the borough court. Therefore, Grimsby seems to have enjoyed a considerable sense of itself as a single community governed by a single burghal oligarchy standing together on its behalf against competing external interests.⁹²

Those external economic interests – institutional and personal – were considerable. The Abbey of St Olaf and St Augustine in Wellow, a significant local landowner, periodically obtained 'confirmations of its possessions and liberties,' and had conflicts with the town over milling, water flow, rates, and corn and produce markets.⁹³ A number of important noble families, notably the Nevilles (earls of Westmorland), Scropes, Willoughbys, Tunstalls, and del Sees – held properties in or near the town; others – Sir John Neville, Lords Ros and Tailboys, and Sir John Newport – had ships at Grimsby and tried to extract every financial advantage from the town. Conflict with Ralph Neville, second earl of Westmorland, over payment of rent for the fee farm was expensive during the second half of the fifteenth century. The right to collect rent from the fee farm had descended circuitously from Queen Eleanor (1275 to 1304), to Neville (1460s through 1484), to Thomas Darcy (early 1500s). Westmorland's claims finally forced the town to threaten to return all its rights to the Crown rather than pay the earl's demands, eventually forcing his successor, the third earl, into a compromise between 1487 and 1489. Others of the gentry attempted to fill the borough court and mayoralty with their own men (and often succeeded in doing so). These struggles with external forces continued through the sixteenth century.⁹⁴

Grimsby had four other religious houses, in addition to the abbey at Wellow: the Augustinian nunnery of St Leonard (from *c* 1184), the Grimsby Grey Friars (before 1240), the house of the Augustinian Friars (1293), and the hospital of St Mary Magdalene (by the thirteenth century). It had two parishes: St James, which included two-thirds of the town and fields, had a grand fourteenth-century church, and was the principal parish of the town; and St Mary, which encompassed the rest of the town. St Mary's parish church (called the mariners' church) disappeared before the seventeenth century and the two parishes merged in 1586.⁹⁵

LINCOLN

Lincolnshire's historic county and cathedral city of Lincoln is built on the limestone ridge known as the Lincoln Edge, which runs north-south along the western side of the county. The city lies at a point on the ridge called the Lincoln Gap, a cleft in the ridge through which runs the River Witham and where the Fosse Way and Ermine Street (two of medieval England's four great roads) meet. These navigational arteries, together with other roads and two additional waterways (the Car Dyke and the Foss Dyke), made Lincoln a place of prime strategic and economic importance during the earlier period of its history.⁹⁶

In about AD 47 the Roman ninth legion established an outpost and eventually a colonia at Lincoln, perhaps displacing or conquering and merging with a British settlement on the site. Based mainly on the evidence provided by coins the Romans appear to have stayed until at least the end of the fourth century. The period from the fifth through the eleventh centuries is even more obscure, but the Anglo-Saxons seem to have settled in Lincolnshire by the seventh and eighth centuries, and during the ninth century were themselves being repeatedly assailed by the invading Danes. The tenth and eleventh centuries appear to have seen a blending of English and Scandinavian populations, with the former gradually absorbing the invaders into English culture, while in turn integrating important elements from the latter, ranging from vocabulary to legal practices. Aside from a fragment of Roman sculpture depicting a young athlete and the possibility that the Romans built a theatre in the city, the documented performance history of Lincoln begins in the thirteenth century.⁹⁷ It is from that period through the interregnum on which this overview concentrates.

One way to understand the history of Lincoln for the period with dramatic records is via its three interrelated centres of power: the Crown and the nobility; the bishops, cathedral chapter, and other religious foundations; and the burgess and merchant community. The three are symbolically represented, with unusual visual clarity, in the castle and the cathedral close (proximate to each other atop Steep Hill in the old city), and the guildhall (at the bottom of Steep Hill near the River Witham and the Foss Dyke in the lower part of Lincoln). Records indicate that all three – sometimes in concert with each other – generated notable performance traditions from the early Middle Ages on.

Within five years of his victory at Hastings, William the Conqueror ordered the building of a castle at Lincoln and in other select eastern cities, at a moment almost simultaneous with the creation of a huge new diocese that was to have Lincoln as its seat (see pp 380–5 above). From at least the early twelfth century the bishops of Lincoln supplied knights for the defense of the castle. However, the constablership of the castle, and the shrievalty of the county, descended through a succession of Norman lords and their families from the de la Hayes and de Canvilles to Earl Henry de Lacy (which 'brought the constablership of Lincoln Castle to the earldom of Lincoln') to Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby. In 1344 the Crown granted Lincoln a licence to hold tournaments annually and named Derby captain of the knights for life. An open space beside the castle known as the Battleplace is the earliest identified outdoor playing place in Lincoln, evolving over time from use for trials by combat to tournaments to recreations by the townspeople. With the marriage of the earl of Derby's daughter to John of Gaunt, Lincoln and

its castle became part of the duchy of Lancaster. There is no record that tournaments were still being held on the site by that date.⁹⁸

The minster parallels the castle as a centre of power in Lincoln. Whether there had been a Saxon minster at Lincoln is a matter of dispute, but the history of the modern minster began when William named Remigius the first Norman bishop at Lincoln and gave him grant of land on which to build a church and a religious community. Remigius had built the first minster church by 1092 but it was damaged by fire in 1145 and essentially destroyed by an earthquake in 1185. The building of the present cathedral began in 1192 under St Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, and was completed during the early fourteenth century, with additions thereafter and renovations that continue to the present day. A bishop's residence existed by the early twelfth century and the medieval bishop's palace (now a ruin, destroyed by royalists during the Civil War) dates from the thirteenth century.⁹⁹ Dramatic records for the dean and chapter far exceed those for the castle, and performances of religious drama, custom, and ceremony in the cathedral appear to have influenced parish religious drama in towns throughout the county, most clearly documented at Boston, Holbeach, Louth, and Sleaford.

Lincoln, of course, had many other religious institutions as well. Hill estimates that the medieval city and its suburbs had forty-six parish churches, forty-three of which 'were in being by the middle years of the twelfth century,' and that 'not fewer than thirty-five of them were founded by 1100.'¹⁰⁰ Most of the parishes were small and poor, and in 1549 the Act of Union reduced the number of parishes to nine (not counting those in the bail, close, and suburbs atop the hill), their churchyards now averaging a half-acre in size. Of the many medieval churches only three survive – all in the lower suburb of Wigford. Hill speculates that the church of St Peter may have been the foundational church of the city, since it is built near the mootstone, where the earliest civic courts were held. The city also housed a number of other religious foundations, including chapels, hospitals, priories, friaries, and chantries. Lacking early records for the parishes and religious houses there survive but a few traces of evidence confirming their contributions to performance and traditional culture in Lincoln. In 1393–4 wrestling matches judged by the dean of the cathedral chapter were held by St Giles' Hospital on Wragby Road (see p 109). In 1280 Oliver Sutton, an earlier dean of Lincoln, had 'assigned' St Giles' Hospital 'and its revenues to the vicars choral of the cathedral,' so the wrestling there was clearly an annual fund-raising entertainment for the hospital sanctioned by the chapter.¹⁰¹ The St Martin's churchwardens' accounts of 1572–4 refer to a maypole in that parish, but it is otherwise impossible to know much more about parish entertainments in Lincoln.

Historically the city (at least the settlement at Lincoln) predated both the castle and the cathedral chapter, and it surpassed both in its recorded sponsorship of drama, music, and ceremony. Lincoln had a mercantile settlement before the Conquest and a burgess community by 1053–5, neither of which seems to have been disrupted or uprooted by the conqueror's new rule. Hill estimates that Lincoln had 'a population of 6,350 persons at the time of the Conquest,' though it dropped somewhat during the following two decades.¹⁰²

The earliest civic institution in Lincoln appears to have been the court of 'burwarmote' (the weekly moot or assembly of the burgesses, originally an open-air court, eventually held before the mayor and sheriffs in the guildhall). During the twelfth century Lincoln secured a

number of charters from Henry II granting it the right to elect its own bailiff, to control the farm of the city, to monopolize foreign trade within the county, and to operate the city's guild merchant. During this century the city's population was about 7,000 and craft guilds were present in the town, though sometimes independent from it. By this time an oligarchy of important citizens already effectively controlled the affairs of the city.¹⁰³

Lincoln's institutions experienced further significant development during the early thirteenth century. Charters from King John confirmed that the city would thereafter have a mayor (first mentioned in 1206) as opposed to an alderman (the new term's appearance coinciding with the city's emerging sense of itself as a legal corporation), a council of twenty-four burgesses (a ruling class of landowners and money men), four coroners, two provosts or bailiffs, four beadles, two notaries, and a common seal. Later thirteenth-century charters confirmed and augmented many of the city's traditional rights to levy taxes and control commerce. By the late thirteenth century the essential structure and character of civic governance in Lincoln were set, and subsequent charters during the fourteenth century (depending on contemporary events) tended to confirm, augment, restore, or formalize rights and privileges that the city already enjoyed. The one notable change occurred when Edward I named Lincoln a staple town in 1326, a designation that was subsequently removed to Boston. The most important civic changes during the fifteenth century came via a letter patent by Henry IV granting Lincoln the right to elect two sheriffs (rather than two bailiffs) and to be called the county city of Lincoln. Its mayor was also to serve as the king's escheator. The city would thereafter have county courts, city courts, four justices of the peace, a new fifteen-day fair from 17 November, and other financial privileges designed to address the economic difficulties that it was then suffering.¹⁰⁴ As Hill says, the 'oligarchic character of the corporation was firmly established by the end of the medieval period; it was stereotyped by the charter of Charles I; and its essentials remained the same until 1835.'¹⁰⁵

However, the historical development of Lincoln's civic institutions was anything but smooth and linear in its progress. Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries Lincoln found itself being directly affected by national events. Monarchs visited many times, in peace and war: Henry I in 1108–9; Stephen in 1140–1 and 1144 (attacking the city) and 1146 (celebrating Christmas there); Henry II in 1155 and 1157; John in 1200, 1212, and 1216 (twice); Edward I in 1301 (parliament met there); Edward II in 1316 (parliament met twice there); Edward III in 1327 (parliament met there); Richard II and Queen Anne in 1387; Henry V in 1421; Henry VI in 1445–6; Edward IV in 1461; and Richard III in 1483. The extent and certainty of Lincoln's civic liberties ebbed and flowed with the changing fortunes of those monarchs, the local nobility, and the gentry.¹⁰⁶

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Lincolnshire was, in the rather stark words of Francis Hill, a remote, vast, and isolated place that was 'a long and dreary way from London,' a three-day trip by horseback from the capital, on roads that were often flooded.¹⁰⁷

Hill describes much of Lincolnshire society as insular and inclined to suspicion, even hostility, toward non-natives. The governing classes tended to settle in the south and southwest regions of the county, near the great roads and on less marshy ground. In Lincoln the most important local figures either represented the duchy of Lancaster, the duke of Suffolk, the

earl of Rutland, or the dean and chapter, all of whom had major financial and proprietary interests within the city, or they simply came from ancient local families. Thomas and Vincent Grantham, for example, descended from 'one of the great families of wool merchants at Lincoln in the fifteenth century.' George St Poll of Lincoln, Louth, North Carleton, and Snarford was counsel to the duke of Suffolk. Thomas Farrar served as secretary to the earl of Rutland. Other resident notables included Richard Clark, Robert Dighton, and Thomas Moigne (executed for his role in the Lincolnshire rising). As did their counterparts among the peers and knights, the families in Lincoln tended to intermarry among themselves and otherwise to forge mutually beneficial alliances.¹⁰⁸

As to Lincoln itself Hill offers ample evidence that the city was in a state of economic and physical decay. Its prosperous wool trade had vanished, its coffers were depleted, and its civic and guild administrative structures had become ineffective. But in the years preceding the Lincolnshire rising of 1536, aided by Thomas Wolsey with some sympathy from the Crown, the city was also undertaking major efforts to revive itself. It obtained new charters for the corporation and its craft guilds. Civic minute books show that early in the century the city reconstituted its traditional civic ceremonies and rituals, and the processions and plays related to St Anne Day. It also began, with limited success, to challenge the fee-farm rent which the Crown had alienated to the Lords Ros (future earls and dukes of Rutland at Belvoir Castle).¹⁰⁹

But there is no doubt that the rising in 1536 and its aftermath 'wrought havoc on the city.' The immediate cause of the rising was the appearance of ecclesiastical commissions near Louth to continue the confiscations of religious properties and wealth that had begun with the dissolution of religious houses. The rebels sought to stop those seizures but once the rebellion had been quickly and violently suppressed, the dismantling of religious foundations continued. In Lincoln all religious houses and cells were surrendered to the Crown, and in 1540 the Crown inventoried and seized the minister's jewels, plates, and copes (including those for boy bishops).¹¹⁰ Through the final years of Henry's reign 'Lincoln lay under the shadow of the rising.'¹¹¹

Powerless to stop the rapine by the Crown – a process facilitated by the chantries act of 1547 – the city used seizures of its own to protect local wealth as best it could. Civic officials stripped and dismantled many parish churches and reduced the number of parishes in the city. To cover expenses they seized all guild plate from the guild of St Anne (the entity responsible for the processions and pageantry on St Anne Day) and of the defunct great guild of St Mary, in hopes of saving those goods from confiscation by the Crown. Yet the guild shows continued to be produced. When Mary took the throne in 1553 the council ordered that St Anne's guild produce a Corpus Christi play and the procession on St Anne Day (see p 180).¹¹²

During the reign of Elizabeth the city continued its striving to restore its economic status as a staple city (one with the exclusive royal right to purchase certain goods for export for the region), and to secure other financial prerogatives. As part of that project, in the wake of the Statute of Artificers in 1563, the city exerted increasing control over apprenticing and other matters related to the quality and uniformity of practices by the companies (successor name of the craft guilds). And the city did indeed accrue some new wealth during the 1560s and 1570s. But the later sixteenth century was economically difficult, exacerbated by the successive outbreaks of plague (in 1586, 1590, and 1599) that devastated the county's population.¹¹³

It was a no less difficult time in matters of religion. The harsh suppression of dissent in 1536 had taken away the taste for overt rebellion against the Crown in matters of religion in Lincolnshire. But during the second half of the sixteenth century religious governance in Lincoln, under the control of strong protestant bishops and archdeacons installed by Elizabeth, evolved into a seemingly perpetual contest between two factions, a conservative party (inclined toward tolerance of traditional customs and practices), and a reformist party (fiercely opposed to the church hierarchy and increasingly insistent that the letter of behavioural laws be observed). Successive decades saw increasing enforcement concerning attendance at sermons and abstemious observance of the sabbath. A kind of standoff developed during the 1580s and 1590s, the conservatives perceived (especially during the late 1580s) as posing some threat to a state that was fearful of recusancy and the possibility of foreign invasion; the reformists causing perpetual irritation to the hierarchical structure of the state-organized church of Elizabeth.¹¹⁴

The state of the county (and of Lincoln) during the first four decades of the seventeenth century could be described as an increasingly poisonous mixture of religion, politics, and economic decline culminating in the Civil War. Quite simply it was a time of violent contention between polarized groups of men. In matters of religion, although the county had many recusants and non-conformists, the real battle increasingly lay between Puritans and royalists. The county's gentry, many of whom had been appointed or elevated by James I, became overwhelmingly and powerfully Puritan in their sympathies, and opponents of James' son, Charles I. They faced opposition, of course, from Bishop Richard Neile (1614–17) and Bishop John Williams (1621–41). In Lincoln the most powerful puritan advocates for the city were Sir Thomas Grantham and Theophilus Clinton, nineteenth earl of Lincoln, often in opposition to the earl of Rutland, then lord lieutenant of Lincolnshire. The battles often focused in whether reformist preachers would be hired and permitted to preach. Politically and economically the city sought to restore the all-important wool trade, and to de-silt the Foss Dyke waterway to the River Trent. It faced outbreaks of the plague in 1610, 1625, and 1630; vagrancy and an influx of poor seeking to escape the famine then afflicting the countryside; and rising prices and the failure of corn and other crops. Anger toward the Crown concerning successive levies of ship-money between 1634 and 1636 also contributed to the general unrest.¹¹⁵

LONG SUTTON

Early Long Sutton was a small but important market and manorial town. It is situated near the Wash in southeast Holland on some of the richest farmland in England. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, southeast Holland became an area of extensive reclamation, and the entire region, including Long Sutton, became a key element in England's wool trade with the Flemish cloth industry. The area also developed a rich local social and religious culture as the dramatic records in the Long Sutton churchwardens' accounts (and those of nearby towns) make clear (see pp 425–6).¹¹⁶

In many ways the history of early Long Sutton is the history of its manor. The manor of Sutton Holland (which predated the Conquest and was very large) descended from Colswain to the Norman Robert de Haye and his descendants. In 1202 a charter from King John awarded Gerard de Canville (then lord) the right to hold a fair on Fridays. In 1252 a charter

from Henry III awarded William Longsword a weekly market on Thursdays, to be held at the manor of Sutton; a four-day fair, 23–6 July; a Friday market at Lutton; and a four-day fair, 5–8 July, at the manor of Swaton. Sometime thereafter, the manor of Sutton descended to the dukes of Lancaster and the earls of Lincoln, becoming part of the honour of Bolingbroke (near Spilsby), itself part of the duchy of Lancaster. In 1296 the manor, now held by Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, was the most valuable of his nineteen manors, its receipts that year being £501, its expenditures £57. The manor now had a weekly market on Wednesdays and a fourteen-day fair in July. Eventually John of Gaunt became lord of the manor, which with the coronation of his son Henry IV reverted to the Crown.¹¹⁷

Subsequent royal actions through the early seventeenth century continued to reaffirm Long Sutton's identity as a manorial borough. Edward IV granted the manor to his wife, Elizabeth Woodville, in 1468. A charter by Mary in 1553 renewed manorial rights to the duchy of Lancaster, reaffirming both the rights and obligations of the residents. A survey in 1600 referred to the Queen's Highway from Sutton to King's Lynn and restated many manorial customs, including a fair on St James' Day, courts leet and baron, and the manorial officers.¹¹⁸

As happened in many other seignorial boroughs that were prevented from developing the self-governing structures of a free borough, Long Sutton's identity and its religious, social, and civic life seem to have centred in its religious guilds and parish church of St Mary, which became the central meeting place for activities both secular and religious. Even secular courts were being held within the church walls in 1361. In the early sixteenth century references in churchwardens' accounts to its numerous lights (rood, plough, yeomen's, maidens', St Anne, St James, St Catherine, St Christopher, Holy Ghost, and Our Lady of Grace) indicate intense activity by local religious guilds.¹¹⁹ Long Sutton's huge and very fine stone church of St Mary has an early thirteenth-century tower and spire, a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century building, and a late Norman nave. Its octagonal spire is 'renowned as the oldest and most perfect example of its kind in existence.'¹²⁰ It also has 'one of the finest Fenland Churchyards.' Together with the churches at Gedney, Holbeach, and Tydd it was built on a common ridge, affording some protection from the sea.¹²¹

LOUTH

Louth is a thriving market town attractively situated in a valley near the small River Lud, at a point where the agriculturally rich Wolds meet the marshlands. It has always been the major town in the area and is traditionally known as the capital of the Wolds. Louth may have been a Saxon minster and by the time of the Conquest it had a market and a population of about 600 persons. Like Sleaford, during the Middle Ages it was a seignorial borough owned by the bishop of Lincoln, but unlike Sleaford it obtained a charter of legal incorporation in the mid-sixteenth century. That charter provided for, among other things, a governing structure of townspeople, the right to hold lands in mortmain up to the annual value of £40, a confirmation of its court of piepowder, the founding of a grammar school and the right to raise funds for it, a confirmation of its two weekly markets and three annual fairs (and a transfer of their revenues from the bishop to the borough), and the creation of a third market for cattle.¹²²

Early Louth seems always to have been prosperous and well-populated for several reasons.

According to Platts 'it may have been the bishops' influence that saw Louth develop as the main town on the Wolds,' an 'area clearly dominated by Louth' as a transportation link for goods and produce with Lincoln. Louth also lay 'very close to Lincolnshire's most prosperous wool-producing region' and had a number of 'merchant capitalists.' Platts estimates its population before the Black Death as around 1,000, a number replenished after the plague by wool and cloth workers who moved in from the countryside. The population of its parishes was 2,100 in 1603; the population of the town was 1,280 in 1662, indicating a likely significant decline. Louth seems to have been a town with many skilled artisans and tradesmen.¹²³ The town and parish undertook important building projects during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, most notably the completion of the impressive parish church of St James. So Louth had the material means to support complex religious and civic performances.

Louth also appears to have had a rich and literate culture. It may have had a school for clerks by the twelfth century; it certainly had a schoolmaster in 1276 and a grammar school by the fourteenth century. The patent roll observes that 'the town of Louth, Linc., is a place very suitable for the teaching of boys and youths, being very populous and having been heretofore a great resort of boys and youths from the neighbouring towns to obtain teaching.'¹²⁴ The local religious guilds all contributed to the financial needs of the school. Louth had seven religious guilds, the two most important being St Mary and Holy Trinity. St Mary guild (1329) was apparently the most important of the Louth guilds. It had an alderman, a dean, four quartermen, three chaplains, singing men, properties, and a guildhall that was also used as a town hall, and which other guilds rented. Holy Trinity guild (1376) had the same administrative structure as St Mary guild, plus a common seal, revenue-producing properties, a bedehouse, and a guildhall. The lesser guilds, who financed lights in the church, included Corpus Christi (1326), Twelve Apostles (fourteenth century), St Swithun, St Peter, and St George (youngest of the guilds). Other lights in the church included a Weavers' and Fullers' light, an Easter Sepulchre light, and a plough light, perhaps collectively implying the presence of additional guilds.¹²⁵

Louth suffered considerably during and after the Reformation. In 1538 strong local reaction to the seizures of religious houses and properties, together with anger arising from the levying of new taxes by the Crown, led to the open rebellion (initiated at Louth) known as the Lincolnshire rising. Rebels, including local clerics, seized a number of secular and ecclesiastical officials and killed several of them. The resultant royal response was a swift and bloody suppression of the uprising. Eventually the lands of Louth Park Abbey seized by the Crown made their way into the hands of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and of London merchants Roger and Robert Taverner.¹²⁶ Though stripped of its medieval guilds in 1547 Louth began its gradual emergence as an independent borough shortly thereafter. In 1551, although the bishop remained lord of the town, a charter from Edward VI awarded the warden and six assistants of Louth Grammar School the governorship of both the school and the town, including control of its markets, tolls, former guild lands, and three fairs (on the third Sunday after Easter, and the feasts of St James and St Martin).¹²⁷

A 1564 charter from Elizabeth I gave the town the manor of Louth and its manorial courts, which had belonged to the bishop. A 1605 charter gave the wardens the right to act as justices

of the peace, to administer the town and its markets, and to appoint civic officers. In 1608 the town received the right to conduct perambulations and to levy taxes and assessments. In 1640 a set of civic ordinances that the town enacted illustrate the extent to which the freedom of the borough was by then irreversible and complete.¹²⁸

STAMFORD

The town of Stamford is one of Lincolnshire's ancient boroughs and a stone town of uncommon visual charm. It also holds an important place in the county's early history. Stamford lies in the southwest corner of Lincolnshire where the limestone ridge known as the Jurassic Way intersects with the River Welland. It is situated 'at the centre of a wide and varied region, with rich fenlands to the east, forest and heathland to the south and north, and the fertile central lowland plains not far away on the west.'¹²⁹

Stamford was a settlement before 918 because in that year the West Saxon king, Edward the Elder, attacked the Danish settlers there and built a fortress of his own. Stamford became one of the Five Boroughs of the Danelaw in the century before the Conquest. By 940 Stamford had a mint (until the twelfth century) and had become a centre for iron-working and pottery making. In 1066, according to Martin Smith, it had 412 messuages, four churches, and a population between 2,000 and 3,000. Stamford was a royal borough until 1156 (and for a few years in the thirteenth century), with several other landlords as well, all of whom had royal ties, but the town was relatively free to develop as a self-governing borough. By 1086 the town had six wards and in 1202 King John confirmed its borough customs. In 1313 Stamford obtained the rights to market tolls and to elect the town's alderman and in 1462 it received its charter of incorporation as a free borough from the Yorkist king Edward iv.¹³⁰

Stamford reached 'the height of its glory,' as Rogers calls it, between the twelfth and early fourteenth centuries when its population grew to between 5,000 and 6,000. 'It was on trade,' he writes, 'that Stamford's greatness was built,' especially the wool and cloth trades, pottery, iron-working, agriculture, and markets. Its two- to three-week, mid-Lent fair was one of the important fairs in England; wealthy merchants settled in Stamford and built great halls out of the local stone for which the area is famous. The medieval town had fourteen parish churches, six non-parochial chapels, three wealthy religious houses, settlements by the four mendicant orders, several schools, and five hospitals. It attracted travellers and visitors great and small and became a centre for sanctioned tournaments.¹³¹ Stamford had at least ten medieval religious guilds. The two most important appear to have been the guild of the Assumption (probably 1210) and the guild of Corpus Christi (1350); the former was 'the oldest and the wealthiest' of Stamford's guilds and the forerunner of the borough corporation. St Martin's guild, associated with the church of the same name, sponsored the annual bull-running.¹³²

The mid-fourteenth through early seventeenth centuries are usually described as a period of relative economic decline resulting 'from war and piracy, from silting and from changes in the patterns of trade,' especially in wool and cloth.¹³³ Yet the fifteenth century also appears to have been prosperous for some in Stamford. The friaries flourished; wealthy resident merchants led projects to build or improve churches, hospitals, and private dwellings; religious guilds and

chantries grew in number and power. The town received the charter making it a free borough in 1462 and a second charter in 1481 granting it a new market and two fairs – at Corpus Christi and at the feast of Sts Simon and Jude.¹³⁴

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were defined by schism and controversy, which seem to have had three related origins: economics, power, and religion. Stamford remained an important town but the loss of cloth manufacture and the wool market caused serious decline. Several economic efforts (to develop a canvas-weaving industry, and to become a market centre) failed. As estimated by Hodgett the population (reckoned in its number of households) grew very modestly from 242 in 1524, to 263 in 1583, to 300 in 1603. Though chartered since 1462 and governed by a mayor, thirteen comburgesses, and twelve burgesses, the town 'was dominated by great men from outside.' Although Stamford was a royal castle, manor, and town (farmed out to royal representatives), pre-eminent among the extra-governmental forces exerting influence upon the town was the Cecil family of Burghley, immediately adjacent in the county of Northamptonshire. David Cecil established the family in Stamford; his son, Richard, purchased the reversion of Burghley and other lands; his son, William, the famous Lord Burghley, received the grant of the royal manor of Stamford in 1561. Disputes resulting from 'the Cecils' smash-and-grab raid on the corporate privileges of Stamford' and the equally ravaging attempts of their successors, the Greys (earls of Stamford), caused a real threat to the town's historic liberties and its economic well-being. However the Cecils, especially Lord Burghley, also sporadically used their power and influence to bring economic relief to the town. As did the Cecils the duke of Suffolk and Lord Clinton both received monastic properties in Stamford at the time of the Dissolution, though the corporation managed to retain for itself the former guild properties. Religious dissension that began with the Reformation and the revolt of 1536 in Lincolnshire continued through the 1620s and 1630s, when a 'nascent form of puritanism' had taken hold in the borough. Only in the later part of the seventeenth century did the town effect a sustained economic recovery, in part because of the clearing and reopening to commercial traffic of the River Welland.¹³⁵

OTHER TOWNS AND VILLAGES

Several of Lincolnshire's other towns and villages have left a small number of records that, though few in number, offer significant information about local performance traditions.

Bourne is a prosperous market town situated in south Lincolnshire, at a spot where numerous roads intersect. Early Bourne had a rich local culture and is linked with both Robert Mannyng (author of *Handlyng Synne*) and Lord Burghley, the powerful treasurer of Elizabeth I, whose mother was born there.¹³⁶ Bourne had a motte-and-bailey castle and its Augustinian abbey dates from the mid-twelfth century. At the Dissolution the vast abbey lands and properties fell into the hands of the duke of Suffolk and other members of the gentry.¹³⁷ Unlike most other Lincolnshire towns, Bourne seems not to have declined during the sixteenth century, either in population or in prosperity. Its population was 1,120 in 1563, 1,350 in 1603, and 1,020 in 1641/2.¹³⁸ Perhaps that stability and relative wealth in part account for its ability and inclination to sponsor (and widely advertise) a parish play during the sixteenth century (see pp 102, 365).

The small market town of Gainsborough lies beside the River Trent at the boundary between Nottinghamshire and northwest Lincolnshire. Its important mercantile port 'linked the city with north Nottinghamshire and south Yorkshire.'¹³⁹ Though Gainsborough developed a commercial and communal identity (including a guild merchant and tenurial privileges) very early, it remained a manorial borough much longer than did most comparable towns. During the early seventeenth century it fought bitter legal battles for control of the town with its rapacious new manorial lord, Sir William Hickman.¹⁴⁰ The only early dramatic records that survive for Gainsborough (from an Exchequer, Special Commission of Inquiry in 1587) indicate a strong communal identity and the presence of religious guilds (until they were abolished in 1547) that had sponsored games, ceremonies, and services combining worship and play similar to those in other Lincolnshire towns.

Holbeach is a fenland market town built on rich farmlands between Spalding and Long Sutton that originally lay about two miles from The Wash.¹⁴¹ By the mid-thirteenth century it had a charter giving it a market and fair, as well as a free grammar school dating from Edward III, but as a manorial borough it continually chafed against controls exerted first by its diocesan and monastic landlords and subsequently by the secular owners of the two manors of Holbeach.¹⁴² Like other parishes in southeast Holland, Holbeach had a complex array of settlements, chapels, religious guilds, and a magnificent parish church.¹⁴³ In 1389 it had six guilds: Corpus Christi, Fraternity of Corpus Christi, St Thomas the Martyr, Assumption of the Blessed Mary, Holy Trinity, and Shepherds', also called the Fraternity of the Nativity of the Virgin. The parish also had a hospital, founded during the reign of Edward III and located opposite the church, chapels both in the church and elsewhere in the town or the countryside, and chantries in those chapels. The glory of the town, then and now, is the parish church of All Saints, situated in the centre of the town.¹⁴⁴

Sleaford is a small but historically significant market town on the River Slea in central Kesteven, nearly equidistant in four directions from Lincoln, Grantham, Boston, and Bourne.¹⁴⁵ The bishops of Lincoln were lords of the manor there until the mid-sixteenth century, though by the fifteenth century they had farmed their holdings and rights. Those rights and local control passed eventually to the bishop's steward, Sir John Hussey, who controlled Sleaford's courts and became the most powerful man in Kesteven. After Hussey's execution on 29 June 1537 for tacitly supporting the rebels during the Lincolnshire rising, control of Sleaford passed first to the Crown, then to Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton, and after him to his friend, the merchant Robert Carr.¹⁴⁶ Local religious guilds provided the core of communal life for the laity in Sleaford, the most important being the Holy Trinity guild whose members provided local governance for the town. Sleaford's other guilds were St Christopher, Corpus Christi, St John, St Mary, and St Thomas.¹⁴⁷ Though never a self-governing borough Sleaford had a burgess community by the late eleventh century, and during the Middle Ages it developed as one of what Platts calls the 'relay towns,' which functioned as 'staging posts in the transportation of merchandise and produce,' connecting Lincoln 'with Kesteven and the western fens of Holland.'¹⁴⁸ Sleaford had a weekly market and five fairs (on Plough Monday, Easter, Whit Monday, and 1 and 20 October), controlled by the manorial landlords, who always (especially the Carrs) sought to squeeze every penny of profit from the town.¹⁴⁹

Spalding is a fenlands market and river port town strategically located at a point where the River Welland and the Westlode (an ancient drainage channel) converge. Ocean-going vessels with their goods could once travel from Boston up the Welland as far as Spalding and thence to Stamford by land route or smaller boat. Goods also made their way from Bourne to Spalding by way of the Westlode.¹⁵⁰ Two Benedictine houses – the Priory of St Mary and St Nicholas in Spalding, and the Abbey of St Mary at nearby Crowland Abbey – both affected the course of Spalding's development, until the abbey church was pulled down in 1539.¹⁵¹ The priory of Spalding, in particular, exerted immense control (its right to execute felons, its huge ownership of lands, its leadership in reclaiming lands from the sea and maintaining them, and its ownership of a series of granges). Like other manorial boroughs Spalding developed a system enabling the town to counter the power of its religious landlords (especially through the town's system of local courts). Other factors also contributed to Spalding's slow civic development: its character as an essentially agricultural community, population declines, and economic crises caused by the Black Death. Platts estimates Spalding's population as about 3,000 in the thirteenth century, and he says that in most of Lincolnshire's once-coastal ports of a size comparable to Spalding population was less than 1,000 in the fourteenth century.¹⁵²

Religious Houses

The only religious foundation known to have survived the Danish invasions was Crowland Abbey. Between 1052 and 1086 the Benedictines re-established Bardney Abbey, and established three cells belonging to Norman priories (at Covenham, Haugham, and Winghale), and religious foundations at Belvoir and Stamford. In *c* 1132 Henry I established Augustinian canons at Wellow, near Grimsby. And sometime near 1087 there appeared six hospitals for lepers or almshouses, and five cells by large English houses or alien houses. All these foundations were established 'by the king, or by leading men of some consequence in the county.'¹⁵³ The years between 1130 and 1200 saw the 'rapid, almost feverish' building of a series of monastic foundations that included Augustinian and Premonstratensian canons, a Benedictine or Gilbertine house at Sempringham, Cistercian nunneries, double houses for both sisters and canons, alien priories and cells (as at Deeping St James), and military and religious orders of Templars and Hospitallers.¹⁵⁴ Many of the new houses were founded by men of 'the county society,' who had a variety of motives.¹⁵⁵ Some were fulfilling feudal obligations, to be sure, but as Dorothy Owen has observed, there was a general attraction to the monastic ideal, which 'captured the imagination of all.' Some were inspired by the example of great bishops, such as St Hugh of Lincoln, or by the opportunity to gain a 'lay share in the spiritual benefits of a monastery.' Others were making gifts on behalf of family members, or bequests, or encouraging the cultivation and recovery of lands.¹⁵⁶ The result was an unprecedented proliferation of religious foundations in the county.

In the thirteenth century interest shifted toward the mendicant orders, which began to appear in England in 1230 and enjoyed great popularity among many of the laity in Lincolnshire parishes. Eventually they built houses in several towns (the last of them at Stamford in 1342); the last monastic foundation would be established at Axholme in 1397–8. A number

of small houses dedicated to charitable work, and often called hospitals, also appeared, but by the earlier fourteenth century they were being absorbed by larger religious houses. As to alien cells the Crown confiscated some of their properties in 1294 and cut off the monks from their home institutions. In 1378 the Crown expelled all alien monks, seized their properties, and gave the confiscated lands to new religious foundations (as at Tattershall).¹⁵⁷

During the Middle Ages a number of the financially strapped nobility sold land and property to abbots and other church officials, helping to make ecclesiastics some of the most powerful landlords in the county, able 'to exert an important seigniorial influence in Lincolnshire' (most notably, but not exclusively, Crowland Abbey and Spalding Abbey).¹⁵⁸ The exponential growth in the lands and wealth held by religious foundations produced significant social, economic, and commercial effects on the county. Religious foundations sponsored intensive farming and reclamation of granges or outlying estates, and ring fence or home estates. Disputed ownership often brought foundations into conflict with lay farmers over rights to farm the land. Competing foundations also fought among themselves when more than one owned property and land within a single parish, as was often the case. Foundations also handled some road and bridge repair, land drainage, and coastal protection within the county. And they engaged in much of Lincolnshire's sheep rearing and wool trade with European countries.¹⁵⁹

The effect of religious foundations on the cultural life of the county was no less significant. It ranged from charitable works (distributing of alms and gifts to the poor on feast days, hospitality to strangers and others, tending of the sick), to the care of their own (dependents, beneficiaries, chapelries), to the regulation of parishes under their control. As proprietors of some churches they farmed the glebe lands (lands assigned to the incumbent of a parish as part of his benefice and the endowment of the church) for revenue. Monastic hospitality could lead to difficulties. Episcopal visitations found instances of excessive socializing, revelling, and feasting; the presence of families and friends in the cloister; participation by the monks and nuns in parish customs; excessive travel; and the awarding of corrodies (arrangements providing grants to members of the laity, occasionally including harpers and other entertainers).¹⁶⁰ At least seven of Lincolnshire's large foundations demonstrably engaged in writing and book-making, although many of the smaller houses also possessed books; and many of the foundations operated schools (notably Bourne, Crowland, Sempringham, and Stamford, among others).¹⁶¹ The dissolution of the religious foundations shifted vast wealth, land, and properties into the hands of the Crown, the gentry, and the towns. It also dispersed a large number of skilled and literate clerics into the general population, many of them to reappear as schoolmasters, clerks, tutors, assistants to the parish clergy, and sometimes musicians and playwrights.¹⁶²

Drama, Music, and Popular Customs

The records dating between *c.* 1235 and 1642 provide evidence of a rich culture that included many and various performance traditions in Lincolnshire, ranging from amateur and professional drama, to civic ceremonies, to popular customs, to music and dance. Much of the evidence concerns religious drama, liturgy, and ceremony co-produced by communities and church and combining elements of ritual, worship, and play. But the records also give glimpses of purely secular forms and practices, including tournaments with mimetic elements, and of traditional customs ranging from wrestlings used by religious foundations in customary celebrations, to Rogation processions with entertainments, to wakes, ales, and seasonal customs and feasts.¹ One can chart historical changes occurring within each tradition, but the Lincolnshire records offer no evidence of an evolutionary pattern in which one form necessarily preceded another, in a progression from simple to complex forms. Rather, from the earliest records on, one can see the simultaneous presence of festive folk customs, liturgical and quasi-dramatic ceremonies, church drama, and civic-sponsored rituals and enactments, all coexisting and influencing each other within the rich culture of Lincolnshire, until a perceptible decline in the later sixteenth century based on many different local and national factors.

The variety of these traditions can be illustrated by the word 'players' as it usually appears in financial records. When it seems to mean actor the word 'player' appears in four main phrasings: 1) 'the players of,' meaning a troupe representing a town or parish; 2) 'the players' (or 'servants' or 'men'), meaning a troupe wearing the livery of a private patron; 3) 'the players,' meaning an unidentified troupe of actors; 4) 'players' as a modifier, indicating something to do with actors, as in players' gear.

In the first category the many players who cried the banns of their plays in other towns were by definition usually amateur actors (though some might have been companies of professional waits), as in the players of Boston (performing in Benington); of Bolingbroke, Boston, Donington, Frampton, Frieston, Ipswich, Keston, Kirton, Leake, Moulton, Nottingham, Spalding, Walsoken, and Wisbech (all in Long Sutton); or of Bedford, Bourne, Kirton, Lindsey, Swineshead, Tattershall, and Welby (all in Sleaford). In the second category wording in some entries makes it clear that 'players' (and most references to 'servants' or 'men') in that context meant patronized actors, as in 1560–1, the '*luditoribus Regine vocatis ye quenes plaeres*'; 1571–2, a payment to the '*plaiers the fridaie next after fastens to my Lord mountioye men*' (both in Grimsby); and 1539–40, 'a rewarde to certayn [*viz. fabule actoribus*]' of my

lorde of Suffolke seruantes being in the town' (in Louth). In the third category, when a record refers only to 'the players,' it might refer to local players or to unidentified non-local players. In the fourth category 'players' or 'playing' used as an adjective occurs, for example, at Cumberworth (vestment sold to make players' coats).

Traditional Drama, Liturgy, and Ceremony

Integrated customary events occurred on many of the important dates in the liturgical and seasonal calendar year, notably the Christmas season through Epiphany, Plough Monday, May Day, Rogationtide, Ascension Day, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the feast of the Assumption, and harvest time in early autumn. Detailed discussions of each of these customs, as documented in the records, occur below in the section on towns and villages (see pp 407–32).

The first references to traditional custom, game, and sport appear in early thirteenth-century documents by Bishop Robert Grosseteste, the wording of which suggests that those customs had already become common practice and were an irritant to the higher reaches of the Church by a much earlier date, one roughly parallel to the twelfth-century appearance of tournaments and liturgical drama in the records. A series of letters and instructions to the archdeacons and clergy by the reform-minded bishop describe an array of customs then current and popular among parishioners and local clergy alike. Among them were scot ales or drinkings; the raising up of quintains upon trees and wheels and other sports; other pastimes on festival days, which activities he vaguely describes as 'ociosi & voluptuosi' ('idle and pleasurable things') (see p 5); gatherings at night watches on the eves of saints' days; the competition among parishes carrying banners for pride of place in processions; the putting on of wondrous deeds or miracles; and the holding of May or autumn games. Above all, he forbade the holding of such events in churches or churchyards.

These prohibitions by Grosseteste, put forth as part of the general reform movement following Lateran Council IV, provide a kind of index to the array of customs that recur in the records from the thirteenth-century through the sixteenth-century reformations and counter-reformations, and in some cases well beyond. At Bardney Abbey (a few miles from Lincoln) in 1246, a dispute over jurisdiction between monastic and diocesan authorities was resolved in a settlement dividing that jurisdiction between the abbey and the archdeacon of Lincoln. Interestingly the settlement refers to some of the pastimes named in Grosseteste's letters and instructions *c* 1235–53, 1236, and *c* 1239 (quintains and other shows, scot ales, wrestlings, and dances), confirming the presence of these entertainments in thirteenth-century Bardney. Much later, in 1434, Bishop William Gray would complain about wandering abroad and shameful sports or pastimes, confirming that local traditional customs had continued at Bardney into the fifteenth century. At Thornton Abbey (near Barrow upon Humber in north Lincolnshire) in 1440, Bishop William Alnwick ordered the monks to cease taking part in 'ludos noxios' among the laity, as well as 'alia ludibria vel spectacula' (see pp 350–1). Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* (begun in 1303), seemingly inspired by the reform movement of the thirteenth century, was written in south Kesteven, Lincolnshire, to teach and correct the people and clergy there. In familiar terms it describes an array of customs held on feast and holy days, many in church and churchyard

during service time – wrestlings, beauty contests, ‘karolling,’ interludes, tournaments and joustings, summer games, dances, singing and piping, making of rhymes, miracles, and the loaning of church garments for playing. All these activities must have been common to the time in Lincolnshire; why else would a reformer cite them so copiously and knowingly?²

These commemorative celebrations in early Lincolnshire – especially as documented in parish and civic sources from the fifteenth century on – followed a distinctive pattern. They characteristically incorporated elements of drama or quasi-dramatic enactments, liturgy, and ceremony in ways that made the events simultaneously worshipful, festive, and communal. Though radically differing in scale (depending on the production capacities of a given town or parish), they recurred at every societal level throughout the county – from the city of Lincoln, to large market towns, to small towns and villages. As a form co-sponsored by the lay community and the church, they shared certain recurring features. They happened on significant days in the religious, civic, and seasonal calendars (often the same); and they were most often produced by religious, rather than craft, guilds.

Characteristically the spines, so to speak, of these events were their processions, following locally meaningful routes that served to connect parish church and town and often culminating in some combination of religious service, feasting, wrestling matches, baitings, plays, and other popular diversions. Many of the processions themselves appear to have been purely liturgical. The mention of banner cloths at Waddingham in 1566 and Horbling in 1564/5 confirms the presence of processions in those villages but includes no evidence that they had a mimetic dimension. The guild returns of 1389 and inventories of church furniture made during the mid-sixteenth century indicate that many Lincolnshire communities had Corpus Christi processions that, similarly, seem to have been purely liturgical. In Lincolnshire some processions by religious guilds date from the thirteenth century, as the guild returns of 1389 make clear. The guild returns of 1389 describe an annual procession to the cathedral by the Minstrels’ and Entertainers’ (*‘Minstrellorum et Histrionum’*) guild of Lincoln during Whitsun week. Though the guild return makes no mention of drama or music, other records indicate that a performance in the cathedral likely followed this procession.³ But in many other places processions occurred within contexts variously combining worship, performance, and secular ceremonial, such as those at Boston, Gainsborough, Grimsby, Holbeach, Lincoln, Louth, Sleaford, Stamford, and Sutterton, all jointly sponsored by church and town.

The records provide no evidence that indicates the presence of cycle plays in Lincolnshire, but they do confirm that traditional celebrations often included plays of other kinds. Lincoln, most larger towns (for example, Boston, Donington, Grimsby, Louth, Spalding, and Stamford), and many smaller places had a parish play. The records of Boston, Donington, Grimsby, Lincoln, Louth, and Spalding, all of which provide at least some detail about their play, indicate that Lincolnshire towns and parishes produced history, saint, biblical, Passion, morality, and (in Lincoln) Pater Noster plays.

The early religious drama of Lincolnshire appears to represent a tradition that differed from both the lord and troupe pattern of the West Country and the cycle-play pattern in Beverley, Chester, Norwich, and York.⁴ But it does seem similar in content and form to the plays and playing conventions discernible in much of the drama of East Anglia. One might argue that

in the surviving records and play texts from the region between the River Humber and East Anglia can be seen the outlines of a single distinctive playing tradition that was unique to the region.

The most striking of these integrated commemorative celebrations – those in Lincoln and in the county's large market towns – celebrated either the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (for example, at Holbeach, Lincoln, and Sutterton) or the feast of Corpus Christi (for example, at Boston, Lincoln, Louth, Stamford, and perhaps Sleaford). A number of the towns celebrated both.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES

Lincoln

Dramatic records for both the cathedral and the city begin in the thirteenth century. In *c* 1236 and again in *c* 1239 Robert Grosseteste ordered the chapter not to stage the feast of fools, so it must have been an established custom well before those dates. Either the chapter ignored his order or it re-established the practice after his departure because in 1390 the chapter again forbade holding a feast of fools on the feast of the Circumcision of the Lord.⁵ In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, cathedral records refer to processions at Pentecost and to the ceremony of the boy bishop on Holy Innocents' Day (28 December). The last reference to boy bishop customs falls in 1548 (see p 432 below). The thirteenth-century records, notably the letters of Robert Grosseteste, also point to parallel festive and customary playing traditions among the clergy and laity indicating that the essential configuration of customary and festive religious drama and ceremony can be documented in Lincoln (and elsewhere in the county) by the early thirteenth century.

Fourteenth-century documents provide evidence of four kinds of performance traditions in Lincoln during that century, as well as a number of firsts. The cathedral produced Easter and Christmas plays throughout the century. Fourteenth-century records contain eleven references to plays in the Christmas season (1317–18, 1321–2, 1383–4, 1384–5, 1386–7, 1390–1, 1393–4, 1394–5, 1395–6, 1396–7, and 1399–1400). An additional payment – for gloves in 1319 – may also be for a Christmas 'salutacio' (as in 1390–1) since the later Christmas play described below included gloves (while gloves were a common gift, they never appear in the cathedral records except as a payment related to the Christmas productions).⁶ Between 1317–18 and 1386–7 the play occurred on the feast of Epiphany, dramatizing the Magi (with payments for their crowns, their trimmed garments, and a star). As of 1390–1 (and thereafter until at least 1548–9) the play occurred on Christmas morning and dramatized, though never all together in the same payment, Mary, Elizabeth, an angel, and two prophets (with recurring payments for gloves).

Accounts also mention ten performances of the cathedral's Easter play (1308–9, 1321–2, 1323–4, 1326–7, 1332–3, 1368–9, 1383–4, 1384–5, 1386–7, and 1390–1), referring to it variously as a Doubting Thomas play, a Thomas the Apostle play, a Resurrection play, or simply a play. The play was staged on Monday of Easter week in the nave of the cathedral.

Given the play's name, the recurring payments for bread, wine, and ale in the accounts, and its performance in the nave, the performance was a liturgy similar to the Beauvais *Ordo Ad Peregrinum* (also staged in the nave of a church), a play (since that is what they call it) perhaps similar to the Towneley 'Thomas of India,' with the crossed out title '*Ressureccio domini*,' very likely an independent play rather than part of a cycle, or some combination. As Alexandra F. Johnston has observed, the 'blending of the liturgical and the mimetic is characteristic of English Easter drama.'

Hardin Craig suggests that given the cathedral's dedication to Mary, and its later plays on the Assumption, the Easter play may have been 'an early form of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.' The York Weaver's play, 'The Assumption of the Virgin,' with its emphasis on the doubting Thomas, offers evidence that such an analogue existed.⁴ However, the changes to the cathedral drama that occurred in 1390–1 would appear to undercut Craig's argument. The play of Doubting Thomas (called the Resurrection play as of 1383–4) permanently disappears from the records. The Epiphany play of the Magi also permanently disappears, replaced by the Nativity play on Christmas morning, featuring Mary, Elizabeth, an angel, and two prophets. Also in 1389–90, during his visitation, Archbishop William Courtenay ordered that the feast of fools held on 1 January be utterly abolished, suggesting with his decree that the feast of fools was then being observed by the chapter each year, in spite of the earlier orders by Bishop Grosseteste *c* 1236 and *c* 1239. So in 1390 a major effort to reform permanently shifted the focus of festal religious drama in the cathedral toward its patron, the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Fourteenth-century records also provide the first references to a variety of drama, civic processions, ceremonies, and other entertainments in Lincoln at Whitsuntide. Some were jointly sponsored by the city, its guilds, and the cathedral chapter, some were perhaps independent. Based on a royal patent in 1345 annual jousts or 'iuste' were thereafter to be held at Lincoln on Monday of Whitsun week.⁵ It seems that at mid-century the nobility and major gentry of Lincolnshire would have been present, en masse, in the city during Whitsun week each year. Second among Whitsuntide references, the famous guild returns of 1389 report that in the Minstrels' and Entertainers' guild the men and women of the guild carried a large candle in the greatest procession to the cathedral on the Wednesday of Whitsun week. In a third reference to Whitsuntide performance the cathedral account for 1395–6 includes a payment to repair cords and other necessities for the dove and angel at the feast of Pentecost, quite possibly devices used in enacting the descent of the Holy Spirit to the apostles. Taken together the guild returns and the chapter accounts suggest that when the guilds had processed to the cathedral, the chapter then staged a service enacting the central miracle of Pentecost. The several Pentecost plays that survive (such as those of York and Chester) provide possible patterns that the chapter's enactment might have followed. Clearly performance at Whitsuntide was a central part of civic and church drama and ceremony in Lincoln during the fourteenth century. The distinct rise in both ecclesiastical and secular commemorations at Whitsuntide appears to reflect the general shift toward that part of the liturgical and seasonal calendars that began to accelerate with the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi in 1311. The shift reflects the emphasis by the church during the

fourteenth century on the incarnational dimension of Christianity – the need to see God’s literal presence both in the services of the Church and in the lives of ordinary people. It appears that by the third quarter of the fourteenth century the guilds of the city and the cathedral were co-operating in a celebration at Whitsuntide that included liturgy, civic procession, and dramatic enactment.

Guild-sponsored processions – at least one of them having theatrical elements – were a central feature of civic life in fourteenth-century Lincoln. The 1389 guild returns list Lincoln as having twenty-nine guilds. In 1389 the great guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the suburb parish of Wigford was Lincoln’s major, overarching, civic or socio-religious guild.¹⁰ It had evolved from the city’s guild merchant and listed Henry III himself as a member. In 1389 St Anne’s guild was but a small one in St Peter’s parish in the skins market, but by 1515 it had supplanted the great guild as the central guild of the city, charged with mounting civic processions, pageants, and drama.¹¹ It is unclear when St Anne’s guild became chief producer of civic entertainments in Lincoln, but during the second decade of the sixteenth century the city issued a succession of orders, reaffirmed ancient statutes, and otherwise compelled citizens to fulfill their obligations to the civic productions. All those actions clearly indicate that St Anne’s Guild was now responsible for the events. In 1515–16 the city fined a number of men for departing the procession early rather than waiting on the mayor as required. In 1517–18 the city undertook a major effort to re-regularize the procession and pageants, issuing guidelines for dress and participation by officials and their servants. In 1518–19 it ordered that every man and woman be dues-paying members of St Anne’s guild, and that every occupation bring forth its pageants.

Lincoln had five guilds dedicated to Corpus Christi, six to the Virgin Mary, and eighteen others, including a Minstrels’ and Entertainers’ guild, dedicated to a variety of saints and feast days. The three oldest, in order, were St Edmund (1276), Holy Cross (1297), and the Cordwainers’ *BVM* (1307). All the Corpus Christi guilds had solemn processions, most to the cathedral, and the procession of the Lincoln Corpus Christi guild seems to have been particularly impressive. Four of the six Mary guilds also had processions, that of St Cuthbert’s Church being held on the feast of the Assumption, but notably the great guild of the *BVM* listed no procession in the guild returns.¹²

The Cordwainers’ guild return of 1389 provides the earliest reference connecting the annual civic procession to the cathedral with actors (either in tableau or in a performance) and describes a kind of civic performance that was already traditional in 1389. According to the return the brothers and sisters of the Cordwainers’ guild customarily processed to the cathedral with Mary, Joseph, St Blaise, and two angels. This return and the return of the Minstrels’ and Entertainers’ guild confirm participation by women in the two processions. Actors were clearly integral within their own guild’s procession by men and women, but whether a female member of the Cordwainers’ guild might have represented Mary in their procession is not indicated in the return. Nearly 175 years later their pageant, which was called the pageant of Bethlehem in sixteenth-century records, seems to have retained similar elements. The Cordwainers’ guild, therefore, provides the earliest link between the guilds and civic performance in Lincoln and pushes back from 1514–15 (the first reference to the St Anne

pageant in the civic minute books) to 1389 the evidence for such civic-sponsored religious drama in the city.

Two further important references to performance traditions occur in the late fourteenth-century records. A chronological list providing the names of mayors and important local and national events, including plays staged in given years, reports that Lincoln held a Pater Noster play in 1397–8 (and several times more during the fifteenth century). This list and two others archived with it are similar in form and apparent purpose to civic annals that survive, for example, in the Chester records.¹³ The reference does not give the time of year when the play was performed, nor any details as to its content. Later cathedral and civic records refer to unidentified Corpus Christi plays both in the cathedral close and in the city. The second reference – occurring as charges against the dean of the cathedral in 1393–4 – mentions public shows (*'spectacula publica'*) in the city, entertainers (*'histrionibus'*), dances in the campanile, and wrestling matches in the church close, bishop's palace, and by the hospital of St Giles. The reference to public shows in the city occurs within a few years of Whitsuntide events (on one side) and a Pater Noster play (on the other). In sum, fourteenth-century Lincoln appears to have been alive with drama and entertainment of many kinds.

If the records are any indication, the richest period for drama in Lincoln was the fifteenth century. Patterns present in the fourteenth century flourished and evolved. The records suggest that the city and the cathedral chapter were co-operating in their joint sponsorship of drama and ceremony and that they were using technologies to create spectacular effects in their productions. The most ubiquitous tradition was Christmas liturgical drama or liturgy in the cathedral. All fifty-nine surviving cathedral accounts between 1401–2 and 1495–6 contain payments for the Christmas play. Between 1390–1 (when the play had shifted from Epiphany to Christmas morning) and 1399–1400, accounts mention Mary, an angel, and two prophets. After 1440–1, the two prophets disappear permanently from the accounts and only Mary and the angel are thereafter mentioned. Two accounts give clues as to the nature of the play at Christmas. In 1458–9 the account records a payment for labours related to the *'visionem'* or *'sight'* in the choir on Christmas Day. In 1461–2 the account lists payment for labours related to the star and cords on Christmas morning. It seems likely that the play dramatized a version of the *'salutacio,'* in which the star guided shepherds, Magi, or others, east to west from choir to nave, to the mother and Christ child, whom they, along with the congregation, greeted and worshipped. The numerous Nativity plays that survive, mainly from the continent, often used the same props as those commonly mentioned in Lincoln, and their content and structure suggests something of what the Christmas play at Lincoln might have been. The Fleury play of Herod, for example, employs a star (and therefore ropes or wires) for leading characters to the manger, has women guarding the mother and child, and begins and ends in the choir. Scholars generally conclude, whether true or not, that Nativity plays evolved analogically from Easter plays and tropes.¹⁴ In the Lincoln records Epiphany and Resurrection plays appear together throughout the fourteenth century, so one cannot know about evolution, but the Epiphany play certainly gave way to the Nativity play in Lincoln from the late fourteenth century on, apparently reflecting the chapter's decision to shift its drama to a Marian focus.

In the city a civic proclamation in 1480 licensed every citizen 'in honeste mirthe & gam sportis to goo or doe what hym pley's' between Christmas and Epiphany without fear of arrest. From *c* 1565 a rhymed triologue survives in the city council minute book. Sung or spoken to the 'congregation' by three 'senators' it announces the beginning of Christmas revels and commands everyone (in the manner of a mock royal proclamation) to be merry, as nobles and royals do. It could fairly be called the banns of a Christmas tradition that was perhaps ancient in Lincoln.

Records document three other kinds of plays during the fifteenth century – Pater Noster, saint, and Corpus Christi plays – without giving much additional detail about them, so it is impossible to know if the three kinds are related. All three appear in the mayors' list and both Corpus Christi and Pater Noster plays occur in cathedral accounts (but only in references to dinners or breakfasts for clerks who had come to watch the plays). The one striking fact is that the three kinds of plays always appear in records from different years. The chronological pattern in which they appear might offer some further clues as to their nature and possible relationship. The Pater Noster plays occur throughout the century in 1410–11, 1424–5, 1456–7, 1458–9, 1482–3, and 1489–90). The saint plays occur in years when no Pater Noster plays appear (1441–2, 1447–8, 1452–3, 1454–5, 1455–6). The nine Corpus Christi plays occur in the final third of the fifteenth century (1472–3, 1474–5, 1475–6, 1477–8, 1478–9, 1480–1, 1486–7, 1487–8, 1495–6, a period of time when only two Pater Noster plays appear (though not in years having a Corpus Christi play). (A payment occurs in 1473–4 for the canon's breakfast at Corpus Christi but mentions no play.) In this pattern one can see a possible progression in the kind of play most commonly being produced as changing from Pater Noster to saint to Corpus Christi play. The entry for 1482–3 indicates that the Pater Noster was a two-day play in that year (the only other reference to a two-day play occurs in 1563–4 when the city council minute book orders that 'a standyng play of some Storie of ye bibell schall be played ij days this Sommer tyme'). One thing seems clear: the cathedral chapter considered both the Corpus Christi and the Pater Noster plays major events in that a senior official of the chapter held a meal for the assembled resident clerks and others who had come to see the play.

While Lincoln records offer almost no details about these three kinds of plays, bits of evidence from elsewhere offer possible clues. The York Pater Noster play was contemporary with the Lincoln play and one at Beverley (just across the Humber from Lincolnshire) was recorded somewhat later, in 1441 and 1467. Based on her study of all the documentary evidence that survives, Alexandra F. Johnston describes the York Pater Noster play as one part of 'the great dramatic trilogy at York,' the other two pillars being the Creed and Corpus Christi plays. The Pater Noster play was, she concludes, a true processional play, performed over the course of a day, possibly staged on pageant wagons at several locations, and first mounted on 1 August (Lammas Day) but later on 6 August at regular intervals during a 200-year period. In content it appears to have combined concern with the seven petitions of the Lord's prayer, and with virtues and vices. Thus it may well have been a blend of saint and morality play. David Bevington has called the Pater Noster play 'an immediate predecessor' of the morality play. Members of its sponsoring guild accompanied the play in their livery through the streets of

York, where on one occasion it was certainly played at thirteen different locations during a single day; in at least one year it was produced in lieu of the Corpus Christi play.¹⁵ Diana Wyatt, who is editing REED's collection for Beverley, describes the Pater Noster play in Beverley as a 'processional pageant production' mounted by the corporation and thirty-four to forty craft guilds, together with other individuals and groups. Like the York Pater Noster play it was performed during the summer (mid-June in 1441 and 2 August in 1467) and like the York play it was 'a very occasional alternative to the Corpus Christi play.'¹⁶ In Lincoln we do not know where the Pater Noster play was staged or by which of the city's constituencies in particular. It dropped out of the records as the fifteenth century ended, perhaps (but not demonstrably) giving way to the stagings on St Anne's Day, while the Pater Noster play in York continued late into the sixteenth century.

According to the mayors' list the saint plays staged in Lincoln between 1441–2 and 1455–6 were King Robert of Sicily, St Clara, St James, St Lawrence, and Susanna. Like Lincoln Chester had a play of Robert of Sicily. Two late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century mayors' lists say that an interlude of that name was played at the High Cross in Chester in 1529–30; thus in Chester it was a street play. Quoting from a state paper (no longer to be found), Chambers says that Robert of Sicily was played in Chester on St Peter's Day (1 August, like the York Pater Noster play), and that it had been played as far back as the reign of Henry VII, which would be within, at most, sixty years of the play in Lincoln. Collier prints a transcription of what seems to be the same letter, which he claims to have seen 'among the unarranged papers of Cromwell in the Chapter-house, Westminster.' His transcription says that the play was written by a clerk to teach the people to love and fear God and those in authority. The alleged letter summarizes the content of the play as Robert being 'warned by an Aungell whiche went to Rome, and shewyd Kyng Robart all the powre of God, and what thyng yt was to be a pore man; and thanne, after sondrye wanderynges, ledde hym backe agayne to his kingdome of Cicylye, where he lyved and raygned many yeres.'¹⁷ While one may approach Collier's claim with caution (because of the document forgeries for which he became notorious), there seems every reason to believe Chambers. If Lincoln's play of Robert of Sicily was similar to the one in Chester, it would have qualities to be found in both history plays and moralities. Like Lincoln York may have staged a St James play because the text of such a play (though no record of its performance) survives. In 1446 (within eight years of the recorded staging of Lincoln's St James play), a deputy civic clerk bequeathed the text of a play of St James the apostle in six 'pagine' or pageants to the guild of St Christopher in York.¹⁸

What to make of these three kinds of plays? First the subjects of two of the five saint plays – together with Pater Noster plays – in Lincoln are similar to those in a few other large provincial cities in the north and northeast. Second their appearance in the mayors' list seems significant. Craig observes that the list of saint plays has a 'formal' quality and that none of the saints (but one) named in the list can be connected with Lincoln, so the saints being dramatized must have been chosen for another reason. Craig also notes that each of the saints can be connected with a separate deadly sin. Given the plays' status as 'principal' plays in the mayors' list, Craig concludes that they were lengthy plays and that they were 'constituent parts of the Pater Noster play' in Lincoln. He further notes that the feasts of Sts Lawrence, Susanna, and Clara fell

successively on 10, 11, and 12 August.¹⁹ That all these plays were parts of the Pater Noster play seems unlikely, partly because they never appear in the same year, and partly because the Pater Noster play is clearly identified as such when it appears in the records, as it does in the York records. But the dates do seem potentially significant. In Lincoln the only play – a Reformation era play, not a medieval saint play – outside the cathedral that can be assigned to a specific time of year (excluding the St Anne procession) is the play of Tobit, said to have been played over two days in the summer in 1563–4, at an undetermined time in 1564–5, and at Whitsuntide in 1565–6 and 1567–8. One might infer that the three kinds of plays were probably all performed between Corpus Christi and early August. That is, they likely were large, outdoor plays held when the weather was mild.

The third major kind of performance recorded in Lincoln during the fifteenth century – and its most important – is the ceremony, procession, pageantry, and play celebrating the feast of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin – co-operatively mounted by the city and the cathedral. We have seen that the Christmas play shifted to a Marian focus in 1390–1. The records from that year also provide the first unequivocal evidence that the chapter was using technology – a star, which would necessarily have required ropes and pulleys – in staging that play. The account for 1395–6 records a similar use for an event at Pentecost. During the second half of the fifteenth century the records document what must have been an elaborate religious spectacle in the cathedral dramatizing the Assumption and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The account of 1458–9 pays, rather cryptically, for what it calls the ‘Ascension.’ The account for 1459–60 confirms that the Ascension being celebrated was in fact the Assumption and that it was a ‘visus’ (sometimes described in the records as a ‘sight’ or ‘view’), that is, something enacted, in the cathedral church on the feast of St Anne (26 July). The Assumption was, of course, generally interpreted as analogous to Christ’s Ascension, but the use of the word ‘Ascension’ may also conceivably imply something about the focus (the perpendicularity) in its staging at Lincoln. Accounts record the event as occurring four years in a row (1461–2, 1462–3, 1463–4, 1464–5) and in 1468–9, adding one new detail (in 1464–5) – that the event was staged in the nave of the cathedral. After 1468–9 Chaplain John Hanson, who had been responsible for making the ‘sight,’ disappears from the records.

There follow thirteen years in which the Assumption is not mentioned. In 1482–3 a different clerk prepares the device for staging the Coronation and a chapter order confirms, for the first time, that citizens of Lincoln customarily made a procession on St Anne’s Day, and that the chapter, for its part, would repair and prepare the show or rite of the Assumption and Coronation, so it could be shown in the procession as was customary in the nave. This order provides the first confirmation that the procession through the town and the staging in the cathedral were part of a unified event combining civic procession and liturgical play or service (see pp 415–17 for details concerning the procession). Additional entries concerning the Coronation occur in 1485–6, 1488, 1489–90, 1490–1, and 1493–4. Of those years only 1488 adds new detail – the retaining of a priest (Robert Clark) because he was so clever (‘ingeniosus’) in the show and entertainment of the Ascension on the feast of St Anne. The use of the word ‘Ascension’ rather than ‘Assumption’ in this context might perhaps suggest the use of a device for raising and lowering the principal figures in the Coronation.

It is unclear whether it is meaningful that the Assumption and Coronation are only twice recorded in the same year as another play (1482–3 and 1489–90, in both cases a Pater Noster play). And there does seem to have been a crisis or cessation of the Assumption ceremony and play between 1468–9 and 1482–3. During those years the War of the Roses impacted the city. On 13 March 1460/1 the Yorkist king Edward IV passed through Lincoln. Between January 1461/2 and 1464, in spite of Lincoln's Lancastrian associations, he awarded many rights, privileges, and lands to the city, some at the expense of Thomas de Ros (holder of part of the city's fee farm rent) and the heirs of William, Lord Tailboys, of Kyme. When the civil war re-ignited in 1469, it led to a rising in Lincolnshire, resulting in the capture and execution in 1469/70 of Sir Thomas Dymoke and Richard Welles, Lord Willoughby, the latter of whom had a house and other properties in Lincoln. Mayors' lists mention the uprising. In 1483, with the death of Edward IV and the deposition and murder of Edward V and his brother by the duke of Gloucester (subsequently Richard III), both Lancastrian rule and the Assumption ceremony and staging returned to Lincoln. Richard III himself was in Lincoln in October that year.²⁰ Wording in the order of 1483 gives the impression that the chapter was recommitting to staging the show or rite during that year, and that the citizens' procession to the cathedral may have been continuing without the show during those thirteen years between 1468–9 and 1482–3.

The state of Lincoln's central tradition – the celebration of the Assumption and Coronation on St Anne's Day – is uncertain after 1493–4 and before 1501–2 because it disappears from the records during those years, but thereafter it flourished right through the many state-induced traumas of the first half of the sixteenth century. Records show that the city and cathedral chapter co-operatively staged it in many of the years between 1501–2 and 1553–4 (the exceptions being 1504–5, 1505–6, 1540–1, 1543–4, 1544–5, 1545–6, 1547–8, 1548–9, 1549–50, 1550–1, 1551–2, 1552–3). A revival occurred in 1553–4 and 1554–5 during the reign of Mary, but wording in the city council minute book for the former year is puzzling. It directs that St Anne's guild be brought forth with Corpus Christi play and that crafts bring forth their pageants, 'as haith ben accustomed.' It may be that the order of 1553–4 refers to two separate events, that is, St Anne's guild, given its expertise, was perhaps being ordered to produce a Corpus Christi play (not exactly an innovation in Lincoln) in a subsequent unnamed year, since the order was made on 6 July, well after Corpus Christi Day. Perhaps the second part of the order is directing that the guilds bring forth their pageants (as they always had) as part of the revived celebration on St Anne's Day. The Cordwainers' guild accounts confirm that they brought forth their pageant in both 1553–4 and 1554–5 on St Anne's Day, not at Corpus Christi. After 1555 the Assumption and Coronation disappear from the records permanently, but a biblical history play – the Old Testament story of Tobit – was performed four times: over two days in July 1564 in Broadgate, at an undetermined time in 1564–5, in 1566 during 'whytson holyc days,' and in 1568 at Pentecost. Civic officials attended and the play appears to have required nine or ten stages (or perhaps five stages each day) – a very large play. In the first decade under Elizabeth the city therefore seems to have shifted the focus of its drama from the Assumption and Coronation on St Anne's Day to biblical history at Whitsuntide, while beginning to sponsor but one play, merging the remnant of St Anne's guild, Corpus

Christi plays, and the celebration on St Anne's Day into a single event no longer co-sponsored with the cathedral chapter. In any event after 1568 the city ceased its sponsorship of customary religious plays entirely.

Responsibility for the city's contribution to the celebration of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin on St Anne's Day lay with the St Anne's guild. In 1519 the civic council ordered that every man and woman in Lincoln was a member of that guild and was required to take part in the event. The mayor was nominal head of the guild but the graceman was responsible for bringing forth the guild on that day. Traditionally, the outgoing mayor served as graceman in the year following his mayoralty; his two outgoing sheriffs also served, charged with ensuring the safety of monies gathered for the event. The guild licensed four men to gather funds in the countryside, and every parish also supplied two men to gather funds for the shows. By 1521 this system for gathering funds was already an 'old auneynt & laudable Custom' in Lincoln (see p 144).

In 1516–17 a 'St Anne Priest' or chantry priest was appointed, whose duties specifically included helping 'to bryng ffoorth & *pre*pare the *pro*cession & pageanntes off the Same gyld in the Citie off Lincoln yerly.' In 1521–2 the priest occupied the chantry in the parish church of St Michael on the Hill in Lincoln. Other civic officials also had specific obligations concerning the procession, pageants, and shows.

Details intermittently appearing in a succession of orders in the city council minute books (which clearly were intended to reaffirm traditional practices that had eroded or lapsed) provide, in the composite, a picture of what likely would have happened (or was meant to happen) in a typical celebration on St Anne's Day. One would have seen the principals (mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, constables, occupations, citizens) assembling before 7 AM in the lower part of the city. Sheriff's peers (those who had earlier served as sheriff) were required to attend the mayor and wait for him to arrive at the hall on the day of the procession; thus, the procession must have begun at the guildhall. Indeed every man of the city was to wait 'in his degre' on the mayor, so the assemblage would have been considerable (see p 149). The overarching purpose of the procession was to convey the sacrament from the lower part of the city to the cathedral. The twelve aldermen, as required, would each have provided 'a *seru*ant *with* a Tortch To be lightyd in ye *pro*cession *with* a rochet vppon hym abowt the Sacrement' and 'one *person with* agud gowne vppon hys Bake' to go in the procession (see p 139). Thereafter would have come the occupations, each bringing forth its pageant, its own graceman, dean, and wardens assisting with the pageants and attending in the procession. By 7 AM the four chief constables (one for each ward) and the approximately twenty-four under-constables (one for each parish) would have been attending the pageants 'bouth to kepe ye people ffrom ye arrey & also to Take hede off Sutch as weyr garmentes in ye Same'; that is, they were there to prevent crowding, damage, or theft (see p 135). Clearly both men and women took part in the procession itself because the oath that brothers and sisters of the Cordwainers' guild took required that they be ready 'yeerly to goo in *pro*cession *with* the Graceman Brether & Susters of this ffraternite ffrom the chappell of Saint thomas of ye hy brige in Lincoln vnto the cathedrall churche of Lincoln & ther to offer one ffarthyng as custom is' (see p 153). Every alderman would have a crimson or scarlet gown (see p 141).

Apparently much of the city accompanied the sacrament, in procession, from the lower city to the cathedral. The minute books variously describe the activity as 'bringing forth' of St Anne's guild, or to 'goo vppe' or to 'go forwardes' (see, for example, pp 137, 165, 167); the Cordwainers' register in 1541–2 describes 'beryng vpp of the pagaunte.' Given those phrases, the procession would have made its way up the hill to the cathedral where all would have seen the 'sight' or enactment of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin into heaven, an event apparently enacted by clerics alone since the cathedral accounts routinely include such payments. The two pageants mentioned in the Lincoln records (the Noah Ship and the Cordwainers' pageant) appear to have been wheeled structures of some size (used to create visual spectacle and to provide playing places), and it is clear that, as part of the procession, they travelled from the guildhall in the lower part of the city, up the hill to the cathedral. Three possible routes present themselves: directly up Steep Hill; to the right, up what is now called Broadgate; or to the left, up Beaumont Fee. It is difficult to imagine a procession of large pageants making its way up the precipitous incline of Steep Hill, and Beaumont Fee presents not a greatly improved option. Broadgate, with a longer, more gradual incline culminating (off Pottergate) at the cathedral seems much more likely (to a modern mind). As for the actual route taken to the cathedral the records are silent.

The progress from guildhall to cathedral was clearly designed to be a civic mimesis dramatizing biblical history and redefining participants as characters in that history. Each alderman was required to provide gowns of silk 'ffor the kynges in Scaynt anne processyon' (see p 147). Since there were twelve aldermen it appears that the procession included twelve kings and that the aldermen were accountable for at least thirty-six persons beyond themselves in the procession. In 1524–5 every sheriff's peer (men who had served earlier as sheriffs) was to provide a 'man in an honest Gowne To Go as profyttes in the Same procession.' Varied wording among the orders may indicate that it was the prophets themselves who bore the torches. The procession also included persons playing the two Marys. In 1521 a senior alderman borrowed a gown for one of the Marys from Lady Powis; the other Mary was to wear a crimson, velvet gown belonging to the guild (see p 143). Evidence that the Cordwainers' Bethlehem pageant included characterizations (see below) suggests that other pageants, for example the Noah ship, might well have included dramatizations too, though no evidence survives. In 1523–4 the Tilers of the city were to 'prepare honest persons To weyr the fforsayd Gownes The Same day.' In any event the evidence suggests that the entire population was part of a communal mimesis transforming the city into what might be called the city of biblical history. As one order says, every man of the city was to wait upon the mayor 'in his degre.' Other people gave garments as gifts or lent them to the guild for use as costumes or ceremonial regalia (see, for example, pp 143, 146–7).

The events of the day culminated at the cathedral, beginning with the enactment of the Assumption and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and ending with a general feasting by everyone (the Cordwainers' guild book includes many payments for food and drink at the minster on St Anne's Day). Thus the event, which travelled from the lower city (focus of commerce and governance) to the cathedral (focus of religion), began in solemnity and ended in feasting, uniting the two centres of the city on physical, symbolic, and metaphysical levels.

Evidence concerning the pageants that were embedded in the processions is sketchy at best. The council books make clear that, typically, every occupation was required to ready a pageant (and repair it if necessary) for the procession; thus pageants could have numbered over twenty.

The precise meaning of 'pageant' is problematic. The graceman's responsibility to collect 'Certen Stuff of dyuers Churchus in yis Citie ffore the ffurnychyne of ye pageantes in ye *pro*cession ye Same Dey' indicates that the pageants were no mere banners or canvases to be carried (see p 152). They included spaces that could be furnished. An order of 1525 directs every occupation to 'prepare & aparell the pageantes in all preparacion exceptt plate & Copz.' To prepare is to make ready or put in working order; to apparel is to deck or adorn, with the plate to be added later. The implication seems to be that some of the pageants could carry and display guild plate. An order in 1547 to bring forth 'the *pro*cession & Sight' appears to refer both to the group who paraded through the town and to the staging of the Assumption in the cathedral (unless the Host and the pageantry were part of the 'sight' (wording through the centuries in the chapter act books and city council minute books suggests that such continuity was indeed understood). The aforementioned order of 1554, in directing that 'Saynt Anne Guyld *with* corpus christi play schalbe broughtfurth & playd this yere and that euery Craftes man schall bryng furth ther padgeons as haith ben accustomed,' appears to identify three separate elements (procession, play, and pageants). The phrase '*with* corpus christi play' suggests that the play was not necessarily customary whereas the pageants were. It also confirms that St Anne's guild and the craft guilds jointly brought forth the Corpus Christi play and pageants that year, which indicates that it was, all along, the city (rather than the cathedral) that had been making the Corpus Christi plays.

The largest pageant by far seems to have been the Noah ship. In 1539 the council ordered that St Anne's guild pageant 'stuffe' be temporarily moved from the house where it was kept to the Chapel of the Bridge, and that there be 'a large doer mayde at ye layt Scowle howys that the pagentes may be Seyt in & euery pagent to pay yerly iiiiij d. & noyschyppe xij d.' Storage cost three times as much for the Noah ship as for the other pageants and it (perhaps all of them) required that the door be enlarged.

Detail concerning the Cordwainers' Bethlehem pageant, repeatedly mentioned in the guild's register, is exceptionally interesting. An inventory *c* 1527 gives the impression that the pageant was a three-dimensional, scenically conceived, structure; that is, the inventory mentions three linen cloths 'stened of damaske warkes for bethelem' (perhaps for the three sides of the pageant?); 'a great hed gildyd sett *with* vii Beamez,' plus a long beam for the mouth of the head; three great stars with glasses (presumably mirrors to reflect light); a 'cord,' possibly a rope, for the stars; and a cage to bear doves. The inventory thus appears to describe a kind of machinery designed to create a visual effect, perhaps to represent the appearance of the Christ child symbolically as the appearance of light within the pageant, a motif used in all the surviving Nativity episodes from the cycle plays. It clearly seems to have been a pageant that involved a dramatization or visualization of some sort.

The Cordwainers' book also contains payments for other properties related to the pageant. These include payments for a cord ('vna corda ad *dictum* le pageaunt,' p 152); 'takites' (also

called 'takyttes') or small nails; other nails for the pageant; the mending of the arm of an angel; a handle for the window of the pageant; one small cage; and an angel's wing, two mirrors, and tinfoil for the painting of the surface of the varnish. In 1553–4 the pageant was either rebuilt or extensively repaired. The guild paid Spede the carver 'for makyng off ye paghan'; the carvers for nails and drink; and William Lytyll for painting the head and stars. They also paid for a 'Corde' 'to ye strys' (stars) and for tacks and packthread. These additional details make it even clearer that the pageant was an elaborate structure with elements of theatrical machinery.

The guild paid for a pageant room in the church of the Carmelite Friars in 1526–7 and the guild register also describes the pageant as 'stondyng' at White Friars in 1532–3, as opposed to being folded up or dismantled or stacked. It was seemingly therefore a freestanding structure, possibly on wheels. The guild paid six bearers ('portantibus') who carried or conveyed ('portacione') the pageant in the procession on St Anne's Day in 1534–5 and 1535–6. The register describes them as 'bryngyng vp ye pageaunt of bethelem At Saint Anne messe' in 1531–2. When the accounts are written in English they describe the porters or attendants as 'beryng' the pageant and 'beryng vpp' to the minster, which sits at the top of the aptly named Steep Hill on St Anne Day (see, for example, p 172).

The bringing forth of the Cordwainers' pageant involved additional elements as well. The guild paid three shepherds in 1535–6 to accompany the pageant. In 1526–7 the guild provided the shepherds with breakfast but in 1532–3 and 1533–4 it paid for their dinner instead. The guild also paid musicians each year and identified players in some years. Some of those payments were clearly made for performances in connection with the 'bringing forth' on St Anne's Day, for example, to 'le pyper in die processionis' in 1527–8; to 'vno histrioni ambulanti ante processionem' in 1528–9; to 'ye menstrill at procession' in 1531–2; and to minstrels, interspersed among other payments related to St Anne's Day, in 1542–3. One payment appears to confirm that the Bethlehem pageant included players. In 1531–2 several payments for players' expenses occur among other expenses for the pageant, alternating with those payments in a way that indicates they too were pageant-related. The amount paid (from a gathering at the performance and a supplement by the guild) was small, suggesting that the players were local and amateur.

In summary the details that emerge from the Cordwainers' book (the head, beams, mirrors, and walls of the pageant) suggest that the pageant emphasized the miraculous birth of the Christ child, representing it as a sudden appearance within and by means of light. The Cordwainers' pageant seems to have been designed to create the impression of light flooding in all directions from within the pageant as the shepherd, the midwives, and Joseph watch. That presentation of the birth as the sudden appearance of light – together with the word 'sight' routinely used in Lincoln civic and cathedral records to describe the event – is also part of all four surviving Nativity pageants in the cycle plays; it is especially prominent in the N-Town version, a short play in which it is the main element, as is Mary's unique direction to Joseph to look up the hill to a tree.²¹

The sixteenth century began with all of Lincoln's inherited traditions of drama, custom, and ceremony intact; the century ended with all but schoolboy drama and music (both civic and church) having disappeared under the pressures of religious, political, and social change.

(For musicians and players in the city of Lincoln during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see pp 441–3, 449–51.)

Other Towns

Evidence of local drama, custom, and ceremony turns up in a number of Lincolnshire's other towns. Much of it – especially relating to the feasts of Christmas, Corpus Christi, and the Assumption – mirrors what occurred in Lincoln but with localized features.

The evidence also shows that a number of towns and villages in the county had plays and performers and that those performers often travelled to other towns for fund-raising performances (often crying the banns of their plays). For example Sutterton, in addition to paying numerous other entertainers, paid players from five nearby towns between 1518–19 and 1530–1: Whaplode (eight-and-a-half miles from Sutterton) in 1518–19 and 1530–1; Swineshead (four miles) and Donington (four-and-a-half miles) in 1524–5; and Frampton and Kirton (two and three miles respectively), seemingly together in Sutterton, in 1525–6. Long Sutton paid players, bann bearers, or dancers from an extraordinary number of places within and beyond Lincolnshire (see Long Sutton below, pp 425–6). Leverton paid the banns and players of Swineshead (ten miles) in 1525–6. Louth paid the players from Grimsby (fourteen miles distant) in 1527–8, and from Withern (seven miles) for both banns and play in 1547–8. The high number of these plays and others, such as the one at Donington *c* 1563, indicates that parish drama (and travel to advertise it) was ubiquitous throughout the eastern half of the county from the area near Grimsby, through Louth and its environs, to the border with Norfolk, with particular concentrations of local players in the Fens. Numerous local troupes also visited Sleaford, further west. Far fewer runs of parish accounts survive from the western half of the county than from its eastern and coastal regions.

Occasional specifics in the records suggest the wide range of topics treated in the plays, notably Donington's play about Nebuchadnezzar and the Three Hebrew Children and Grimsby's parish play of Holy John of Bower. Otherwise the content of the parish plays is invisible in the records. It appears that local social and religious guilds (as opposed to craft guilds) produced most of the plays. The evidence that does survive points toward saint, history, and biblical plays built on well-known stories and moral and religious themes that had popular appeal and some relevance to the local community; for example Noah and the flood in port towns. Based on the Donington cast list which names eighteen players, and the play in Spalding which combined the qualities of a morality play and a tournament, at least some plays appear to have had large casts, elaborate costumes, and sophisticated props.

Others were clearly pageant productions, at least in the processional part of their 'bringing forth' – a popular term. In addition to plays (and sometimes in conjunction with them), several towns and parishes record elaborate Corpus Christi processions, ceremonies, and pageants. The impression arises that some towns, such as Boston, Grimsby, and Louth, had elaborate Corpus Christi processions with pageants (small enough to be carried or something larger), plus a single parish-sponsored play. The Donington cast list appears to typify parish drama in the towns and larger villages of Lincolnshire: a single play; a production capable of

travel; content that was seemingly some form of play based on episodes from the Bible, the Apocrypha, legend, or historical event; and sponsorship by the parish, with production in the hands of the local yeoman oligarchy, and acting by closely linked members of guilds or other brotherhoods. The evidence suggests that some parish religious guilds survived, in practice, as sponsors for at least one full generation, maybe more, after they had been officially abolished in 1547.

Boston

The particular character of Boston's performance traditions reflects its history as an ancient seignorial borough with royal landlords and its importance as a commercial and ecclesiastical centre that eventually fell on hard economic times. For descriptive purposes its performance history can conveniently be divided into three phases.

During the years between 1514–15 (when guild accounts begin) and 1538–9, Boston had a rich array of pre-Reformation performance traditions, all of them produced or sponsored by the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary. That guild was the 'most important single organized body in the life of the city until shortly before the time of incorporation' in 1545, and until incorporation the guild had functioned as the town's local government.²² Most of the dramatic records during this first phase in Boston's performance history concern its celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi. Based on accounts in the guild's register Boston's Corpus Christi celebration combined a procession, pageants, music, religious ceremony, and drama in a spectacular combination that appears to have rivalled St Anne's Day in Lincoln.

The accounts concerning Corpus Christi include payments for people to carry banners, cross, torches, and censer; 'histriones' (entertainers); minstrels; town waits and trumpeters for '*facientibus melodiam cum instrumentis*'; other unspecified participants; eight (sometimes more) men to carry the Noah ship; and the ship itself. The waits, likely positioned at or near the head of the procession, would have been colourful. Payments to the waits during these years include monies for coats, as well as crowns made from velvet and silk.

The Noah ship appears to have been a large ornate structure on wheels, built (obviously) in the likeness of a ship that required between eight and eleven men to convey it in its journey through the town. The accounts include payments for wheels, rigging, bolting cloth, dyes, gunpowder, sulphur, metal repair plate, nails, rope, canvas sails, a windlass, the ship's banner shaft and a non-turning part for it, and a seal. Whether the ship's progress involved a play with actors and dialogue is not indicated in the records, but the ship was itself a piece of theatre in that it involved the use of gunpowder and the use of rigging to simulate sailing.²³ The guild also paraded the Noah ship at Pentecost in 1514–15, 1518–19, 1519–20, and 1520–1, not quite two weeks before Corpus Christi.

The few guild accounts that survive give some clues as to what the ship was and did. Of the fourteen accounts for years between 1514–15 and 1538–9, eleven contain references to the ship. Why the ship is not mentioned in the other three accounts is unclear. Other payments by the guild in connection with the Corpus Christi celebration confirm that the celebration certainly included performance, of which the ship may or may not have been part. Possibly

the ship was an expression of Boston's identity as a port town. Similar ship pageants were mounted by the Mariners' guilds at Grimsby and Lincoln, Lincolnshire's other two port towns.

Boston certainly had a parish play during the period leading up to the Reformation. In 1522–3 the account paid expenses for 'le playenge de le enterlute die *paraceues* & *pasche*,' which suggests that two stagings of the play, or two plays, occurred during Easter week. Other traditions continued during this same phase. Inventories made by a royal commission in 1552–3 and 1553–4 mention 'v olde copis for childrene,' indicating the earlier presence of child choristers, and perhaps a boy bishop and his entourage. In 1525–6 guild accounts record a payment to an important person, likely a burgess, whose daughter had been queen (possibly either Mary in the procession or a May queen).

In the second phase of Boston's performance history (after 1538–9 until 1578–9), the Corpus Christi celebration and the Noah ship disappear entirely from the records of the newly incorporated town. References to locally produced plays next occur in 1563–4 when Long Sutton paid 10s for the banns of Boston; in 1567–8 when the town paid the schoolmaster for his play; and in 1578–9 when the town council 'suffred' the playing of 'the play of the passion' in the hall garth at Easter or Whitsuntide. Two years earlier the town had forbidden the staging of plays or interludes in the church, chancel, hall, or schoolhouse, inadvertently identifying a variety of playing places where plays and interludes may have been customarily staged earlier in Boston. The permission given in 1578–9 sounds like a grudging and carefully hedged concession to 'diuers of this Boroughe.' It also indicates that the Passion play could be performed at either Easter or Whitsuntide. These several references to plays collectively suggest that a traditional religious play might well have been current in Boston between 1522–3 and 1578–9.²⁴

While evidence of musicians and waits continued to appear after 1578–9 until the Civil War, evidence of local drama is minimal. The town paid but four troupes of players and turned away four others. In 1606–7 a diocesan court presented a curate for 'mumeing in Boston in disguised apparell,' which sounds like a remnant of a parish custom that would have been common before the Reformation. Boston's early and complete suppression of its traditional parish customs likely occurred for the same reasons that it shifted with such surprising speed from being a pious Catholic town governed by powerful lay guilds to a strongly puritan corporate borough. For a detailed discussion of that likelihood, see above (pp 387–8).

Donington in Holland

The fenland market town of Donington left only one dramatic record but it is one of the most informative in the county. The document – a one-page fragment from a churchwardens' account, c 1563 – provides the cast list of a now lost English play on the Old Testament story of Nebuchadnezzar and the Three Hebrew Children (Daniel 3:1–30), which Donington was producing as its parish play during that decade. Donington is strategically located at the intersection of a north-south road from Spalding, and an east-west road (historically used in the salt trade) to the Midlands via Grantham. It is some three miles from the Car Dyke, a drainage system made by the Romans. During the earlier centuries Donington was a centre

of the flax and hemp trade, for which it had three related fairs per year and its manor engaged in substantial farming of wheat and oats. Though a compact place Donington was important in Lincolnshire agriculture. Its fine parish church of St Mary and the Holy Rood dates mainly from the fourteenth century (the chancel being thirteenth).²⁵

The dramatis personae in the list include at least eighteen figures – a king, a sultan, a duke, a steward, Holofernes, a herald, Daniel, four messengers, four knights, and three young men – and comprises all the major characters in the biblical story. Given its content (the rescue of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego from the fiery furnace where they had been thrown after refusing to worship Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol), and the size of its cast, this was clearly a play of some spectacle and scale. Wills and inventories of the men named in the cast list show them to have been influential farmers and yeomen (or their sons), probably members of a religious guild that had unofficially survived the reign of Edward VI for at least a generation.²⁶

In 1562–3 Donington received 6s 8d from the parish of Long Sutton – located some fifteen miles from Donington – for crying the banns of this play. Whether the content of this play was an innovation for Donington or was traditional there is unclear, but players from Donington had been paid some forty years earlier, in 1524–5, in Sutterton (four-and-a-half miles away) for a parish play of one kind or another. Thus evidence shows that Donington produced and advertised a parish play in two years spanning four decades of the sixteenth century.

Grimsby

Grimsby's performance records reflect its early status as a borough, its sense of its civic self, and the centrality of the sea-going trades in its economic and social life. As a port and one of Lincolnshire's oldest chartered boroughs Grimsby attracted visits by professional players and other performers and it supported local players, musicians, and bearwards.

Between 1514–15 and 1576–7 Grimsby paid players, presumably amateurs, from five towns situated within forty miles of Grimsby, including Grimoldby (thirteen miles) and Stallingborough (three miles), 1514–15; Marsh Chapel (seven miles), 1515–16; Kirton in Lindsey (twenty miles), 1571–2; and Boston (thirty-five miles), 1576–7. Given the small amounts awarded, all but one of those troupes appear to have been advertising, rather than performing, their parish play. Grimsby stopped recording payments to town players between 1517 and 1569 which is curious, since local plays were ubiquitous in the county during those decades; however Grimsby's own players took the banns of their parish play to Louth (fourteen miles distant) in 1527–8.

In 1526–7 the borough ordered six men, likely representatives of the town's six religious guilds (St John of Bower, Trinity, Ascension, Assumption, St George, and the Mariners), 'to prepare for the play of holy Iohn of bowre.' Since in 1527–8 Louth paid the players of Grimsby for crying the banns of their play, 'John of Bower' is likely a reference to Grimsby's parish play, but the meaning of the wording used in the order is ambiguous. Scholars have speculated that 'John of Bower' is either the name of an obscure saint or a reference to Holy John of Beverley, but no other reference to a John of Bower has yet been found, nor are there other references

to John of Beverley in Grimsby. However, Grimsby had a medieval hospital dedicated to St John of Jerusalem (another name for St John the Baptist). Lincolnshire had six hospitals dedicated to John the Baptist but none to a John of Bower. In addition to a guild of Holy John of Bower, Grimsby had a guildhall often referred to as St John a Bower House, on the south bank of the West Haven, so it seems reasonable that the order of 1526–7 refers to the play jointly produced by the town and its religious guilds, gives the name, and perhaps the content, of a religious play that was used to raise funds for Grimsby's hospital of St John of Jerusalem, or both. A reference to 'the play' in 1563–4 might refer to Grimsby's parish play as well.²⁷

Other customary practices combining worship, ceremony, and play emerge much more clearly from the records. The first was a Noah ship maintained by the powerful Mariners' guild (also known as the Trinity guild) and kept before the plough light in St Mary's Church, where drowned mariners were buried. On Plough Monday porters of the guild conveyed the ship in an elaborate procession through the streets and fields of the town. Described as the 'settinge furthe' of the ship (p 89), the procession was led by musicians and drummers; it included all the burgesses of the town and the members of the guild (under penalty of fine if they failed to attend).²⁸ The guild and the town sustained the ship ceremony throughout the sixteenth century. In 1507–8 the mayor's court book ordered the Mariners' guild to build the ship and stand it in the church before the plough light, and ordered all burgesses to give 20s toward its construction (records of Noah ships date from the same period in Boston and Lincoln, the county's two other major ports). Clearly the town saw the mariners as 'ploughing' the sea in the same way that farmers ploughed the land, and the ceremony as a mimetic benediction offered for their work. Given the high mortality rate among sailors the procession must have been poignant and stirring. In 1572 the guild found it necessary to order all guild members to attend its audit and annual supper, which the guild held on Plough Night, and subsequently fined several masters for non-attendance. In 1577–8 the young men of the guild presented 8s, clearly the results of a traditional fund-raising. The account of 1580–1 records costs for repairing the Noah ship and for 'pales' (either stakes for protective fencing around the ship or bars for a railing for the ship). They also paid for 'paile & wheles' for the ship. Because the accounts end in 1587 it is impossible to know how long the ceremony of the Noah ship endured in Grimsby.

The town also paid a number of unnamed troupes between 1468–9 and 1582–3. In 1468–9 and 1499–1500 Grimsby paid unnamed minstrels twice. Between 1562–3 and 1582–3 Grimsby paid troupes of unnamed players twenty times. The actual number of troupes may be greater because two of the entries are payments for diverse players. A close look at these entries gives the impression that many of these players were local, performing within the context of traditional civic and parish ceremonies and festivals. In 1562–3, for example, the town paid players for performances in the marsh, a large area between the main town and the River Humber, with common lands, berthing for large coal ships, a toll bridge, salt workings, and some closes – that is, a distinct sub-community within greater Grimsby. The most likely reason to play there would have been in connection with a traditional parish festival or maritime ceremony. In 1562–3 the town paid a bearward on St Bartholomew's Day (24 August); it had also paid diverse minstrels on St Bartholomew's Day sixty years earlier in 1499–1500. Clearly

the town sponsored some kind of ceremony with entertainments on 24 August. In 1563–4 the town made four payments to unnamed players and four payments to the schoolmaster; it also recorded a payment for ‘the play’ (*expensis circa ludum*). The schoolmaster likely had produced the parish play and others, and some of the players may have been his students. A payment to one Wath and his players in 1576–7 sounds like a local troupe. The identity of the remaining unnamed troupes is unclear. Payments to unnamed players and bearwards ceased abruptly in 1582–3 although state papers record a play ‘about witsunday’ in Grimsby in 1602. The two principals in that case are described as sitting as they watched the play, suggesting that it may have been a fixed-site play.

Two other records – one customary, one professional – further illustrate the range of entertainments in Grimsby. As recorded in the borough court book during the 1470s, each year the mayor and others went in procession to the hospital of St Mary Magdalene on the feast of St Mary Magdalene when the hospital had games of wrestling (the lay warden of the hospital was installed by the borough).²⁹ The purpose of this customary wrestling was to raise money for the hospital, a practice apparently common in Lincolnshire. Also in 1430–1, the borough court roll refers to a dispute between two local puppeteers over ‘certa instrumenta ⁊ joci vocati Ioly Walte and Malkyng’ (see p 755, endnote to NELA: 1/101/5/10 single sheet).

Holbeach

Entries in the churchwardens’ account for 1539–40 and an inventory from 1547 suggest that Holbeach had at least three parish-sponsored traditions of processional ceremony and play that mirrored, in miniature, the processions, shows, and plays in Lincoln. The precise relationship of the three is unclear but all involved processional elements and it is possible that they were discrete elements within a single procession on Corpus Christi Day. By 1389 Holbeach had guilds of Corpus Christi, St Thomas the Martyr, the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, the Holy Trinity, and the Nativity of the Blessed Mary (Shepherds) – all housed in the parish church.³⁰ The three performative traditions match the focus of three of these guilds and it is possible that each guild was responsible for one of them.

Like most parishes in the medieval period Holbeach had a Corpus Christi procession. In 1539–40 the churchwardens made a Corpus Christi offering of 3d and paid 14d ob for bread and ale. A harper, who was paid for playing before the sacrament in 1539–40, and attendants, who were paid for bearing a canopy to protect the sacrament in 1547, may have been participating in the Corpus Christi celebration or the celebration of the Assumption. A guild return of the Corpus Christi guild in 1389 had stipulated that members of the guild should carry two candles before the sacrament on Corpus Christi Day.³¹

Holbeach also had an Assumption play and procession. The churchwardens’ accounts of 1539–40 mention a Mary cart borne by four men (three of whom received their dinner from the wardens), thus it was a wagon on wheels. The account also mentions pins, cord, lines, paper, and ‘sope’ for the cloud, suggesting either a device for the wagon or for use in the church in enacting the miracle of the Assumption. Payment ‘to Cubbert wattssone & hys ffellows for

keypyng of ye clowd' and to Watson and John Lenssay for their work in mending the cloud suggest that it was an object of some scale and (because of the lines and cord) that it had a technological component. Surely the guild of the Assumption would have produced this spectacle, but whether at Corpus Christi or on the feast of the Assumption is unclear. It is quite possible that the guilds mounted their own worshipful shows twice each year – on the appropriate feast day and, with other guilds, at Corpus Christi.

References in an inventory in 1547 to 'harod's coate,' to 'all thapostyls coats and other raggs,' to the 'Dracon,' and to the three kings of Cologne (the Magi) indicate that Holbeach had a Nativity play. The Shepherds' guild, whose guild return in 1389 reported that they assembled in the church on the feast of the Nativity to present their candles, then held a feast 'in a respectable place,' seems a likely candidate to have produced the Nativity play.³²

Long Sutton

While Long Sutton's records contain no direct references to a local Corpus Christi celebration or a religious play, and but six payments to troupes of travelling professional players between 1542–3 and 1572–3 (the years for which accounts survive), they do contain a striking number of visits by parish-sponsored troupes of amateurs, many of whom were advertising their own plays. Long Sutton gave major support to parish drama in a region extending from Lincolnshire into East Anglia and Cambridgeshire, and the East Midlands. During the thirty years for which accounts survive Long Sutton paid performers from many towns in Lincolnshire (as near as Moulton, as distant as Lincoln), from Ipswich (Suffolk), Keston (Middlesex), Nottingham, and Walsoken and Wisbech (Cambridgeshire), and from several unidentifiable places. Spalding visited four times (dancers twice, players and children once each), Bolingbroke three times, and Wisbech twice. All other towns visited only once. Six of the towns were clearly crying the banns of their play: Frieston and Frampton (1542–3), Donington (1562–3), Boston (1563–4), Leake (1563–4), and Kirton (1564–5). The differing amounts paid (5s in 1542–3 and 10s in 1564–5) perhaps reflect sixteenth-century inflation.

It is impossible to know whether the remaining towns were staging a play or simply crying their banns, but their presence shows the sixth and seventh decades of the sixteenth century to have been a period of intense activity for parish drama and other amateur performance in the region. Players came to Long Sutton from Bolingbroke (three times); Gosberton; Ipswich; Keston; Lincoln; Moulton; Nottingham; Spalding; and Walsoken and Wisbech. Dancers came from Spalding (twice) and Whaplode. Children came from Spalding and Wisbech. On the average troupes of performers – whether players or dancers – received between 3s 4d (in the 1550s) and 6s 8d (in the 1560s). The similarity of these amounts to that given the banns criers suggests that some of these towns may have been crying the banns of their plays as well. While parishes sent their players out to advertise their plays, there is no persuasive evidence that local players (other than waits) travelled as itinerant troupes staging plays in parishes other than their own.

In addition the accounts include nineteen payments to unidentified troupes of players. Wording used in the entries may offer some clues as to their identity. Fifteen of the payments

mention only 'the players.' Three of these troupes of 'the players' performed in the church; all but two of them performed on or near an important feast day (Christmas, Epiphany, Candlemas, Shrovetide, Easter, and Midsummer). They received amounts less than what was given to professionals or players from other parishes – from 11d to 6s 8d given once near Corpus Christi and once on Trinity Sunday. The wording and those other details suggest that 'the players' may well have been Long Sutton's own. A sixteenth entry refers to 'the players that came first,' and three final entries refer to 'certain players.' All four of these troupes received very small amounts in comparison to those demonstrably from professional troupes and other parishes; perhaps they were amateur performers from Long Sutton or its environs. These nineteen payments indicate that while Long Sutton may or may not have had a parish play, the parish sponsored much dramatic performance at key points in the liturgical year between Christmas and November.

Louth

The prosperous market town of Louth has left evidence of religious and secular dramatic and musical traditions that reflect its complicated identity as a bishop's town, an emerging borough, and an accessibly located market centre. Its traditions of religious performance include a boy bishop ceremony at Childermas (28 December) (see p 433 below), a Corpus Christi play, and pageants that processed to the church.

References to Corpus Christi in Louth occur between 1515–16 and 1535–6, with an additional isolated reference in 1557–8. The Corpus Christi celebration in Louth included a play, pageants, and a procession. An inventory of church goods in 1512–13 included a quire of paper referring to feasts of Corpus Christi and St Thomas Martyr (either rules for services or plays), and the churchwardens' account for 1515–16 reports that one John Cawed laid a number of books, including the 'Regenall' for the Corpus Christi play, in the rood loft in an ambry paid for by the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary.³³ The pageants used on Corpus Christi Day must have been substantial and free-standing since they required storage in a barn in Gulpyn (now Schoolhouse) Lane in 1528–9. They would have been wheeled or carried on poles since men bore them to the church, as recorded in 1519–20 and 1527–8. Entries for 1527–8 also confirm that the pageants went in procession and that the parish had a Corpus Christi hutch or shrine, so the annual celebration of Corpus Christi clearly included a procession with the sacrament and pageants that culminated at the church.

The churchwardens and the town's major guilds shared responsibility for the Corpus Christi celebration and the records show what seems a clear division of some responsibilities. The churchwardens stored dressings, costumes, and play text in the church. Trinity guild repaired and stored the pageants in Gulpyn Lane. Corpus Christi guild supplied candles for the procession, as of 1326.³⁴ As early as the fourteenth century the Twelve Apostles guild had supplied twelve men to carry the Corpus Christi shrine; its members also assembled for a feast on the eve of Corpus Christi.³⁵ The traditional celebration described above no longer appears in the records after 1535–6 but in 1557–8 the schoolmaster was paid for furnishing 'the play played in the Markit stede on corpus christi day' a year earlier. So elements of the tradition – staging

a play of some kind on Corpus Christi Day – had survived in some form to that point. The wardens paid several troupes of players between 1539–40 and 1556–7 but whether for their participation in an otherwise unrecorded Corpus Christi play is unknown.

Fragments of evidence suggest the presence of other pious traditions. The remaining minor guilds were St Swithun, St Peter, and the guild of St George, which kept a gilded statue of St George, with a sword and horse, in the church. The keepers of the plough light gathered money for the parish on Plough Monday and carried their light in the Corpus Christi procession.³⁶ Parishioners also carried out well-dressings on Ascension Day. Aswell Spring was a source of clear water for making beer. The corporation fined those who befouled it and paid parishioners for dressing and otherwise tending it.³⁷

Other records of secular playing traditions reflect Louth's character as a thriving market centre capable of attracting, sustaining, and controlling entertainments and diversions of every kind. They mention 'fistulatores' in 1422–3 and the bailiff's seizure of a bag or pouch full of 'divers instruments of play' in 1431/2. Travelling players visited in the years between 1527–8 and 1556–7. Louth had many resident musicians and a company of waits (see p 451 below). It paid its schoolmaster to produce local drama during the reigns of both Mary and Elizabeth (see p 433 below). And it had a bull-ring and tennis play in the quarry.³⁸

Sleaford

Sleaford had at least six performance-related traditions. The accounts of the Trinity guild record payments to minstrels and 'for ye ryngyng' on Corpus Christi Day in 1476–7. In 1479–80 the guild paid for an original plan or diagram for the Ascension and 'the wrytyng of spechys & payntyng of a garment for god.' A payment for planks and their workmanship suggests that a play may have been mounted on a platform stage. The play itself could have dramatized either the Ascension of Christ or the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin since instances of the terms being used interchangeably occur in other Lincolnshire performance records (at Lincoln, for example). In 1482–3 the guild paid a minstrel for the bearing of a banner (perhaps for leading the Corpus Christi procession or the group crying the banns of Sleaford's play).

References to four other kinds of performer (visiting parish players, professional acting troupes, household minstrels, and professional musicians with no identified patron) occur in the household accounts of Sir John Hussey, lord of the manor at Sleaford and one of the most powerful men in the county (see p 529). His account for 1534–5 contains numerous payments for 'players gere' related to what sounds like a Christmas or Epiphany play: a considerable amount of paper (probably heavy fibrous sheets), some of it used to make coats; thread; two straw hats; a flowered satin kirtle; clasps of gold paper; cotton for caps; lining; 'terre' (tar perhaps used for make-up) for 'the Shepard of old Sleaford'; and five 'hery berdes' (so at least five of the play's characters required beards). Since the payment occurs within a list otherwise composed of production-related payments, the play may have involved painted properties of some kind. The payments occur as foreign expenses during January and the account lists payments to two troupes of players (eight players in all) on 30 December, and to the players of Kirton in Lindsey on 3 January, though it is entirely unclear that the playing gear is related to any of these players.

In the aggregate the evidence suggests that the play may have included the Magi, Herod, a shepherd, and perhaps Mary (if the kirtle is for a woman rather than a man).

The account for 1534–5 also includes payments to players from eight towns (one of them Bedford in Bedfordshire). While the players from towns probably were being paid for crying the banns of their parish plays (given the small amounts paid), rather than for acting them, the players of Bedford and the earl of Northumberland were possibly paid for performing a play (6s 8d each). Finally the Hussey accounts for 1533–4 and 1534–5 include payments to household minstrels for their livery and some performances. The powerful Hussey household was a magnet for performers both amateur and professional.

Both these powerful patrons in Sleaford subsequently suffered catastrophic reversals which destroyed them. The Chancies Act of 1547 dismantled the Trinity guild and Lord Hussey was executed and his holdings seized following his ineffectual response to the Lincolnshire rising in 1536 (see pp 382–3).

Stamford

Lying inland, on a major roadway to the north, Stamford had always been strategically important to the Crown, which had licensed it to hold royal tournaments by the twelfth century. The town had waits by the late fifteenth century, and ancient traditions such as its notorious bull-running which caused annual mayhem in the town (see Appendix 4, pp 588–95).

All the evidence of Stamford's Corpus Christi celebration survives as four orders in the earliest corporation minute books. An entry in 1465 orders that the forty-three crafts in the town be organized into pageants, each of which had two wardens to oversee the masters and servants of each craft, and to do so for the welfare and worship of the town (see pp 317–19). In this context the word 'pageant' refers not to a play or a wagon but to companies or groups of crafts. In 1465–6 an order directed the two wardens of each pageant to check the quality of anything to be sold 'within hys said pagent and wardeynrye,' so the pageants were instruments of governance. In 1479–80 an order directed that the Corpus Christi play be mounted for the honour of God and the reformation of the faithful; and in 1482 the aldermen, burgesses, and all the commons ordered the wardens of the town's six pageants to make their assigned contribution to the Corpus Christi play, according to ancient custom. It seems likely, based on this sketchy evidence from the records, that Stamford had a single play, similar to what occurred in the nearby towns of Donington and Spalding, and in Lincoln, during the sixteenth century. In Stamford the stated aims of the Corpus Christi play were to reform and to support commerce. They were truly an advertisement for God and for the city.

Custom in Other Communities

Similar integrated customary events occurred in many of Lincolnshire's smaller communities of every kind (villages, households, and religious houses) on important liturgical feasts and seasonal occasions. Christmas customs were ubiquitous in the county. Hagworthingham's

church of the Holy Trinity received 5s 4d from the young men's 'Wessell' or wassail in 1555–6, clearly in the Christmas season. Christmas lords held their court at Grimsthorpe in 1560 and at Nun Cotham Priory, which in 1531 received the bishop's displeasure; boy bishops at Christmas are numerous in the records (see pp 432–3 below).

Many of Lincolnshire's parishes had Plough Day customs. While records from most of those places contain no evidence of music or mimesis, records from six parishes, situated in five different parts of the county, suggest the likelihood that their Plough Day customs included music and mimetic elements (see discussion of Grimsby's Noah Ship on p 423). At Saxilby (six miles from Lincoln) the parish held one of its two biggest annual collections on Plough Day. Between 1555–6 and 1565–6 the parish paid a piper and young men gathered money and presented it on Plough Day at night. The parish also paid the young men for their efforts. It seems most reasonable to think that they were carrying a ceremonial plough through the streets on Plough Day (the parish wouldn't have been paying them for their efforts in doing nothing). In 1610–11 the churchwardens of the fenland town of Leverton paid for an ale on Plough Monday. The fenland town of Holbeach kept a 'sygne whereon the plowghe did stond' in the parish church (see p 97). Market Deeping in south Lincolnshire reported money gathered on Plough Monday and expenses related to that day in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Between 1532 and 1535 Wigtoft (south of Boston) collected money from its plough light and from a plough gathering.³⁹

Evidence of May games, like celebrations at Christmas and Plough Day, appears sporadically in the records between 1428 and 1601. Payments related to a possible maypole occur in Stamford in 1428; while those for maypoles occur in Waddingham in 1566, Lincoln in 1572–4, and Heckington in 1596–7. Wigtoft churchwardens' accounts include receipts from 'maye' and for the May light between 1505 and 1535.⁴⁰ At Louth the town wardens paid the earl of Derby's servants not to play at the May Day fair in 1608–9, though whether in connection with May games is unclear. At Boston it appears to have been customary (from date uncertain) to erect an arbor before the mayor's door on May Day, until abolished by civic order in 1660.⁴¹ Of all these references descriptions of May games in South Kyme are by far the most detailed. On Sunday, 30 August 1601, opponents of the detested Henry Clinton, seventeenth earl of Lincoln, staged a morality play satirizing the earl, as 'an ende of the Sommer Lord ^[game in South¹ [in] kyme for that yeare.' The play was staged in the afternoon following dinner and evening prayer, beside a maypole, near a mock pulpit, on a green near the home of Sir Edward Dymoke. Entitled 'The Death of the Lord of Kyme,' it attracted some 300–400 spectators. Earlier, on 26 July as part of the May games that seem to have extended through much of the summer, many from South Kyme had marched, as an armed and festive troupe of revellers, to the parish of Coningsby, and to the earl's castle at Tattershall, engaging in several dangerous encounters with the earl's retainers. These incidents arose from a running conflict between Clinton and Dymoke for political and economic dominance in this part of south Lincolnshire. In the performances the organizers combined elements and conventions of traditional May games, morality plays, and inter-parish skimmingtons or mock musters, skilfully using them to rhetorically savage a ruthless and powerful opponent.⁴²

Rogation processions on the Sunday preceding Ascension Day, because they are connected

with liturgical observances and usually non-mimetic, are generally excluded from REED volumes. In its traditional form Rogation (or beating the bounds) typically involved serious, but purposely noisy, processions led by persons carrying banners and the cross, with bells ringing loudly, likened in a fifteenth-century homily to what 'a kyng hathe in his oste baners and trompettes & claryons to þe drede of his enmyes.'⁴³ Thus framed, beating the bounds was one of the many kinds of civic and ecclesiastical ceremonies that filled community life. In its metaphysical, if not its physical, dimensions the custom was treated as a kind of spiritual theatre dramatizing the invisible cosmic battle between good and evil that was being perpetually waged on, and above, the streets of any community. By the early sixteenth century one sermonizer complained that 'these solemne and accustomable processions and supplications be nowe grown into a right foule and detestable abuse, so that the moost parte of men and women do come forth rather to set out and shew themselves, and to pass the time with vayne and unprofitable tales and mery fables, than to make generall supplications and prayers to God.'⁴⁴

But one case, that of Ashby de la Launde, illustrates the ways in which Rogations could further develop into a performative activity. Documents from a royal commission describe a dispute over property boundaries and ownership of land, in which during Rogation days, parishioners went 'in a riotos Mannor, (that is to say, with bylles, Bowes, Arrowes, Swerdes, & Bucklers, & oder wepynes) under the Color of a Procession, aboute the *said* Heithe of Asheby.' The parishioners appear to have turned their Rogation procession into a mock muster, an inherently mimetic (and threatening) contest played out across the landscape (see, for example, South Kyme above) and in this case a direct challenge to the presumptive landlord, Thomas de la Launde.

Evidence of plays at Whitsuntide occurs only at Lincoln and Boston; however, Assumption plays were much more common. The jewel of the performance tradition in Sutterton, which lies at the intersection of two major roads in the fenlands connecting Spalding to Boston and Sleaford to Holbeach, was its own play, identified in its churchwardens' accounts as an Assumption play staged on 15 August 1523–4. The play was performed every year between 1520–1 and 1525–6, and in 1530–1, 1531–2, and 1536–7, when the run of accounts ends. The records mention numerous expenses for town wax, players' candles, a town light, 'incrementtes' given by numerous townsmen, a common light, and a Mary light. The nature of these payments (especially the extremely large amounts for wax and lights) indicates that the event included a solemn procession and religious service in conjunction with the play. However, the accounts contain no references to staging devices, machinery, or costumes, so it is impossible to know the extent to which the play involved the use of technology. In other respects however, the Assumption play in Sutterton appears to mirror, in a smaller way, what occurred in Lincoln on St Anne's Day. Its large parish church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Not surprisingly, given Sutterton's location, a number of fenland towns and villages (Donington, Frampton, Kirton, Swineshead, and Whaplode) visited it to cry the banns of their plays. Frampton and Kirton bann criers, who were travelling and paid together in 1525–6, seem to have been co-producing a single play. The players of Whaplode, based on their visits to Sutterton, produced their play in both 1518–19 and 1530–1. Donington paid

for its play in 1524–5, produced its play again *c* 1563 (based on its own parish records), and perhaps more often than that. The entries for these several town plays, as those at Leverton and Long Sutton, indicate the density of local playing traditions in the fenlands, the high degree of inter-parish co-operation in producing plays, and the presence of carefully articulated local playing (and advertising) circuits. Local players came from all four directions into Sutterton via the two intersecting roads.

Similarly at Leverton, a large village near the sea possessed of an impressive parish church about five miles from Boston, seven entries from the Leverton churchwardens' accounts cast light on this kind of local playing tradition in the surrounding area of the fenlands. With its strategic location on a coastal road Leverton attracted travelling performers from other fenland towns throughout much of the sixteenth century. The churchwardens paid performers from three identified towns (Boston, Bourne, and Swineshead) located in a line roughly north to southwest from Leverton. The visiting players from Bourne (in 1565–6) and Swineshead (1525–6) were both crying the banns of their plays. The entry for Bourne also tells us that Bourne mounted its production that year to pay for 'reparacion' of its church. The payment in 1594–5 indicates that, in spite of the Reformation, Leverton permitted playing in its church until at least the end of the sixteenth century.

Comparable payments in the parish and civic records of other towns indicate that many Lincolnshire towns, both large and small, had parish plays, co-operated with other parishes in the production of those plays, and used travelling troupes of amateur players to advertise them widely. In Boston, for example, the banns criers of tiny Swineshead visited in 1525–6. Louth received visits from the players of Grimsby in 1527–8, and the players of Withern in 1547–8. Unidentified players who performed at Louth in 1552–3 and 1621–2 may or may not have been visiting amateurs. Two further items may offer evidence of local playing troupes using an opportunity presented following the several ordered seizures and sale of church furniture and vestments. In 1566 Cumberworth parish reported having sold vestments to make players' coats and Stallingborough parish reported the sale of a cross cloth to players, 'who defaced it.' A final sale of an alb to five players that year – by Welton le Wold parish – identified the players as men, not boys.

There is some evidence of early autumn feasts related to harvest. The parish of Upton had a custom called a 'peascod' feast, a wooing custom held in the fields on Sundays. It involved the passing around of scalded peas as a way of divining who among the young women present would be the first to marry. Since it is mentioned in an October presentment (in the ecclesiastical court), it likely occurred early in harvest time. At Louth civic records include payments for a 'Graves feast dynner at Michaelmas' in 1618–19, and a payment to the waits 'at the Graves feastes & foure Sessions' in 1619–20. The 'Grave' was the reeve or bailiff, collector of the rents and ameracements for the bishop of Lincoln, who was the lord of the manor in Louth. The grave was elected annually by former graves, an event that customarily included a civic ceremony and feast, with music.⁴⁵

As an essentially non-mimetic sport, wrestling too is generally excluded from REED volumes, but two entries illustrate the ways in which parishes, towns, and religious institutions, especially medieval hospitals, used wrestling as a fund-raising custom. In Grimsby, according to the

borough court entry book from the 1470s, each year the mayor and others went in procession to the hospital of St Mary Magdalene (the borough installed the lay warden of the hospital) where the hospital held its customary wrestling on the feast of St Mary Magdalene to raise money.³⁶ In 1394 during an episcopal visitation canons complained that the dean of Lincoln Cathedral sponsored wrestling matches in the cathedral close, in the bishop's palace, and by St Giles' Hospital in the eastern reaches of Lincoln beside what is now Wragby Road. He even acted as judge for the wrestling matches, awarding a 'cat of the mountains' to the better wrestlers. In the customary use of wrestling hospitals appear to have portrayed wrestling as part of the allegorical contest between good and evil in which they saw themselves as being engaged.

In that wrestling as a part of traditional fund-raising customs used by parishes appears in the earliest Lincolnshire records, it appears to have been widely popular in early Lincolnshire, among both laity and clergy. As Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*, written in Lincolnshire in 1303, records, wrestling was a staple of parish games held on Sundays and other holy days. He condemns those who would offer the prize of a sword or ring, 'For to gadere a wrastlyng,/ þe halyday þou holdyst nocht.' He condemns the pride of those who '...madyst wrastlyng yn place,/ Pat noun were holde to þy pygace.' In another passage he condemns 'Karolles, wrastlynges, or somour games,/ Who so eure haunteþ any swyche shames,/ Yn cherche oþer yn cherche 3erd.'³⁷ In the early fifteenth century a translation exercise for the cathedral school used a passage addressing a 'Hairy Scot' who was cast down and defeated in wrestling, indicating how common the practice must have been in the minds of the school boys and choristers.³⁸

Education and Performance

Schools made significant and various contributions to drama, music, and custom in early Lincolnshire. The earliest schools in Lincolnshire date from the eleventh century but the first records related to performance appear in the early fourteenth century, most of them predictably at Lincoln Cathedral. A statute from the late thirteenth century refers to a candle for the boy bishop ceremony; cathedral accounts refer to his staff in 1313–14. The boy bishop next appears at Lincoln Cathedral much later, in a chapter act book from 1527, with precisely the same kind of reference (to a candle for the boy bishop ceremony), though whether the tradition had continued, essentially unbroken and unchanged, for 230 years is entirely unclear from the few references that survive. The final references to boy bishops in the cathedral records occur in inventories of 1536 (a children's cope) and 1548 (a velvet cope for the boy bishop and a cope for children), indicating (since these inventories were ordered by the Crown) that the tradition was now defunct and that the garments were to be confiscated or sold.

At Somerton Castle (about eight miles from Lincoln) in 1359, when King John of France was a prisoner there, he paid the bishop and clerks of Navenby parish 3s 4d for singing the *Ergo Laudes* on the feast of St Nicholas, presumably a boy bishop ceremony (see Appendix 1, pp 569–78). Neither Leach nor Knowles reports a school or religious house at Navenby, and no parish accounts survive, but stone carvings in the fourteenth-century parish church at Navenby 'include a triple-headed jester on the clerestory, a musical jester, a man with bagpipes,

and a man with a viol,' so music and jesters seem to have been part of life at Navenby (as they were for their temporary neighbour, King John of France).⁴⁹

Though schools were flourishing during the fifteenth century few references to performance in schools, beyond those at Lincoln Cathedral, survive from that century. One exception – an account roll for 1480–1 by the bursar of Selby Abbey among the papers from Crowle Manor – includes a payment of 6s 8d to the boy bishop, but the account includes receipts and expenditures related to places in four counties, so it is unclear precisely where the payments for the boy bishop were made.⁵⁰ However a number of references to school-sponsored performance dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries do survive. Since the bishop of Lincoln was lord of the manor at Louth – which had a schoolmaster in 1276 – the elaborate nature of the boy bishop ceremony there doesn't seem surprising. Payments for the boy bishop occur in the Louth churchwardens' accounts nearly every year between 1500–1 and 1523–4, at which point they disappear from the records. Most payments record a customary 6d given to the boy bishop for his expenses but in three years (1500–1, 1501–2, and 1505–6) the accounts also record payments to repair the boy bishop's 'see,' likely a ceremonial throne in the church.⁵¹ Religious guilds and the churchwardens contributed financial support to the school and choristers, including the boy bishop ceremony.⁵²

During the second half of the sixteenth century three kinds of references indicate considerable involvement in drama by schools. The first concerns the schoolmaster as playwright, director, and producer of plays for the town or parish, as indicated by payments to the schoolmaster at Louth in 1555–6, 1557–8, and 1567–8; and at Boston in 1567. At Lincoln Cathedral the schoolmaster and once the assistant schoolmaster were paid for plays by the boys in 1561–2 (before the dean and others), in 1564–5, in 1565–6 (a comedy), and in 1574–5 (for 'setting forth of divers plays' that year). In 1593 at Lincoln Cathedral two clerks – Bartholomew Gryffyn and John Hilton (a skilled musician) – were paid for staging two comedies performed by the choristers and other scholars of the cathedral.

The second kind of reference concerns playing garments. When royal commissioners ordered the inventory and confiscation or sale of church garments mid-century, a number of schools purchased them for use as what they called 'players' coats.' In 1564–5 Horbling parish reported that during the first year of Elizabeth, a vestment had been given 'to Richard Colsonne a scoller and he haith made a players cote thereof.' At Waddingham in 1566 all the banner cloths and cross cloths had been cut into pieces by the parson who had made 'playinge cotes for childerne of them.'

The third indicator of involvement by schools in drama during the second half of the sixteenth century concerns payments to travelling troupes of children. At Long Sutton in 1564–5 the churchwardens paid 6s 6d 'to the children of wisbich whan they played here'; and in 1572–3, 20d 'to the children of Spaldinge.' Long Sutton also paid 5s 'to a play of fowre boyes beyng straungers' in 1562–3. The first two groups may have been school children from a nearby town, but the nature and home parish of the third group is unclear. In 1571–2 Grimsby paid 22d 'to plaiers of Kirton in Lyndesey on childermas daie.' Given that they played on 28 December it is conceivable that the players were children.

The effects of schools on the study and performance of music in the county appear to have

been profound. The foundation for the song school at Lincoln Cathedral coincides with the founding of the diocese and a number of later schools designated themselves as song schools for choristers or as song and grammar schools. According to Roger Bowers, 'polyphonic performance was cultivated at Lincoln as early as the second half of the thirteenth century,' and 'the character and nature' of the musical community there was fixed by the early fourteenth century. In 1390 the chapter abolished the feast of fools as part of a general reform movement that also regularized the education and training of the choristers. The suppression of the feast of fools, Bowers observes, coincides with 'a temporary multiplication of the occasions on which liturgical dramas, which would have included music by the choristers, ... were inserted into the liturgy.' The years between 1460 and 1547 'represent the apogee of the cultivation of fine music and elaborate liturgy in Lincoln Minster,' as demonstrated by the succession of distinguished masters of music and choristers, who were 'highly esteemed and appropriately rewarded.'⁵³ But the second half of the sixteenth century was also a rich musical period for Lincoln Cathedral. As Stanford E. Lehmborg points out, Elizabeth's injunction of 1559 ensuring that music would continue to be a central part of church services 'reflects the queen's own love of church music.' The presence of William Byrd, the greatest composer of his day, as teacher of the choristers (1563–72) ensured that the chapter and some members of the laity would hear music of the first order, though not always taught and sung in an atmosphere that was orderly.⁵⁴ The cathedral accounts of 1594–5, 1596–7, and 1609–10 record reimbursements to the teacher of the choristers for strings and other necessities to keep the musical instruments in good repair.

But equally important in the teaching of music were musicians living in the towns and working as waits or masters of companies, or both (see pp 443–52 below). They had apprentices, some of whom can be traced in their progress from apprentice to journeyman musician to wait or master in their own right (see, for example, Boston, 1573–4; Lincoln 1615–16, 1619–20, 1623–4, and 1631–2 (an instrument maker's apprentice). The musicians' own children sometimes carried on their fathers' legacies as musicians (see Boston, 1572–3 and 1609–10; Lincoln, 1610–11; Stamford, 1586–7; and Swineshead, 1534). The household accounts of the duchess of Suffolk at Grimsthorpe offer an example of a family consort made up of father and daughters who played before the duchess in 1561. That same account in 1562 includes payments to 'the players boye' and to 'roses boye'; though neither may have been a musician, both were apprentices to performers. Some of those musicians also tutored the children of the gentry in private households. At Stainton by Langworth, Sir Nicholas Saunderson of Fillingham hired the musician Giles Farnaby and his musician son, Richard Farnaby, to teach music to Saunderson's children (four sons and three daughters) in 1607/8. Many schoolmasters, of course, included instruction in music. In the biography of his family Gervase Holles of Grimsby says that 'At the Gramar Schole (*which* was ye Free Schole of Grimesby) I was first vnder ye care of Mr William Dalby, who likewise taught me Musique.' Interestingly, as the number of drama entries begins to disappear from town and parish records during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, references to civic and other secular musicians, as masters of companies or at least as journeymen musicians capable of teaching apprentices, begin to proliferate in the records, whether at Grimsby, Lincoln, Louth, Stamford, or elsewhere. That proliferation appears to coincide with the drive by towns to break lingering feudal ties and to establish themselves

as free boroughs. Entrepreneurial musicians such as these clearly made a major contribution to the teaching and performance of music in the county.

Some records give glimpses of school customs which might involve elements of mimetic play – and rowdiness. Most notable is the custom of ‘barring-out,’ first recorded at Lincoln in 1615 (as a tradition already established) and at Louth in 1646–7. Its basic action involves the students literally shutting the schoolhouse doors to the schoolmaster and barricading themselves inside until their demands (including amnesty from punishment and the suspension of the school for the rest of the term) are met. In that it reverses authority, making the boys temporary masters, it resembles the ceremony of the boy bishop. In its potential rowdiness some have suggested that it shares a common heritage with the feast of fools. Though it is often described as anarchic and violent (because of occasional damage to the school building), it appears to have been essentially festive in Lincolnshire.⁵⁵ At Louth it was sanctioned by the governors and clearly involved feasting and speeches by the boys, for which they were paid. At Lincoln the first certain reference occurs on 1 August 1615 when a visitation decreed that the exclusion of the master or usher by the scholars in any year would be strictly forbidden before the feast of *O Sapientia*, namely, the sixteenth of December. As part of this visitation the schoolmaster also organized a speech day in which two boys delivered orations, one in Greek, the other in Latin. Playing at assizes was another mimetic custom at Lincoln school, which appears to have been a form of ‘mock trials and punishments parodying the real-life assizes’ that were held four times each year in Lincoln. The play assizes apparently lasted several days and were perhaps held during the summer. Garton says that they are first mentioned in the 1620s, but the earliest documented evidence is from the mid-seventeenth century. A third custom at Lincoln, described as ‘ancient,’ involved the mayor entering the classroom of the grammar school and ‘holding up the Ring for the boys at once to throw aside their books and rush out of School.’⁵⁶ Other schools certainly had game days. The school statutes at Caistor c 1631, for example, mandate formal play days at the discretion of the schoolmaster, or when requested by a ‘Gentleman Stranger.’

In short the contributions of Lincolnshire’s schools to early performance traditions in the county were various, rich, and present from very early dates.

Playing Places

The records, antiquarian histories, and topographical evidence indicate that Lincolnshire had many kinds of playing places, both dedicated and non-dedicated. Dedicated refers to those places that were primarily used for play of one kind or another, or that were so habitually used for a particular kind of entertainment or spectacle that the name of that entertainment attached itself to the place. Non-dedicated playing places were those locations (both indoor and outdoor) that were occasionally used as playing venues but principally used for worship, commerce, or habitation, and that were not normally identified by a name associated with performance. For detailed information, with images and ground plans, on performance venues used by professional troupes with patrons, researched by Sally-Beth MacLean, see the REED *Patrons and Performances Web Site* <<http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/>>.

Archaeologists have identified the location of what they think was a theatre in Roman

Lincoln but during the period covered by the records Lincolnshire had no purpose-built indoor theatres.⁵⁷ However, it did have one large open-air space called the Battleplace, that had originally been the site of trials by combat but which, by the thirteenth century, had evolved into venues for jousting, sport, play, and other easements (see Appendix 5, pp 599–600). Lincoln used another large open-air space as a playing place, an area known as Broadgate, a piece of ground in the lower city, next to the king's ditch in the parish of St Augustine, very near to the River Witham and to the playing field of the grammar school (if it was not indeed the playing field itself).⁵⁸ In 1564 the city ordered that 'a standyng play of some Storye of ye bibell schall be played ij days this Sommer tyme' in July, 'in brodgate in the seid Cyty,' and in 1566 the city ordered the same play to be played again, 'in whytson holye days.' As described in the corporation minute book, the play would have required considerable space to perform, having nine or ten stations representing different cities. For a similar open-air playing place in the fenlands market town of Spalding, see Appendix 5, pp 600–1.⁵⁹ For discussion of bull-rings and cockpits, which were another category of dedicated playing place, whatever we might think of those pastimes today, see pp 456–7.

Non-dedicated playing places fall into two categories – those in religious spaces (churches, church houses, churchyards, hospitals, monasteries) and those in public spaces or private dwellings. The most monumental religious playing place was, of course, Lincoln Cathedral, where (as documented by the mid-fifteenth century) the chapter annually staged an enactment of the Ascension and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the cathedral nave on St Anne's Day as part of a larger commemoration jointly mounted with the city. References to stars and rope, as in 1461–2, the cleverness of the person responsible for the vision, the techniques used in productions of Assumption and Coronation ceremonies elsewhere, and the content of the feast itself suggest the possibility that the enactment of the Assumption and Coronation included, at the least, machinery used to visually represent the figure of the Blessed Virgin being taken up to heaven and there crowned. This event is one of several (the creation of a 'visio' or 'sight' at Christmas in 1458–9 in the choir and at Pentecost in 1395–6) creating visual spectacle that might well have involved the representation of mystical ascent and descent in the various areas of the nave.

Several parishes continued to use churches for plays and customary practices blending worship, play, and fund-raising throughout much of the sixteenth century. Payments to players for playing in the church survive from Leverton (1594–5), Long Sutton (1547–8, 1561, and 1572), Louth (the queen's players, 1556–7), Market Deeping (1573–4), and Witham on the Hill (1550). At Baston, as of 1389, the women of St John Baptist guild danced, by guild ordinance, to the church and carried votive lights on St John Baptist's Day. At Gainsborough religious guilds made similar use of a chapel before the Reformation. At Grimsby the pageant ship made by the Mariners' guild stood within the parish church (see 1507–8, p 79) when not being paraded through the streets on feast days. Leverton parish paid for ale for dancers who came to the church in 1545–6. The Louth churchwardens' accounts also refer to boy bishop ceremonies and a Corpus Christi play, both of which included built structures in the church. Payments in 1500 and 1501 refer to the building of the boy bishop's 'see.' In 1519 four men bore pageants to the church and in 1527–8 the wardens paid for rings to hang 'haros'

cloths in the high choir and for keys to the Corpus Christi hutch. At Sutterton (as was typical) the presentation of 'gatherings,' when accounts were declared, occurred in the church. In Wragby one Thomas Toniton was presented at a visitation in 1585 for having danced in the church.⁶⁰

Churchyards too were used as playing places, such as those of Great Hale (for baiting a bull with dogs in 1608), Hougham (for unspecified playing and for a cockfight in 1638), and Wainfleet St Mary (for maintaining a cockfight in 1616). At Humberston in 1440 fiddlers and dancers performed in the parish churchyard.

There also seems to have been a tradition in Lincolnshire in which hospitals sponsored customary wrestlings, as fund-raisers, on the grounds of the hospitals. The hospital of St Mary Magdalene at Grimsby held its customary wrestling annually on the feast of its patron saint and the cathedral chapter at Lincoln sanctioned wrestling matches in the cathedral close, the bishop's palace, and by St Giles' Hospital (see pp 431–2).

Secular spaces – mainly streets, market squares, houses, halls, and greens – also served as playing places. Civic and religious processional shows (often combined), as at Lincoln, necessarily used the streets as playing places. Similarly parts of the processional spectacles at Baston, Boston, Gainsborough, Grimsby, and Louth occurred, in part, on the street. In Stamford the investiture of a newly elected alderman involved a most complex ceremony, with performances, in the streets and several other places. The entire oligarchy of the town repaired first to the house of the new alderman for a 'short banquet,' then to the castle yard for the swearing of his oath, then to the church of St Mary for a sermon, back to the new alderman's house (this time led by gold and silver maces and the town's waits playing music, with students from the free school stopping him at several points to deliver orations in Greek and Latin), and finally to 'a great feast' for town and country at the new alderman's house.⁶¹ Stamford also used the streets of the town for its ancient 'bull-running,' in which streets were blocked off and a bull pursued by people and dogs, with occasional stops by the crowd at alehouses, until the exhausted creature was slaughtered (see Appendix 4, pp 588–95).

Use of market squares, village greens, and open fields depended on the size of the community. In 1578/9 the Boston council minute book ordered 'that the play of the passion &c. shalbe suffred to be plaiede in the hall garthe at Ester or Whitsontide when they shalbe moste mete and prepared for the same.' The 'hall garth' was originally part of Boston Hallgarth. The town built its grammar school on a portion of the garth.⁶² In 1558 Louth staged its Corpus Christi play in 'the Markit stede.' In 1601, as part of its May games, the village of South Kyme staged an elaborate satirical play on the village green (where the maypole also was set up), 'about a stones cast' from the house of Sir Edward Dymoke, lord of the manor (see p 278). The village of Threckingham held (and holds) 'one of the oldest chartered fairs' in England, nearly 800 years old, on nearby Stow Green Hill, in the hamlet of Stow, less than a mile from Threckingham.⁶³

The feasting described above in the house of Stamford's alderman illustrates a typical use, by civic and church officials and by craft and religious guilds, of halls for feasting and ceremonies, with music and sometimes with plays. The Mariners' guild of Grimsby, for example, required the entire guild, on pain of fines, to attend the guild's annual audit and supper on Plough Night. In Lincoln the Cordwainers' guild paid certain players in their hall during their annual

feast in 1530. In 1531–2 they paid ‘the plaiers’ and expenses for the dinner in adjoining entries. In other years they also paid for the dinner of the waits, who clearly were performing at the guild’s annual feast (see 1609–10, 1610–11, 1613–14). At Boston in 1525 the elaborate description of expenses at the feast of Corpus Christi in the guildhall of the Blessed Virgin Mary includes payments to entertainers and to the town’s waits, for performances either at the feast or during the procession and service, or for both. The corporation’s order of 1576/7 ‘that there shalbe no mo playes nor interludes [nor] in the church nor in the Chancell nor in the hall nor Scolle howse,’ clearly confirms that plays had traditionally been staged in those venues, including in Boston’s guildhall. In early seventeenth-century Louth the masters of the town paid the waits for performing at the dinners held during the sessions of the peace. They also paid them at ‘the Graves feast’ (1619–20). That the payments were not merely customary but were for performances at the dinners is confirmed by the payment in 1634–5 ‘to the waites for their service done at all the Sessions,’ events obviously held in the town hall. The town wardens at Louth also paid for ‘the players at Easters Sessions’ in 1621–2, and for ‘the showe on Whitson munday’ in 1624–5, both of which seem different in kind from the payments to the waits. The Easter payment seems to be for a performance in the hall but the other may describe a performance out of doors.

Other unsanctioned performances are recorded in private residences. When King John of France was held captive at Somerton Castle in 1359–60, his entourage included minstrels and a jester (see Appendix 1, pp 569–78); many kinds of performers played for the duchess of Suffolk at Grimsthorpe Castle, as demonstrated in her household accounts for 1560–2; and wrestlings were reportedly held in the bishop’s palace in Lincoln in the late fourteenth century (see 1393–4). Five men in Roughton were presented ‘for plainge in Christmas Tyme in prayer time one St Stephens day,’ and one of the five ‘for harboringe of them in his howse.’ At Spilsby in 1564 one John Howson, wearing a mask, preached a sermon while standing atop a cupboard until one of the other maskers struck down the cupboard, which seems to be describing a play that parodied the preaching clergy and which clearly occurred in someone’s house or in a hall.

By the mid-sixteenth century Puritans and other local reformers were objecting with increasing fervor to the use of religious and civil spaces for playing. In the face of relentless pressure performance of every kind began a forced migration from churches, church lands, public buildings, and streets into taverns, alehouses, and private dwellings – a process that intensified throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. In Louth, for example, although the queen’s players had performed in the church in 1556–7, the town held its own Corpus Christi play in the marketplace a year later, a play and festal commemoration that had included the church in earlier decades.

Travelling Professional Performers

Between 1468–9 and 1627 local records include payments and other references to troupes of itinerant players, minstrels and musicians who were licensed professionals with (excepting p 82, l.37, and p 344, l.2) identifiable patrons. These troupes turn up in ten places in the county: the towns of Boston, Grimsby, Lincoln, Long Sutton, Louth, Market Deeping,

Stamford, the monastic establishment of Bardney Abbey, and the households of Katherine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk, at Grimsthorpe Castle and of Sir John, Lord Hussey, at Sleaford.

It is difficult to draw many conclusions about the number of professional troupes who visited Lincolnshire, the frequency of their performances in the county, or the extent of the locations where they performed based on the surviving evidence. First the records contain payments to many performers who are identified simply as players, minstrels, 'lusores,' or similar terms. Whether some were licensed companies is unclear but it seems likely that they were; in 1562, for example, the duchess of Suffolk at Grimsthorpe Castle paid 20s 'To diuers noble mens trumpiters to the numbre of x.' These noble patrons are otherwise unidentified in the account. Second references to licensed professionals occur in a collection of records that is fragmentary at best: Grimsby has the only extensive run of civic accounts in the county for the period though Lincolnshire had numerous other important towns; the duchess of Suffolk and her second husband's (Richard Bertie's) household accounts cover but a two-year period (1560–2), although Grimsthorpe Castle was a residence of the duchess from the 1540s to the late 1570s. The cellarers' accounts for Bardney Abbey only run from 1527–31 although the abbey was founded in the eleventh century. Most of the early payments to players at Boston (1522–6) come only in religious guild accounts, with civic documents surviving only from 1545 when the town was incorporated. All payments by Long Sutton, Louth, and Market Deeping occur in churchwardens' accounts, except for a few from Louth Grammar School accounts, all but Louth necessarily presenting a somewhat skewed picture because they are fragmentary.

Yet the entries that survive do provide useful information. First they fall into discernible historical clusters. Before the reign of Henry VIII only two records survive, both from Grimsby: a payment to Lord Stanley's minstrels in 1468–9 and a joint payment to the minstrels of Prince Arthur, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Northumberland, in 1499–1500 – all figures of importance in national affairs. During Henry VIII's reign thirteen payments survive for performances at Boston, Grimsby, and Louth, eighteen at Bardney Abbey, and one at the Hussey household at Sleaford: thirty-two payments in total. Twelve of those thirty-two were to the king's troupes, two to the bearward of the king's illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, and two to Cardinal Wolsey's performers. Five of the payments were to troupes of local magnates, Sir John (later Lord) Hussey and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Of the remaining seven (or eight) identifiable patrons whose troupes were paid, five were based in the north (Lords Darcy, Latimer, and Scrope (of Bolton) and the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland), the sixth, George, Lord Hastings, was based in the East Midlands, and the seventh (and possibly eighth), William FitzAlan (and possibly his father, Thomas), earls of Arundel, were based in Sussex and the south. During the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I there is only one payment to the king's players (Grimsby), one to the queen's players (Louth), and one to the duchess of Suffolk's players (Long Sutton).

By Lincolnshire standards the number of troupes exploded during roughly the first third of Elizabeth's reign. Between 1559–60 and 1575–6 over twenty troupes were paid for performances at Grimsby, Lincoln, Long Sutton, Market Deeping, and Grimsthorpe Castle. The most frequent performances during those years were by the queen's players and musicians, followed by the duchess of Suffolk's players and Lord Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester's, players.

The patrons of the other troupes who visited during this period ranged from important noblemen whose troupes toured nationally to local gentry. The reason for the great surge in the number of visiting troupes between 1558 and 1575 is unclear. For whatever reason 1575–6 was a watershed year; touring professional troupes seldom appear in the county's records after that date. For the remainder of Elizabeth's reign only three relevant records survive: one concerning the queen's trumpeters, the other two concerning the players of local patrons. For the reigns of James I and Charles I there exist only six records: three for the troupes of royal patrons, two for troupes of patrons with Lincolnshire connections, and one for the earl of Derby's players, who toured nationally. Furthermore two of the records are payments not to play and another two concern musicians but not performances; the remaining two records are generous payments to the queen's and the prince's players at Boston. Several factors may have contributed to the decline in number of visits of professional troupes during the final quarter of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. The attempts to enforce uniformity in matters of religion and culture, together with growing recusancy and resistance, had made towns into contentious places, increasingly Puritan and little inclined to welcome players. Serious economic decay in Lincolnshire had made it difficult for councils and mayors to want to allot monies for entertainers. The recurring rebellions in the north (which increasingly called local lords to service there), the increasing threats of foreign invasion, the increase in recusants (on the one side) and non-conformist Protestants (on the other side), would in the aggregate have turned Lincolnshire towns and households into problematic hosts and patrons at best.

It is also difficult to draw unequivocal inferences about local playing circuits in Lincolnshire, as well as Lincolnshire's place in regional and national playing circuits, from the payments. The duchess of Suffolk's players provide rare evidence of a patronized troupe that performed at its patron's residence, in towns and cities in the county, and in a larger circuit along the east of England, from Newcastle upon Tyne in the north to Dover in the south. The troupes of other local patrons, such as Sir John Hussey of Sleaford, Lord Willoughby, Thomas St Poll of Snarford, and Sir John Byron of Colwick and Newstead Priory, Nottinghamshire, appear to have confined their touring to Lincolnshire and adjacent counties, although Willoughby's troupes did tour more widely in the east in the 1590s.

The appearance of other patronized troupes in Lincolnshire (those of royal patrons, the earls of Essex, Leicester, Oxford, Warwick, and Worcester, and of the Lords Hunsdon, Mountjoy, and Stafford) is perhaps explained by evidence outside the Lincolnshire records suggesting their extensive touring circuits. Various royal troupes visited twenty-six times between 1522 and 1624/5, and Lord Robert Dudley's men visited seven times between 1561 and 1572. Four troupes visited twice: Darcy's (1514–15, 1515–16), Rich's (1563–5), Warwick's (1562, 1562–3), and Worcester's (1573–4, 1575–6). Troupes patronized by three different Stanleys under three different titles (Stanley, Strange, Derby) each visited once (1468–9, 1565–6, 1608–9). All the remaining troupes visited only once. The earl of Rutland, whose musician appears in Lincoln in 1623–4, had obvious ties with Lincolnshire in that he was a major landholder in the county, claiming the fee-farm of Lincoln, and was lord lieutenant of Lincolnshire.

The reason for the appearance of some troupes in Lincolnshire, however, is obscure due to paucity of evidence: although their patron was based in Essex and Middlesex, Lord Rich's

players, for example, were at Long Sutton in 1563–4 and Lincoln in 1564–5, but the only other references concerning his troupe, discovered so far, are appearances at Ipswich in 1564 and Cambridge in the year they visited Long Sutton. Although based in Lancashire the players of Henry, Lord Strange, appear to have travelled an east-west route in the south in the 1560s, from Plymouth to Dover, save for an appearance at Lincoln in 1565–6 and at Ipswich in 1567.⁶⁴ The reason for the payment, at Grimsthorpe Castle, of the players of a patron whose lands and offices were based solely in Buckinghamshire, Sir Francis Fortescue, remains unclear. Further the sometime clustering of payments to several troupes at one time in the documents (as happened at Boston and Lincoln) may suggest the purposeful gathering of troupes in a given place, for reasons now obscure. But for the troupes who visited, including those with local connections, Lincolnshire did not seem to be a necessary part of their annual itineraries over the course of a number of years. Lincolnshire was no longer on the main roadways from London to the north and had, in fact, grown somewhat isolated.

While the various companies' detailed itineraries remain unclear, a sense of individual itineraries can be derived from payments to some companies within Lincolnshire and elsewhere in given years. Nearly all visiting troupes came from the north and northwest, the Midlands, and the east, in an arc curving from Yorkshire and Lancashire to Lincoln to Sussex, with by far the greatest number coming from counties stretching in a rather circumscribed band directly between Lincolnshire and London (excluding, for example, Suffolk to the east, and Berkshire and Oxfordshire to the west). The greatest number of recorded companies travelled a north-south route (or vice versa) into the county. The existence of a north-south touring route in the east of England is suggested by the appearance in Lincolnshire of troupes whose patrons were resident in the northeast (Lords Darcy, Latimer, and Scrope (of Bolton), the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland, Sir John Constable) and the southeast (the earl of Arundel, Sir John Gascoigne). The king's minstrels performed in both Boston and York in 1523, 1524, and 1526. But several companies seem to have made their way into Cambridge and/or Norwich, then Lincolnshire, thus traveling east-west. Rich's men, for example, played in both Cambridge and Long Sutton in 1563–4 and in Lincoln in 1564–5. Hunsdon's men played in both Norwich and Lincoln in 1564–5. Leicester's men were at both Cambridge and Lincoln in 1563–4; in Cambridge, Norwich, and Lincoln the following year; and again at Cambridge and Lincoln in 1571–2. In several cases that basic route can be seen to have extended at least as far south as Sussex and as far north as Newcastle upon Tyne (queen's in 1560–1 at Rye, Norwich, and Grimsby; and in 1562 at Grimsthorpe and Newcastle, to cite two of numerous similar trips by the queen's troupes). Other companies who were paid both in Cambridge and in Lincolnshire towns in a given year include Rich's, the duchess of Suffolk's, and Warwick's, all during the early years of Elizabeth. But travelling companies also made their way into Lincolnshire from Wales, the Marches, and the southwest (and in a very few cases from the northwest) by way of the Midlands. For example Derby's men played in Coventry, Louth, and Westmorland in 1608–9; Essex's men played in both Coventry and Lincoln in 1575–6. One can see similar east-west patterns among the royal troupes, as well as Essex's, Leicester's, Stafford's, Warwick's, and Worcester's. Long Sutton paid the duchess of Suffolk's players in 1550–1 and 1564–5, Lord Rich's in 1563–4, Lord Robert's (presumably Dudley's) in 1564–5,

and Sir John Gascoigne's in 1565–6. Other records indicate that during this period the first three of those troupes were travelling generally east-west routes between Lincoln or Grimsthorpe and Cambridge or Norwich. The duchess' husband had lands in Long Sutton, and Dudley's players would have needed to go through Long Sutton to get to Norfolk where Dudley had considerable land holdings. So these troupes had good reason to stop at Long Sutton. Why the players of Rich and Gascoigne stopped in Long Sutton is unclear; perhaps they did so simply because it was a convenient place to rest and earn some money.

Payments to some troupes in Lincolnshire seem to suggest something more like patrons' agendas than traditional itineraries, with companies finding occasional reason to appear at certain places: the ancient chartered borough and port of Grimsby; the castle of the ardently Protestant duchess of Suffolk at Grimsthorpe; the cathedral city of Lincoln; the port town of Boston with (until mid-century) its lavishly endowed guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and Louth, which was the bishop's own town. The queen's men, for example, seem intent on not repeating a visit; they almost never visited more than one place in Lincolnshire in any given year, based on the records that survive, and they often seem to have chosen a different Lincolnshire place the following year. Mary's players turn up at Louth in 1556; Elizabeth's players at Grimsby in 1559, 1560, 1563, and 1572; at Grimsthorpe in 1562; and at Lincoln in 1561, 1565, 1570, 1572, and 1573.

Agendas may also have been at play in the fact that the places which travelling companies chose to visit changed as decades went by. One could find many possible reasons among political, economic, and religious events, both local and national, affecting the inclination to visit specific places. Boston, for example, paid numerous royal troupes and companies of waits during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Three of those early entries specify that the travelling performers were paid in connection with Corpus Christi (the king's harper, 1524; the earl of Arundel's trumpeters and an unidentified harpist, 1526), suggesting the possibility that until the Reformation travelling players visited Boston mainly in connection with that town's celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi. The discontinuance of that feast, together with the rise of sectarian conflict in Boston, may explain the near disappearance of visiting professional troupes during subsequent decades, when Boston paid almost no troupes. In fact it four times paid players, including the children of the revels, not to perform during the early seventeenth century (in 1620, 1621, 1624, and 1638). It did, however, pay players three times for actually performing in 1614 (the queen's players), 1624 (unidentified players), and 1625 (the prince's players).

In Grimsby visits by professional troupes fall into discernible historical clusters. Between 1468–9 and 1515–16 the city paid five troupes with identified patrons. Between 1523 and 1547 Grimsby paid only one named troupe (the king's, 1547), and paid none during the reign of Mary. During the reign of Elizabeth the number jumped to ten. After 1577–8 Grimsby paid only one named troupe (Willoughby's, 1584–5). The decline between 1523 and 1547 coincides with accelerating decline of the town as port and increasing local poverty. The surge in the number of visits by troupes between 1559 and 1575 appears to reflect the Elizabethan initiative to project the royal presence into significant provincial towns throughout the kingdom. But with poor roadways and reduced ship traffic, travelling players would have found it increasingly difficult to visit Grimsby late in the century.

In Lincoln the annual allocation of money to the mayor for payments ‘to minstrels’ (which would presumably have included both touring patronized and local performers) seems to have been an ancient tradition.⁶⁵ The earliest city council minute book includes the first surviving payment in 1422. In many years between 1515 and 1587 the common council continued to allot the mayor 30s 4d for rewards to minstrels; thereafter the allotment disappears from the records. The only exception is a gap between 1532 and 1544 – tumultuous years in Lincolnshire, including the Reformation, the dissolution of religious houses, and the Lincolnshire rising – when standing allocations for minstrels vanish from the minute books. The cathedral accounts name professional troupes whom they paid between 1561 and 1576, and it is possible that the city too was paying those same troupes. In the absence of civic accounts (though cathedral accounts and city council minute books survive through the entire period) the only years for which touring performers can be verified as performing in Lincoln are 1561–76.

In Louth civic records reflect the town’s character as a thriving market centre. Two entries in early court rolls – ‘fistulatores’ in 1422 and the bailiff’s seizure of a suitcase full of ‘diverse instruments of play’ in 1431 – may refer to itinerant professionals. Other entries confirm that travelling players visited in the years between 1527 and 1565, including the duke of Suffolk’s players (1539–40), an unnamed bearward (1541–2), the king’s bearward (1543), unidentified players (1552–3), and the queen’s players (1556–7). Later the town paid Derby’s players not to play in 1608–9 but did pay unidentified players for performing at the Easter sessions in 1621–2. The reason that professional troupes stopped visiting during the last quarter of the sixteenth century is unclear (and surprising since Louth had begun to express a strong independent civic identity) but it is consistent with the pattern that occurred in other Lincolnshire towns. Lincoln and Grimsby became the county’s principal magnets for professional troupes during the first twenty years of Elizabeth’s reign, but not thereafter. Both Lincoln and Grimsby further declined economically.

See REED’s *Patrons and Performances Web Site* (<<http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/>>) for additional information about patrons, their troupes, and possible itineraries. Dr. Jason Boyd, the site’s editor, contributed original research on the Lincolnshire patrons used for this section.

Waits and Other Local Musicians

The records show that many musicians lived and operated in medieval and early modern Lincolnshire. They ranged from civic waits to masters of companies to local fiddlers. They received support from institutional and private patrons alike, lived throughout the county, and contributed to nearly every kind of traditional performance that turns up in the records. Music is the one relative constant in the records, enduring even when other entertainments disappear. Many of the references to musicians, especially those in parish and guild records, occur as payments for musical performances within the context of sponsored dramatic, customary, or ceremonial events. The musicians were obviously important symbols of status for civic sponsors, whatever their political or religious leanings.

The records provide the names of musicians (as well as non-professionals who owned

musical instruments), who lived in communities, large and small, throughout the county (see Appendix 3, pp 585–7). In addition many communities made payments to unnamed and unlocalized musicians, so the actual number of resident musicians may have been greater than those musicians who can be identified as being based in Lincolnshire.⁶⁶

The records use a variety of terms to identify musicians. A Lincoln record mentioning Robert le Harpour is perhaps the earliest reference to a musician (see p 586). The term ‘fiddler’ is not as ubiquitous as in some other counties and often refers in later court cases, disapprovingly, to those playing in alehouses or private dwellings. The term ‘piper’ (and its synonym ‘fistulator’), often describing someone who has been playing for dancing of one kind or another, or leading processions and other parish festivities, survives longer than the other earliest terms, appearing between 1422–3 (Louth) and 1638/9 (Haydor). ‘Minstrel’ first appears in 1359 (Somerton Castle). The records often use ‘ministrallus’ or ‘mimus’ or ‘histrion’ without explaining whether these terms indicate a musician, a player, or a performer of another kind. Any number of records pay these performers – for participating in religious processions or civic ceremonies or other events – without telling us whether they were musicians or players, or both. At times distinctions are made: a 1537–8 payment at Hagworthingham clearly differentiates between minstrels and players, as does a 1533/4–1534/5 Lincoln Cordwainers’ guild account. And in Boston, in the early sixteenth century, the records used ‘minstrels’ and ‘mimis’ interchangeably with ‘waits.’

‘Wait,’ first appearing in 1396–7 in Grimsby (as a surname), was used there along with the term ‘histrionis ville’ in 1424–5; but in Boston guild payments appear to differentiate between ‘histriones’ (minstrels or perhaps players) and ‘mimi’ (the waits). At Lincoln in 1526/7–1527/8 and 1530/1–1531/2 the Cordwainers’ guild paid ‘histrionibus istius ciuitatis,’ probably musicians because an intervening payment in 1527/8–1528/9 refers to ‘le pyper in die processionis,’ followed by payments to ‘minstrels’ from 1531/2–1532/3 and then to the ‘waits’ starting in 1539/40–1540/1. From the mid-sixteenth century the unambiguous term ‘musician’ (together with ‘wait’) begins to replace those earlier terms in the records. The better clarity partly reflects the shift from Latin to English but also seemingly reflects the changing status of musicians as masters of companies within towns, and as waits.

The relationship between harpers, pipers, minstrels, musicians, and waits is not always clear, but an interesting chronological pattern in the use of those terms can be seen in the Louth records. Names in the parish register and the churchwardens’ accounts of St James’ parish indicate that numerous musicians, including waits, were living in Louth from 1507/8. St James’ churchwardens’ accounts include payments to a harper in 1507/8, and to harpers or harp-makers in 1508–9 and 1512–13. Thereafter the term does not appear. The parish register uses the term ‘minstrel’ in 1570, 1572, and 1575 (as do the town wardens’ accounts in 1553–4 and 1556–7); the term ‘piper’ in 1578, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1591, 1592, and 1598. From 1600 on, the register uses only the term ‘musician,’ with the exception of a man named ‘Clarke,’ identified at different times as musician and wait.⁶⁷ Town wardens’ accounts would seem to use the terms musician, wait, and music interchangeably during the same period (1604 to 1641). Since none of the terms overlap they appear to reflect a chartable change of usage during the sixteenth century and one assumes that at least some of those harpers, pipers, and minstrels before 1600 (in addition to Clarke) were also waits.⁶⁸

The records indicate that musicians were recognized as members of a valued trade that made them part of the texture of life in the county. They belonged to the classes of yeoman and craftsman in Lincolnshire, though within those classes they ranged from substantial to impoverished. A surprising number were well-to-do, for example Master John Wendon, musician, who was also a burgess of Boston and an expert in medicine. In 1554/5 he left much cash, many goods, and chattels. He had a servant and important connections with the abbot of Crowland. Thomas Seemley, one of the civic waits of Grantham, had a sizeable house and lands, and goods worth £34 13s 4d. In Lincoln John Morton could bequeath £30 each from the sale of a house to his sons John and Nicholas, £10 to his daughter Elizabeth, and houses to each of his four grandchildren.⁶⁹ Many of the recorded musicians were comfortable on a more modest scale. Thomas Storr, a piper of Fulstow, leased a house from Lord Willoughby. Richard Bell, musician, of Lincoln, harvested wood from two of Lincoln corporation's fenlands, and bequeathed urban houses to both his sons. He had at least one apprentice and so may have been master of a company of musicians.

Musicians at the lowest economic end, though living modestly, had families, possessions, and enterprises. In Lincoln Edmund Sandye left little more than household goods (pewter, glass, beds, and similar items); Humphrey Wilkinson's inventory lists instruments of music, brass and pewter kitchen ware and candlesticks, some furniture, and a 'graie nagge,' all worth £7 2s.

Unlicensed itinerant minstrels may well have been roaming the county but almost none of them turn up in Lincolnshire records. Almost all the musicians named in the records had local addresses, local connections, families, and possessions. These local musicians sometimes travelled to perform but the documents most often show them performing in locally sponsored religious, civic, or festive observances. Itinerants tend to become visible in documents when they run afoul of the law but court records in Lincolnshire mention very few such instances, though many resident musicians do appear as defendants. One reason for the itinerants' absence may be that local musicians exercised some control over who might or might not perform.

WAITS

The records contain references to waits living in the six most important towns in Lincolnshire (Boston, Grantham, Grimsby, Lincoln, Louth, and Stamford), all of which appear to have felt that their civic identity and obligations required them to sponsor companies of waits.⁷⁰ None of the county's other towns, except for Barton upon Humber, have left evidence that they had waits during the period. In number, duties, and livery Lincolnshire waits appear to have been similar in their practices to waits found elsewhere in the country, as described in standard sources.⁷¹

Waits were very much the mayors' personal companies. The town expected them, in the first instance, to attend him in the course of his duties. More generally they were an important element in the town's cultural presentation of itself. The records show a complex performance life that involved the waits in religious, civic, and private entertainments of almost every kind (from Corpus Christi processions during the pre-Reformation period to guild feasts to royal entries). It seems no accident that three of the richest musical traditions were at Boston (with its powerful socio-religious guilds and Corpus Christi productions), at Louth (where the bishop

had a residence and was landlord), and at Stamford (with its great number of parish churches and religious houses). But the civic agenda of a town was a more important factor in determining the fortunes of the waits than was its religious or moral attitude toward entertainment, as was the case, for example, in Boston. Yet there is no indication that the waits were suppressed. Rather they seem to have been most active in representing the town at complex political moments when important personages were assembled there.

The presence of waits in these Lincolnshire towns appears to coincide with the growing sense of civic identity in some of those towns (Louth, for example) that were striving to separate themselves from their medieval landlords in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The granting of new charters to towns, their assumption of responsibility for schools, their ever-increasing sense of civic identity and rights, coincides with an increased presence of waits in the records, notably at the sessions and assizes, at tax time, and during progresses or gatherings of important people. The waits in Lincolnshire provide useful clues for understanding the growth, development, and civic prospects of certain important towns in the county.

Waits from several towns also travelled as professional companies – sometimes as entrepreneurial troupes, sometimes as representatives of their own town, and often far from Lincolnshire. In tracing their travels one cannot detect recurring itineraries. Records uncovered to date show them occasionally being paid as far south and west as Cambridge or Canterbury, and as far northwest as Carlisle, but mainly they travelled in the East Midlands or sometimes in Yorkshire. They often performed for important private patrons or on civic occasions mounted by larger cities and towns, and often did so together with waits from other counties. Evidence suggests that waits engaged in considerable networking, playing for common patrons or jointly performing at important civic events in cities and large towns. The rules and structures of companies of waits seem to have mirrored those in cities such as Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, and York. Thus there seems to be much more evidence for understanding the common conventions, practices, and organizational structure of waits than is possible for other kinds of travelling professional companies.

Given the upheavals and dangers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, talented musicians (including those in Lincolnshire) probably found towns to be more stable patrons than were great lords, who were more vulnerable to the whims and currents of court and fortune, and thus many of those musicians sought positions as town waits. As Woodfill observes, towns 'that gave musicians chiefly livery and the right to use their names were not merely like nominal private patrons; they were better, for while the protective power of barons and others of greater degree waned during Elizabeth's reign, that of towns remained undiminished.'⁷² Mayors were comparable as patrons to lords or barons, and in general the waits survived unimpeded through numerous social, economic, political, and religious upheavals up to and often including the time of the Commonwealth.

Barton upon Humber

Barton upon Humber's tradition of sponsoring waits probably had earlier rather than later origins, coinciding with its early importance as port and market town. However the only certain

reference that has yet emerged to the waits of Barton occurs in the chamberlain's accounts of 1571–2 for the city of Nottingham, when a reward of 10d was given 'the 6 of January vnto the Weytes of ledes and vnto the Weyttes of Barton vpon humbar.'⁷³

Boston

The copious accounts of the bailiff, chamberlain, and alderman of the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary between 1514 and 1539 indicate that waits participated in the town's elaborate religious and civic playing traditions in the early sixteenth century.⁷⁴ They record elaborate celebrations, processions, and enactments at Pentecost and Corpus Christi, in which waits probably performed. The first evidence of waits in Boston occurs in the guild's alderman's accounts in 1520–1 with payments for woollen cloth for gowns, velvet for badges, and Venice gold to embroider the badges of 'le mynstrelles' livery. In 1521–2 similar expenditures occur for 'le waytes' (further described in this entry as 'mimis alias waytes'), suggesting that the previous year's payments for 'le mynstrelles' livery and possibly earlier payments to 'mimis' being paid in connection with Corpus Christi referred to waits. In 1522–3 the alderman paid an embroiderer to make crowns for the coats of the waits using the same materials used in 1520–1 for the badges of the minstrels. In 1524–5 the alderman's accounts contain a payment for making crowns for 'le mynstrelles de Boston.'

That the guild paid for these minstrels'/waits' livery perhaps suggests it sponsored a company of Boston-based waits, unless these payments are for costume intended for performers hired annually for an event like Corpus Christi. The sponsorship question is difficult to determine, since in some of the years between 1520–1 and 1525–6 in which these minstrels/waits are mentioned, the guild also paid visiting entertainers, including waits, possibly at Corpus Christi: the king's minstrels and the waits of London in 1523–4; the king's harper and minstrels (specified in the account as for Corpus Christi), the earl of Arundel's trumpeter, and the king's minstrels (again) in 1524–5; and Arundel's trumpeters, a harper (both on Corpus Christi), the waits of Nottingham, and the king's players in 1525–6.

References to waits in the guild accounts cease after 1525–6; however a few orders in the council minute books almost fifty years later show that the town sponsored waits. In March 1573/4 the town appointed Edward Astell and his 'seruauntes and apprentizes' as 'the waytes of this Borough.' Astell's annual pay included 4s from each alderman, 2s from each of the eighteen burgesses, and unspecified amounts to be assessed each inhabitant annually. The order of 1573/4 also mandated that the waits were to play throughout the borough every morning, except Sundays and holidays, from Michaelmas to Christmas and from Epiphany to Easter, so at this point their primary responsibility for part of the year was to perform locally.

After the order of 1573/4 there follows a period of about sixty years in which only one mention of Boston's own waits occurs in the corporation's minute books: a solitary bailiff's account for 1609–10 includes a payment of £4 18s 3d to purchase livery for the town's six waits. However Boston's waits were being paid elsewhere during these years: at Leverton in Lincolnshire in 1577–8; and at Nottingham on 20 July and 30 October 1576 (the latter with the waits of Derby), 11 January 1576/7, 23 May 1579, 10 April 1580, 1 January 1580/1, after

4 January 1585/6, between 1 and 22 January 1586/7, and 1591–2. In 1621–2 they were paid by the city chamberlain of far distant Carlisle.⁷⁵ Silence in the minute books notwithstanding it is clear that Boston's waits were certainly active from the 1570s through the 1620s, though during those years the town may have been providing little financial support beyond livery and the protection afforded by sponsorship.

After the sixty-year silence in the corporation minute books, an order in 1635 appears to have signaled a new or an augmented financial commitment to the waits. It decrees that annually the waits should receive £6 13s 4d and their livery, and that they should have the right to receive 'ordinary allowances' from 'private men' with whom they contract to perform. The entry suggests that earlier waits had only received livery. The phrase 'as they usually haue' indicates that the waits had been finding work with private patrons as well as performing their civic duties. The town does seem to have honoured at least part of this commitment because the minute books record a number of subsequent payments to the waits in 1635–6 and beyond 1642, mainly for livery.⁷⁶

Grantham

It is certain that the Grantham waits were established as a travelling company by the mid-sixteenth century. The chamberlain of Nottingham paid them ten times between 1558–9 and 1588–9: in 1558–9, 1569, 1572, 1575/6, 1576/7, 1577/8, 1578/9, 1586, January 1587/8, and 1588–9.⁷⁷ Half of these visits occurred in early January (as with the Boston waits), the other dated entries record visits between May and August. They played at Chatsworth or Hardwick, Derbyshire, in April 1597 and they performed seven times between 1607/8 and 1638 for the earl of Rutland at Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire. Two of those performances occurred at Christmas (for which they received £3 each time), and three (possibly four) occurred during August or September – once during the visit of Lord Newbrooke to Belvoir.⁷⁸ Thus they continued to travel during the first half of the seventeenth century. Though the records show them travelling no further than about forty miles from Grantham, they must have been musicians of high and predictable quality, given the rarified venues at which they played.

The earliest reference to the waits in the town's own records occurs in 1633, the first year for which a corporation minute book survives. But other records make it clear that the waits were present and performing in Grantham throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. The Slingsby family papers (of Red House, Yorkshire West Riding) include payments to the 'mussicke' at Grantham in December 1614, in April and July 1619, and in February 1619/20.⁷⁹

The recurring and formulaically written nature of the orders in the Grantham corporation minute book suggests that as of 1633 the pattern in Grantham was for the mayor's court to admit the waits each October for one year's service as 'the Common musitiens of this Borough' (in subsequent years called 'Townes waytes'). In 1633 the town accepted four waits – Richard Sentons, Thomas Seemly, Peter Leacock, and William 'Stubes' (that is, Knewstubs) – at their 'auncyent and accustomed Sallary,' corroborating the view that waits were already a long-standing institution in Grantham. These annual courts awarded the waits 12d each and approved their quarterly wages. One of the four waits, William Knewstubs, had been a household musician

in the service of Henry, Lord Grey, first earl of Stamford, and then was a civic wait of Stamford (see p 452 below). Why he left Stamford for Grantham is unclear.

The membership of the Grantham waits was relatively stable between 1633 and 1640, but in 1641 a disruption occurred – probably related to the Civil War (another disruption occurred at Lincoln c 1538–40). In 1641 Richard Sentons ‘& three other straungers’ were granted their request to be made the town’s waits; these were probably the ‘musicians’ mentioned less than a month later as having refused to receive their livery and who were again dismissed (having previously been dismissed). Eight months later Knewstubbs, now (like Sentons in 1641) described as ‘a stranger’ and a poor man, petitioned for, and was granted, freedom of the town for which he paid £5. The following October (1642) he and Sentons, plus two of Knewstubbs’ own servants (perhaps apprentice musicians), were reappointed town waits. The two senior waits were reappointed in 1643 and 1647. However, when they reapplied in 1648, the council, because of the Civil War, dismissed them until times changed for the better.⁸⁰ Thereafter no payments to any local waits occur in the Grantham records, so the tradition seems to have died with the arrival of the Commonwealth.

Grimsby

Information about Grimsby’s waits is sparse but they appear to have been an ancient institution in the town. Grimsby civic records contain the earliest reference to a specific wait in the county – a payment in the chamberlain’s account of 1396–7 for the livery of Walter Wayte. Similar payments occurred in 1424–5 for Walter Wayte, ‘histrionis ville,’ and in 1441–2. The entries show the continuous presence of either a particular wait named Walter (or of a father and son of the same name). The entries indicate that the town provided livery for one wait only. After 1441–2 references to waits disappear from the Grimsby records.⁸¹

Lincoln

The city of Lincoln has the best recorded tradition of waits in the county. References to the waits usually occur in the civic accounts only when an existing policy concerning their liveries, wages, and the like was modified or required reaffirmation: the first extant record mentioning musicians (*ministrallorum*) sponsored by the city in 1421–2, for instance, states that in the future the mayor would only be given an allowance of 24s for minstrels’ liveries (8s per livery, indicating a company of three minstrels). In 1514 the outgoing mayor delivered to the new mayor silver keys and collars for three waits (that number also affirmed in 1515, 1516, and 1517). The corporation gave the waits additional annual salary as well. In 1524 (when the waits numbered two), as well as livery provided by the common council, waits received 12d from every alderman, 6d from every sheriff, and 4d from every chamberlain. A 1538 minute revises the earlier scheme for the waits’ salary, stating that, as well as livery and silver collars provided by the council, waits would receive 6d from every alderman and sheriff, 2d from every chamberlain, and 1d from every commoner. Some disruption must have occurred after 1538, since a 3 March 1539/40 minute gives the waits the liberty to dwell in and have the

cognizance of the city until Michaelmas, when they were to 'be waytes for the sayd Cytty' (which they in due course were in 1540 and given the same salary as that specified in 1538, minus the 1d from every commoner). The first named waits were admitted in 1547; further references to the waits occur in the minute book in 1549, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554/5, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1575, and 1585.

The waits experienced financial difficulties and competition from other musicians during the 1590s. The assembly issued an order in 1589/90 forbidding any 'foreign' musicians from playing at marriages or other events within the city unless they paid the waits 2s for the privilege. The assembly also ordered all office holders to meet their traditional obligation by contributing twice yearly to the waits' wages. In 1600 the assembly raised the four waits' wages to 100s per year and in 1607 reiterated the ban on 'foreign' musicians, this time also specifying that the order included inns, alehouses, and victualling houses in the city and suburbs except at 'the assise time.' No order would have been necessary, one might infer, unless a variety of 'foreign' musicians periodically assembled in Lincoln whenever the courts were in session. The city renewed its order a second time, in 1616/17, this time explicitly excepting 'the musitions of some noble man to their owne maister onely at his house or lodging.' Waits now had the right to assess housekeepers 2s for every offending musician, to assess the foreign musicians themselves 5s, and to sue them. This order specifically referred to the town's musicians as 'the maisters felowes & Company of wates of the Citie of Lincoln.'

The number of waits that the city had in this later period is neither clear nor consistent in the records. The first time the number is specified is in 1524, when three waits newly appearing in the records were appointed. Between 1541 and 1552 the minute books name seven waits at different times (only three names recurring during those years). In 1551 'the ij waytes' received livery and in 1552 the city again named two waits. From that pattern it is difficult to conclude how many waits there were. The most frequently occurring number is three and in 1563 the number was formally set at three 'any acte vse or custome hertofore made to the contrary notwithstanding.' In 1575 the chamber again affirmed that the number of waits to receive livery would be limited to three, perhaps suggesting that others were present and wanting to perform under the protection of the corporation. However, in 1585 and 1600 there were four waits and five in 1611/12.⁸²

The waits did not perform solely for the civic authorities: between 1526–7 and 1542–3 the Cordwainers' guild made payments to 'histrionibus istius ciuitatis' (1526–7, and 1530–1) and to waits (1539–40 and 1540–1) (payments in other years were to a piper, 'histrioni,' and minstrel(s)). Save for payments to 'musicians' in 1570–1 and 1571–2, the guild only resumed regularly making payments for 'waits' or 'musicians' in 1608–9 (and continued to do so up to 1642). The last use of 'waits' in these accounts is 1623–4. It is unclear whether or how many of these payments are to the Lincoln waits, but given evidence of their existence from others sources during the periods of these payments, there is strong probability that the Lincoln waits were the waits (and possibly the musicians) recorded in the guild accounts. The amounts paid by the Cordwainers were constant and seem customary (the amount depending on the number of performers) for performances, food, and wine, and processing with the guild on St Anne's Day. In such payments the Cordwainers'

accounts record the participation of musicians and waits in guild activities of a kind that is suggested but not explicitly described in guild records at Boston, Grimsby, Louth, and Stamford.

Touring was a major part of the Lincoln waits' performance life: at York in 1446; at Canterbury 1549–50 and Cambridge in the same year and possibly in 1561; at Coventry in 1616, 1623, 1634, and 1636 (their last recorded travel in this period); and at Carlisle in 1611, 1615, 1617, 1618, 1620, 1621/2, and 1624. Several features stand out in the entries related to travel by the Lincoln waits. Though they travelled widely in the Midlands, the northwest, Yorkshire, and the southeast, they, like other Lincolnshire waits, appear to have been essentially regional rather than national performers.⁸³ With the exception of one late November/early December payment at Carlisle in 1624, the datable travels of Lincoln's waits occurred between March and September, outside the months during which the waits were obligated to perform in Lincoln itself. Those making the payments were important private patrons such as Elizabeth Cavendish, countess of Shrewsbury (otherwise known as Bess of Hardwick), the duchess of Suffolk, the earl of Cumberland, or the earl of Rutland; or a Cambridge college; or city officials at Cambridge, Carlisle, Coventry, Nottingham, or York – such payments often made specifically at the mayor's order.⁸⁴

Louth

Unambiguous references to the waits of Louth begin in 1605–6. From then until 1640–1 (and continuing to 1686 when the book of town wardens' accounts ends), the waits received an annual wage, usually 8s, for performing at dinners held during each of the quarter sessions. They performed at the graves' feast, a dinner held annually for the town's elected officials, in 1619–20. The amounts paid varied, reflecting the number of sessions, and perhaps the changing number of waits. Sometimes they received a single payment at year's end but more often they were paid after each performance. Sometimes the records call them waits, sometimes 'the Musicke,' or 'the musitians,' or 'owr musike.' Between 1622–3 and 1640–1 the accounts include numerous payments for cloth for the waits' livery.

Stamford

The waits were an ancient and valued institution in Stamford until the mid-nineteenth century.⁸⁵ The earliest certain reference to the waits occurs on 1 November 1472 when three men were sworn as minstrels by the town, the same date when the town elected its officers, as also occurred in December 1479, December 1482, and December 1486, when they were given silver collars and scutcheons. A decade later, in April 1495, aldermen returned three collars with scutcheons 'in keypyng for ... the waytes,' to the custody of the town. The entry is the first occurrence of the word 'wait' in the minute books. The wording suggests that the three waits, obviously now gone, may not yet have been replaced as of April 1495.

While household accounts by the Slingsby family of West Riding Yorkshire include payments to the 'mussicke' in Stamford (probably referring to the waits) in 1614 and 1619, the next definite reference to waits occurs on 4 October 1627 when, acting on a request by Henry,

Lord Grey, the corporation admitted six of his servants, plus musician Henry Pearce of Stamford (admitted as a burgess in 1625), to be the town's waits. Four of these former servants of Grey's were admitted as burgess the following year, the fee being waived because they were the town musicians. The town was replacing its previous waits with this group, was re-establishing an institution that had lapsed, or was accommodating Grey, who had acquired Stamford borough, castle, and manor upon his marriage in 1620.⁸⁶ On 9 May 1633 an order making provision 'for the Towne musicke to waite vppon the Kinge' during his visit to Stamford mentions five waits (three of Grey's former servants – Thomas Troupe, Nathan Ash, and William Knewstubbs – plus Pearce and a new wait, John Palmer), ordered to attend 'with their winde Instrumentes.'

Earlier Stamford waits may have travelled to perform but the only certain evidence of travel occurs with this generation. In 1634 they stayed for twenty-four days (24 March–15 April) at the earl of Cumberland's residence at Londesborough, Yorkshire East Riding, receiving food each day and £6 13s 4d, plus other sums, when they departed. The entry in the Clifford accounts says that they played when Lord Dungarvan (soon-to-be husband of Clifford's daughter) was at Londesborough. On 26 July that same year the 'Musicke of Stamford' received a further £15 from Lord Clifford for 'service done here at my Lady Dungarvans marriage: 9. weekes,' plus an additional 10s when they departed.⁸⁷ The entry suggests that the Stamford waits spent much of that summer far from Stamford. The favour that they enjoyed with the Cliffords also suggests that they must have been highly skilled musicians indeed.

In 1636/7 William Mewes, a former (and previously unrecorded) apprentice of the late Thomas Willoughby (a musician admitted as a burgess in 1588), was admitted. Two years later, in 1639, Mewes and 'other younge men of his company' were chosen to be Stamford's waits and received the town's scutcheons.

Dance

Customary dancing, much of it guild-sponsored, was clearly part of traditional entertainment in Lincolnshire before 1389. For example by 1389 it was the custom in Baston (near Stamford) that all the women of the guild of St John Baptist were to dance together on the vigil of the patron saint. In 1440 a bishop's visitation at Humberston Abbey heard the charge that one of the monks had 'answered the abbot saucily and rebelliously, when [the abbot] took him to task for climbing up a gate to behold the pipe-players and dancers in the churchyard of the parish church' near to the abbey. In Whaplode on Plough Monday in 1514 a man bequeathed 12d to the dancers' light in the parish church; in 1562–3 the morris dancers of Whaplode were paid for performing at Long Sutton; and in 1514 the parish received 12d from the '*lumini de la dauncers*.' So Whaplode's tradition of customary dancing demonstrably extended through much of the sixteenth century. At Hagworthingham payments in 1525–6 included those to Peter Babbe 'for Painting the dancing geere,' as well as cloth for the same, and to George Bullock for shaping the same. The list of payments also included expenditures for a banner, a sheet to cover the sacrament, and a kerchief for 'our Lady's coat,' among other items. In 1537–8 the wardens of Hagworthingham paid minstrels and

players in a single entry, and in 1546–7 the parish received 6s ‘of the dancers gathering.’ In 1545–6 the parish of Leverton paid for ‘ale to dawnseres yat cam to ye church.’ In 1561 the duchess of Suffolk’s steward paid ‘one *which* played the hobbyhorse before my *master* and my Ladies grace,’ along with ‘the ij musitians *which* came with him’ at Grimsthorpe. That same year she paid four musicians and a hobby horse at Belleau as part of a marriage celebration and in 1562 a ‘moresse dawnce of litle bytam.’ At Long Sutton in 1559–60 the churchwardens paid the dancers of Spalding, and in 1562–3 they paid the morris dancers of Spalding as well as Whaplode. In 1585 the churchwardens paid a person who danced in Wragby parish church.

During the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries traditional dance, like all other customary forms, became a target of reformers. Festive dance survived in some places, under duress, long after the Reformation. But in many places it inevitably evolved from celebration into a vehicle for defiance and protest in the face of official opprobrium. Easily the most numerous charges for purposely violating the sabbath involved piping and dancing. It could occur in churches, taverns, or other private dwellings, as at Holbeach in 1601 when Edward Freman suffered ‘dauncing play & drincking’ in his house both on the sabbath and on holy days; at Benington in 1609 where churchwarden Thomas Statherne was cited for missing Sunday prayer because he ‘was at a morrice dance’; at Ripplingale in 1611 when Thomas Markernes was accused of sponsoring musicians and dancing during ‘divine praier’; at Grantham in 1618 where the piping of Anthony Wetherill of Sedgebrook ‘drew diuerse people together to daunceinge, and others to looke on them betwixte morninge and eveninge prayer’; in the 1630s at Haydor where young people ‘gatt a Piper or Musitian [^][named *William* Keale] and went to dance’; and at Burnham in 1638 against Thomas Tripp ‘for yat hee being a victualler & tipler att Burneholme faire did suffer people to stay play & dance in his boothe in time of comon prayer.’

Women and Performance

While women in medieval and early modern England certainly lived within a patriarchal environment that used theology, the law, and tradition to subordinate their position within society, the Lincolnshire records also show evidence of a traditional culture in which women contributed to entertainment in many ways.

Local religious guilds in particular provided a different, more equitable, model whose balance, built upon co-equal participation by men and women (the brothers and sisters of the guilds), gives a more comprehensive picture of local life, especially before the Reformation. These ubiquitous guilds supplied the infrastructure that supported and produced traditional parish drama, customs, and festive celebrations. Their charters enfranchised everyone – man and woman alike – in the life of the guilds. See, for example, Gainsborough, where guilds made up, respectively, of young people and older people each elected their ‘royalty,’ a lord and lady of the guild, each year. At Gainsborough the term ‘brethren’ referred not to gender but to affiliation (both men and women were brethren, and both a man and a woman jointly ‘ruled’ over the customary entertainments). The guilds were not restored during Mary’s short reign

but many of their practices continued under the authority of churchwardens during Mary and the early years of Elizabeth I.⁸⁸ However the abolition of religious guilds which began the painful death of parish drama also caused an eventual decline in the universal cultural suffrage that had been present in the guilds. Their destruction, which began in 1545 under Henry VIII and continued after 1547 under Edward VI, destroyed many of the performative elements of traditional culture, including many of the opportunities for women to contribute to drama, custom, and ceremony in Lincolnshire.

Ordinances of other Lincolnshire guilds – both religious and craft – indicate a similar shared membership by their ‘brethren and sistern.’ In the fenland village of Baston in 1389, ‘all the sisters of the said brotherhood ... shall come on St John the Baptist’s Day to dance with their sisters under pain of one measure of barley.’ In the fourteenth century Boston’s fifteen guilds included women and men in equal measure, as the records of the guilds themselves make clear, and in the early sixteenth century the membership of Boston’s guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary included some of the most important women in England.⁸⁹ In 1525–6 the town paid 2s 8d to one of its worthies, Nicholas Field, for wine when his daughter was queen at Boston. In the parish of Great Hale in 1634, during a metropolitanical visitation, the presiding official addressed ‘The businesse of the May Ladie,’ apparently a reference to a May queen and the survival of the May games in that village.

At Ashby de la Launde in 1520–1 a priest, five men, and three women went in procession around Temple Heath during Rogation days. The group appears to have been tenants of Friar John Babyngton, preceptor of the religious house at Temple Bruer that was held by the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem. Though accused by the plaintiff of carrying weapons and staging a riot, the group claimed that it was processing ‘in peaseable & devout Maner about all the Temple Heythe to pray for seasonable Wedder.’ A late fifteenth-century homily from Lincoln complains that Rogations of the day had changed, so that ‘men and women do come forth rather to set out and shew themselves, and to passe the time with vayne and unprofitable tales and mery fables,’ and to pray that God ‘defende and save the corne in the felde, and that he wyll vouchsave to pouрге the ayer.’ In that light the men and women of Ashby de la Launde appear to have been enacting a traditional custom together rather than launching a less likely riot.⁹⁰ Whether they were also members of a local religious guild is unclear from the records.

The co-equal membership and participation by women in Lincoln’s guilds – both religious and craft – is particularly striking since, as the cathedral city, Lincoln was a model to every other community in the county. In 1518 the corporation minute book emphasizes that ‘euery man And woman *within* this Citie beyng able Schall be Broder & Syster in Scaynt anne gyld.’⁹¹ When the mayor Master Tailboys died in 1520, the common council agreed to consult with his wife about bringing forth the procession, pageants, and shows of St Anne’s guild on St Anne’s Day in 1521 (eventually they appointed two aldermen to carry out the production). The joint representation of men and women within the oligarchy can be seen in the city’s welcome for Henry VIII and his queen, Katherine Howard, in 1541. When they made their way into the city the king ‘shyftyd hym into clothe of golde & the quene into clothe of syluer’ (see p 170). In the procession itself the queen and her household (her horse guard and ‘all ladyes in good ordre’), preceded by her chamberlain, the earl of Rutland, followed the king and his household.⁹²

The Lincoln Cordwainers' guild, in its *c* 1527 oaths, required both men and women on St Anne's Day 'to goo in procession *with* the Graceman Brether & Susters of this *ff*raternite *ff*rom the chappell of Saint thomas of ye hy brige in Lincoln vnto the cathedrall church of Lincoln.' Ordinances of 1389 describe their brothers and sisters going in procession to the cathedral with Mary, Joseph, St Blaise, and two angels – members of the guild clearly playing characters in an enactment that had motifs still appropriate 150 years later in their sixteenth-century Bethlehem pageant. The men and women of Lincoln's other guilds also took part in the procession on St Anne's Day. Whether the women had roles as actors in the procession is unclear from the records but they certainly were integral participants in the civic spectacle. Of particular note concerning participation by women, the returns of 1389 for the Minstrels' and Entertainers' guild of Lincoln report the requirement that each year the brothers and sisters of the guild should together convey a great candle to the cathedral church on Wednesday of Whitsun Week, as part of the city's great procession.

Contributions to the entertainments and spectacles sponsored by Lincoln's St Anne guild extended to women in the countryside. Women from neighbouring communities, including the gentry and members of religious orders, saw themselves as members of St Anne's guild. In 1521, on behalf of the guild's acting 'graceman' (the person charged with mounting the procession and arranging for the pageants on St Anne's Day), the common council ordered that the guild 'bowro agowne off my lady powes *ff*or one off the maryes & thother mary To be arayed in the Cremysyng gowne off veluet *yat* longith to the Same gyld' (see p 143) and that the masters obtain from St Katherine's Priory 'Sutch honormentes' as they customarily borrowed for use on St Anne's Day. Lady Powes was Margaret Grey Powis of Burton by Lincoln, daughter of Sir Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, widow of Sir John Grey, Lord Powis, and second wife of Robert Sutton of Burton.⁹³ As the example of Lincoln illustrates, female membership in the religious and craft guilds of Lincolnshire covered the social spectrum, from servants (Agnes, servant of Simon Do Wode, and Matilda Mareflete, mistress of the school, both in the Corpus Christi guild, Boston), to members of religious houses (see below), to the nobility (Lady Margaret Beaufort, and Cecily, Lady Welles, daughter of Edward IV, members of St Katherine's guild, Stamford; and Blanche, duchess of Lancaster, and Alicia, countess of Lincoln, members of Corpus Christi guild, Boston).⁹⁴ What Barbara Hanawalt says of parish guilds in general was true of Lincolnshire, as surviving charters and other guild records make clear: '[Religious] Gilds were integrated by sex as well as social status.'⁹⁵

Before they were abolished the local religious guilds were the chartered centre of parish life and the principal source of local religious drama by the laity. To recognize the centrality of the religious guilds, along with the fully enfranchised participation by women within the world of those guilds, is to fundamentally alter our understanding of pre-Reformation culture and performance and the place of women within it.

Another stratum of women's involvement with entertainment during the medieval and early modern period is recorded in some of the diocese of Lincoln's many religious houses. The evidence suggests that some convents and priories permitted entertainments in which the nuns might participate as sponsors, audiences, or participants. In his visitation to Nun Cotham Priory in 1531, Bishop John Longland charged the prioress that she 'suffre nomore hereafter eny lorde

of mysrule to be within *your* house, nouthur to suffre hereafter eny suche disgysinges as in tymes past haue bene used in *your* monastery in nunnes apparell ne otherwise.' The nuns of that house were being hosts and audience, both for festive games involving lords (whether Christmas, harvest, summer, or otherwise) and for other 'disgysinges' in which gender roles were being parodied. Men were being welcomed into the house as players and audience in traditional festive entertainments jointly enjoyed by men and women, in ways that clearly must have reflected the practices then current in secular society. The bishop also ordered that henceforth the prioress no longer allow certain knights and religious men 'to come within the *precincte* of *your* monasterye.' He also admonished the nuns to stop wandering abroad, and to go no longer 'att lybertie where they wold ... att their pleasures.' Similarly at St Michael's Priory, Stamford, during a visitation in 1440, Bishop Heyworth ordered that the prioress there seek diligently to find Agnes Butler, a nun who had fled the priory in apostasy with a harper named Robert Abbot and had made her way to another city.⁹⁶

Nowhere is the role of women as sponsors, hosts, and sometimes participants more vividly recorded than among the important women of the laity. Most notable among them was Katherine, widowed duchess of Suffolk, who lived with her second husband, Richard Bertie, at Grimsthorpe. Household accounts from 1560–2 show the duchess making payments to almost every kind of performer, from a Christmas lord to jugglers to the queen's players. Three striking features arise from the Bertie accounts. The first is the duchess' apparent liking for performances of almost any imaginable kind. The second is the apparent affection with which performers approached her, offering to perform when she was ill in December 1561 (Master Rose and his daughters, and a servant of Lord Willoughby). The third is the importance of music within her household. Master Rose tutored the duchess' children in music and repaired their instruments. (Skill in music appears to have been common among the daughters of the gentry in Lincolnshire: for example, the inventory of goods belonging to Elizabeth Lockton of Swineshead, granddaughter of Sir John Lockton (d. 1611), includes a pair of clavichords.)

The duchess projected her presence into the county via her own company of players, who travelled to perform in the county and beyond: appearances in the same accounts by the players of the most important person in the nation and the highest ranking person in the county – both women – provide valuable evidence of patronage as the projection of self, as the personification of power, by women, during the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign. Mid-sixteenth-century records show the duchess' troupe being paid as far north as Newcastle upon Tyne in 1562, and as far south as Bristol in 1560 and 1562 (see also the REED *Patrons and Performances Web Site*).⁹⁷

Animal Sports

Bearbaiting and bullbaiting, cockfighting, and other animal 'sports' were also a staple of traditional customs and entertainments in Lincolnshire and just a fact of life in the pre-industrial English countryside and towns. Bearbaiting and bullbaiting differed fundamentally from each other, of course, in that the object in bearbaiting was to keep that valuable animal alive to be baited another day. Grimsby, Louth, and Tattershall College provide the principal documentary evidence for bearbaitings. Between 1499 and 1581 Grimsby paid bearwards in thirteen separate

years. In one of those years (1571–2) the payment (cancelled) was to the bearwards of Louth, but whether the others were local or visitors is unclear from the records. Louth paid an unnamed bearward in 1541–2 and the king's bearward in 1543–4 but, curiously, records no payments to the local bearwards which the Grimsby record claims were there. In 1501–2 Tattershall College paid bearwards, among its payments to performers.

Evidence of bullbaiting is much more copious, largely because of rules that bulls must be baited before being slaughtered for meat. When not being ignored by butchers that practice was commonly treated as a customary entertainment (see, for example, the notorious bull-running at Stamford, said to date from the late twelfth century, in Appendix 4, pp 588–95). St Martin's guild of St Martin's Church, Stamford, had a baiting that was already customary in 1389. At Great Hale in 1607 churchwardens permitted the baiting of a bull by dogs in the churchyard by one Christopher Lawson of Sleaford, who had brought the bull and the dogs with him. Grimsby civic records, though replete with bearwards, include but one payment for bullbaiting – to 'the Bullward' in 1572. But the corporation made frequent orders in the mid-sixteenth century requiring the baiting of bulls before they were slaughtered (see pp 81–3). Most evidence concerning bullbaiting comes from Louth, much of it recording the fining of butchers for failure to bait, or for repairs of the bull-ring and its gear. The first evidence related to baiting in Louth dates from 1430–1 but other references occur between 1571 and 1641.

Bullbaiting sites were often situated in or near the town square, usually near slaughtering and tanning areas, giving ample public access to the baitings as entertainments (bull-rings of uncertain date survive at Horncastle and Sleaford.⁹⁸ In Lincoln references in the cathedral accounts to the bull stake occur in 1314, 1319, and 1333.⁹⁹ Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century local histories claim that Danes Terrace, about one-third way down Steep Hill in Lincoln and formerly called Bullring Lane, was the location of the bull stake. As yet there has emerged no pre-1642 documentary evidence to confirm that assertion, though the name is suggestive.¹⁰⁰ In the small north Lincolnshire town of Brigg, 'the open square round the Water Tower, was in old times the Bull Ring,' the square being a part of Elwes or 'Butchery' Street.¹⁰¹ In Grimsby Bull Ring Place survives today at the point near the Old Market Place where Bull Ring Lane turns into Victoria Street. The Bull Ring is a widened area that retains its medieval configuration and is a natural setting for entertainments. Ordinances of the Grimsby court leet from 1546, 1547, 1556, 1557, and 1565 required that bulls must be openly baited before the mayor and his brethren.¹⁰²

If bull-rings tended to be placed in market areas near butcheries, cockpits were often part of inns and taverns, which might be situated anywhere within the town. When King James visited Lincoln in 1617 he went to a cockfighting at the sign of the George near the guildhall, on Wednesday, 2 April, 'where he appointed fouer Cockes to bee put on the pitt to gether *which* made his *Maiestie* very meric.' In Whaplode a man was presented in 1637 'for fighting cockes vpon ye sabboath day in ye time of diuine seruice' but the location of the cockpit is not given in the citation. When King John of France was a prisoner at Somerton Castle in 1359–60, his household staff ordered the purchase of a fighting cock (see p 574). Cockfights are recorded at Hougham (1638), Wainfleet St Mary in the churchyard (1616), and Whaplode (1637).¹⁰³

The End of Traditional Entertainments

On religious grounds, reformers opposed traditional performances wherever they might occur. Typically a group at Epworth was presented in 1623 'for [s] goeing about with a droome and loude beateinge the same all or the most of eveninge prayer vppon the Saboath daye beinge the 4th of Ianuarie.' The incident appears to have been an attempt to enact a traditional pre-Reformation practice in the street. That enforced constriction in the number and kind of acceptable playing places inevitably narrowed the audience and altered both the purpose and the content of many performances. With even the most traditional of entertainments being characterized as a criminal activity by those who disliked them, play itself increasingly became a tool of protest and invective.

As reformers pursued playing into the alehouses, the proprietors of those alehouses increasingly became a magnet for the long arm of the church courts, both for the fact and the content of entertainments that they sponsored. Typical was Laurence Kighley of Ewerby, presented in 1615 'for keeping diuers fidders playeng and singing & drincking in his howse in praier time on the Saboath daie after Bartholomew day.' Similar presentments occurred at Holbeach, Kirkby on Bain, Ripplingale, and Timberland (1601, 1638, 1611, 1638 respectively). Thomas Tripp of Burnham was presented in 1638 because 'hee being a victualler & tipler att Burneholme faire did suffer people to stay play & dance in his boothe in time of comon prayer.' People with a grudge to express (against individuals or institutions) wrote libellous ballads, sang them in alehouses and taverns, and affixed them to doors, as happened at Spalding in 1604/5. One person from Gainsborough sang his ballads and posted them in the market place of the nearby town of Kirton in 1608 (see p 68). The ballads of yet a different vengeful soul, this one at Haltham in 1605/6, were sung and published 'in diuerse places and before diuerse persons.' Scurrilous performances all, but performances nonetheless.

In some counties documents vividly record an intense and sustained resistance to the institutional efforts to suppress traditional culture between the 1540s and the 1630s. Serious cultural, religious, and political conflict occurred in Lincolnshire, but it is much more muted and sporadic in the records than it is in some other places. One reason may have to do with the effects of the Lincolnshire rising in 1536. When clergy and others in this immensely conservative county rose up in open rebellion, and murdered several diocesan officials, the savagery with which Henry VIII quashed the rebellion seems to have infused towns and parishes with a certain caution and a quieter approach to resistance during the rest of the sixteenth century. As well, in the wake of the rising, the king installed some of his most powerful secular and ecclesiastical surrogates, including Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk (who had defeated the rebellion), as resident lords and officials in Lincolnshire. The asymmetrical conflicts among strongly ascendant Puritans, traditionalists, and militant Catholics are reflected most visibly in the civic records (where performances gradually disappear) and ecclesiastical court records (where non-conformists and the unruly are routinely presented). No serious, sustained defense of traditional customs, as a form of cultural warfare, is visible in the records, but pockets of traditionalism can be detected; for example, in local plays at Boston in 1579 and Donington c 1563 (both religious), Grimsby and Kirton in Lindsey in 1571–2 (unspecified topic), Louth

in 1567–8 (perhaps a school play), and South Kyme in 1601 (satirical). All of those, save Kirton, were towns in a roughly north-south line in the eastern half of the county. Other communities in that large region advertised their parish plays into the late sixteenth century. Some parish records continue to record Plough Day and Christmas ceremonies, and maypoles.

Resistance and efforts at control and suppression both intensified during the early seventeenth century. Many documents from those years record the deleterious effects on traditional entertainments as they moved, under duress, from church, churchyard, and street into taverns and private dwellings; as their audiences changed and narrowed demographically; and as the entertainments themselves evolved from festive and celebratory forms into vehicles for protest, satire, and parody, with the attendant social, religious, and political dangers. Church courts report numerous presentments for violations of the sabbath, mainly for some combination of dancing, piping or fiddling, playing games, attending cockfights, baitings, or wrestlings, observing ‘popish ceremonies,’ performing mocking rhymes, going mumming (potentially dangerous in the best of times), or participating in watches.

Though characterized by authorities as crimes most instances seem clear attempts to engage in traditional pastimes as resistance in the face of official prohibitions. At Keelby in 1601 the churchwardens were presented for ‘sufferinge vnlawfull games to be vsed in the church yard on the sabboth daies.’ At Hatcliffe in 1612 four persons were presented because ‘they observe all popish [ceremonies] festivall daies.’¹⁰⁴ Similar events are recorded at Brantston (1618); at Brant Broughton ‘ffor playinge vpon a fiddle or instrument in the streetes of Brantbroughton vpon the Saboath day before morning prayer’ (1618); at Mareham le Fen for playing an instrument during service time (1608); at Tydd St Mary for piping on the sabbath (1616); and at Westborough ‘for playinge on his bagpipe at Westburghe all eveninge prayer time on sunday’ (1609).

In Lincolnshire the conflict between traditionalists and reformers appears to have intensified with publication of the king’s Book of Sports. At Haydor in the 1630s the curate went so far as to beat a piper with a pitchfork after his escape from the stocks. But more often protest took the form of anti-clerical rhymes and songs directed at reformist ministers. For example at Donington in 1600 two women, it was claimed, had made ‘Rymes of Rybauldrie.’ Discontented parishioners faced similar charges at Silk Willoughby (for singing mock psalms in 1623) and at Sibsey in 1601, Sutterton in 1601, and Horncastle in 1638 (all for making offensive rhymes).¹⁰⁵ At Grainthorpe in 1609 the minister himself was accused of singing ribald songs on the sabbath. In 1606/7 the curate of Wrangle was presented for going ‘numeing in Boston in disguised apparell.’¹⁰⁶ All these legalistically framed conflicts reflect the state of a county at religious, political, social, and cultural war with itself, the first casualties of which were traditional performance and culture.

The Documents

Diocese of Lincoln

Bishop Robert Grosseteste's Letters and Mandates

Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253), bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, was one of the great minds of the Middle Ages. As bishop he instituted a major program intended to reform parish clergy and the excesses of parish ceremonial, festive, and spiritual life, which resulted in lengthy jurisdictional disputes with the Lincoln Cathedral chapter. For an explanation of the way in which the texts of Letters 22 and 107 have been edited, see p 741, endnotes to Letter 107 and Letter 22.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 123; 15th c.; Latin; parchment (ff 1–64) and paper (ff 65–132); iii + 132 + v (modern flyleaves); ff 1–64: 306mm x 211mm (237mm x 165mm), ff 65–132: 294mm x 217mm (212mm x 192mm, including marginalia); modern pencil foliation; parchment folios have coloured initial capitals for chapter headings, plus occasional black and red ink doodles, no decoration on paper folios; good condition; bound in mid-20th-c. board covers with leather spine, title in gold stamping on spine: 'MS. 1 123 1 C.C.C.C.'

Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 312; 15th c.; Latin; vellum with modern paper flyleaves; ii + 247; 343mm x 232mm (305mm x 225mm, including marginalia); early 16th-c. ink foliation; decorated and illuminated initial capital, decorated initial capitals for chapter headings in red and blue ink; excellent condition; antiquarian brown leather binding over original skin, blind-tooled with central floral device on front cover, no titles on covers or spine.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 453; late 15th c.; Latin; vellum; iii + 198 + ii; 175mm x 125mm (120mm x 80mm); modern pagination 1–395; illuminated capitals; good condition; original skin and board cover and binding. There are frequent corrections to the text of letters in a more private hand than that used in the body of the text, but it is not clear whether the corrector is a different person than the original copyist.

Edward Brown, APPENDIX I AD I FASCICULUM I RERUM I Expetendarum & Fugiendarum, I Ab ORTHUINO GRATIO editum COLONIE A.D. M D XXXV. I SIVE I TOMUS SECUNDUS.... I LONDINI, I

Impensis RICHARDI CHISWELL ad insigne *Rosæ* | *Coronatae* in Cœmeterio S. *Pauli*, MDCXC. Wing: G1583.

Bishop Robert Grosseteste's Diocesan Statutes

For an explanation of the way in which the texts of Chapters 23, 35, and 39–40 have been edited, see p 742, endnote to Chapters 23, 35, 39–40.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud Misc. 439; mid-13th c.; Latin; parchment; 4 leaves; 280–94mm x approximately 220mm; 17th-c. pencil foliation; small initials in red, with a little minor flourishing in the same red; now numbered as ff 79–82 and formerly bound in the 1630s with 4 other originally separate manuscripts for Archbishop Laud in his standard binding of brown leather over pasteboards with his armorial stamp in gilt at the centre of both covers (spine lost), presently disbound.

Cambridge, Peterhouse 255; mid-13th c.; Latin; parchment; ii + 217 + i; 236mm x 177mm (176mm x 155mm, including marginalia); non-continuous modern pencil foliation (each individual gathering foliated separately); coloured (red or blue) initial capitals for chapter headings; very good condition with some cutting; contemporary parchment binding remounted onto board (probably antiquarian work), modern title stamped onto spine: 'WILLIELMUS | DE MONTE' (top), '255' (bottom). Folios 1–127 were apparently originally sewn as a roll; needle marks remain.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms 138/78; late 13th c.; Latin; parchment; 190 leaves; 252mm x 175mm (171mm x 115mm typically, excluding marginalia); unnumbered; red and blue ink initial capitals for chapters; excellent condition; contemporary skin binding over contemporary wooden covers with stitching still in place, spine is labelled '821' (in early 20th-c. hand), then '78 | 132' with paper stickers applied with glue, no decoration, and front cover very worn but 'Distinct(...)es Trri(...) William | (...) | de (...)ontius' in 17th-c. hand is visible.

Cambridge, Jesus College, ms Q.G.18 (James 66); late 13th–14 c.; Latin; parchment; 77 + v (taken from a theological ms of the same period); 175mm x 130mm; foliated; bound in 17th-c. leather stamped with binder's mark.

London, British Library, Royal 9 A.xiv; late 13th c.; Latin; vellum; ii + 304 + ii; 175mm x 125mm (150mm x 110mm); modern pencil numbering over erased modern ink; initials flourished in red and blue; good condition; bound in red and brown leather over boards, on board, royal crest, G II R, 1757, title on spine: '[motif of crown] TRACTATUS THEOLOGICI, PHILOSOPHICI, ETC. BRIT. MUS. 9 A XIV [motif – Rose; motif – crown].'

London, British Library, Additional ms 6158; early 14th c.; Latin; vellum; ii + 164 + iv; 230mm x 160mm (190mm x 120mm); modern ink foliation corrected in pencil replacing irregular contemporary numberings; flourished initials in red and blue ink, other initials in red and blue ink, some headings in red, grotesques ff 70, 77v; composite manuscript made up of irregular original gatherings bound in 19th-c. blue leather over boards, title on spine: 'ALBERTANUS BRIXIENSIS, AEGIDIUS DE PECCATO, ETC. PRESENTED BY G. R. W. BEAUMONT. Brit. Mus. Additional ms 6158.'

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1146; mid-14th c.; Latin; vellum with modern paper flyleaves; ix + 122; 263mm x 184mm (255mm x 172mm, including marginalia); individual gatherings have contemporary ink foliation from f [4] (f 1 in ms numbering), ff [1]–[3] have modern pencil pagination; decorated initial capitals for chapter headings in red and blue ink; excellent condition; antiquarian (probably 19th-c.) brown leather binding, no decoration, embossed title on spine: 'ASH. 1146.' The leaves appear to have been originally sewn into a roll as needle marks are still extant in the majority of cases.

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Ii.2.7; late 14th c.; Latin; parchment (modern paper flyleaf); i + 203 + i; 328mm x 193mm (267mm x 120mm); modern pencil foliation, replacing individual contemporary ink foliation of original gatherings; coloured and decorated (red and blue inks) initial chapter capitals, also many black ink doodles on religious and moral themes similar to misericordia designs or bestiary illustrations; good condition, some cutting to ff 44–51; antiquarian brown leather binding with modern brown leather spine, some stamped black decoration on both covers, title on spine (stamped gold lettering): 'GULIELMUS I DE I PAGULA I &c' (top); 'Ii.2.7' (bottom).

London, British Library, Royal 11 B.x; late 14th c.; Latin; vellum; iii + 188 + ii; 265mm x 175mm (200mm x 125mm); modern pencil numbering; initials flourished in red and blue; bound in modern buff leather over boards, on board: 'M. B.,' title on spine: '10. BOROUGH PUPILLA OCUL. MODUS. PRON. SENT. EXCOM. CONST. SYNOD. (.)EYLTON DE (.) AGINIS. PAUL. VISIO. INFERN. MUS. BRIT. BIBL. REG. 11 b. X P 191. PLUT. XII B SBC. XIV. HEN. MILWART. 1. B X (...)9 1.'

London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.ii; 15th c.; Latin and French; vellum; ii + 314 + iii; 350mm x 265mm (text area variable); 19th-c. pencil numbering over erased ink; initials flourished in red and blue; composite manuscript bound in modern brown and gilt leather over boards, crest on board and title on spine: 'CHRONICON ROFFENSE. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES, ETC. BRIT. MUS. COTTON MS NERO D. II.'

Bishop John Taylor's Visitation Articles

John Taylor (c 1500–54), bishop of Lincoln from 1552 to 1554, was active in promulgating radical reform of the English church under Edward VI. Queen Mary removed him from his bishopric several months before his death.

Articles to be enqui- | red of, in the visitation of the ryght | Reuerende Father in GOD, | Iohn Byshop of Lyncoln, | in the sixte yeaere of the | Reygne of our moste | drade Souereygne | lorde kynge Edwarde the sixte, &c. | with certayne generall aduer- | tysementes, then gyuen | by the sayd Bysshop | to the Clergie | and people of his Dioces, | for an vniformitie, to | be obserued in | the same. | Anno domini. 155(.) (London, 1552). *src*: 10228.

Bishop Thomas Cooper's Visitation Articles

Thomas Cooper (c 1517–94), bishop of Lincoln from 1570/1 to 1583/4, was a zealous reformer

and the author of numerous theological works. He was translated to the diocese of Winchester in March 1583/4.

[in an architectural frame:] ¶ Interrogatories | to bee enquired of by | the church-wardens and Sworne-menne within the | Diocesse of *Lincolne*, and the | trueth thereof to be by them | vpon their othes duly presen- | ted vnto the Bishop there or | his Deputies, at his Visita- | tion, nowe to be holden this | present yeare of our Lord. | 1580. with particular | answeare to euery | Interroga- | torie. | Imprinted at London, by | *Ralph Newberie*. *STC*: 10230.5.

Bishop William Wickham's Visitation Articles

William Wickham (1539–95), was bishop of Lincoln from 1584 to 1594 and translated from there to Winchester. Before becoming bishop he had been dean of Lincoln Cathedral from 1577.

Articles to be enquired | of by the Church-wardens & Sworn- | men within the Dieocesse of Lincoln | and the truth thereof to be by them vppon | their othes duelic presented vnto the | Bishop, or his Deputies, at his visi- | tation, nowe to be holden this pre- | sent yeare of our Lord. 1585. | with particular an- | swere to euery | Interroga- | tory. | [Device: McKerrow 379 without initials] | Imprinted at London by | *Iohn Windet*. | 1585. *STC*: 10231.

ARTICLES | to be enquired of by | the Churchwardens and Swormmen | *within the Diocesse of Lincoln*, and the | truth therof to be by them vpon their othes | *duelic presented vnto the Bishop, or his Depu-* | ties, at his visitation, now to be hol- | den this present yere of our Lord | 1588. with particular an- | swer to euery Inter- | rogatorie. | [Device: McKerrow 379 without initials] | Imprinted at London by Thomas | *Orwin for Thomas Chard, dwelling in | Paules Churchyard, at the signe of | the Helmet*. 1588. *STC*: 10232.

ARTICLES | to be enquired of by | the Churchwardens and Swormmen | *within the Diocesse of Lincoln*, and the | truth thereof to be by them vpon their othes | *duelic presented vnto the Bishop, or his Depu-* | ties, at his visitation, now to be hol- | den this present yeere of our Lord | 1591. with particular an- | swer to euery Inter- | gatorie. | [Device: McKerrow 379 without initials] | Imprinted at London by | *Tho- | mas Orwin*. *STC*: 10233.

ARTICLES | to be enquired of by the | Church-wardens and Sworn-men | *within the Diocesse of Lincoln*. | And the truth thereof to be by them vpon their | othes dulle presented vnto the Bishop, or his Deputies, | at his Visitation, nowe to be holden this present yeere of our | Lord, 1594. With particuler aunswere to | euerie Interrogatorie. | (* . *) | [Device: McKerrow 291] | Printed at London by | *I. Roberts*. | *Anno*. 1594. *STC*: 10234.

Bishop William Chaderton's Visitation Articles

William Chaderton (d. 1608), bishop of Lincoln 1595–1608, had formerly been regius professor of divinity and president of Queens' College, Cambridge, then bishop of Chester

1579–95. He enjoyed the favour of the earl of Leicester, and of the earl of Derby and the earl's son, Lord Strange. In executing his ecclesiastical offices he earned the praise of higher authorities for his assiduous efforts to suppress Catholicism, non-conformity, and presbyterianism. Yet his moderation in enforcing compliance and imposing punishments earned him periodic accusations of weakness and hesitancy from higher officials. He was generally perceived as distant and uninvolved in his pastoral duties, yet was characteristically described as mild and hospitable in his personal life. His will includes bequests of a set of viols, a lute, a bandore, recorders, and music books.

ARTICLES | TO BE ENQVI- | *red of, within the Diocesse* | of Lincolne. | In the Visitation of the reuerend Father in God, | *William* Bishop of Lincolne. | *In the xl. yeare of the reigne of our gracious | Soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth, &c.* | [Device: McKerrow 259] | AT CAMBRIDGE | *PRINTED BY IOHN LEGAT.* 1598. *src:* 10235.

Articles | TO BE ENQVIRED | *of, within the Diocesse of* | Lincolne. | In the Visitation of the reuerend | Father in God, WILLIAM Bishop | *of Lincolne.* | *In the xliii. yeare of the raigne of our | gracious Soueraigne Ladie Eliza- | beth, &c.* | [Device: McKerrow 326] | AT CAMBRIDGE | *PRINTED BY IOHN LEGAT,* 1601. *src:* 10235.5.

Articles | TO BE ENQVIRED | *of, within the Diocesse of* | *Lincolne.* | In the Visitation of the reuerend Fa- | ther in God, WILLIAM L. Bishop | *of Lincolne.* | *In the yeare of the raigne of our gracious | Soueraigne Lord, IAMES, by the grace of God, | King of England, France and Ireland, the second, | and of Scotland the xxxvij.* | [Device: McKerrow 325] | CAMBRIDGE, | Printed by IOHN LEGAT. | 1604. *src:* 10236.

Articles | TO BE ENQVIRED | *of, within the Diocesse of* | *Lincolne.* | In the Visitation of the reuerend Fa- | ther in God, WILLIAM by Gods providence L. Bi- | *shop of Lincolne.* | *In the yeare of the raigne of our gracious | Soueraigne Lord, IAMES, by the grace of God, | King of England, France and Ireland, the fift, and | of Scotland the Fortith.* | [Device: McKerrow 325] | CAMBRIDGE, | Printed by IOHN LEGAT. | 1607. *src:* 10236.5.

Archbishop George Abbot's Metropolitan Visitation Articles

George Abbot (1562–1633) was archbishop of Canterbury from 1610/11 until his death. He was staunchly Puritan in his views and his theological positions brought him into conflict with William Laud and other 'high church' reformers at Oxford.

ARTICLES | To be inquired of, in the | first metropolitall visitation, of the most | Reuerend Father, GEORGE, by Gods pro- | *uidence, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all | England; in, and for the Dioeces of Lincolne, in the yeare of | our Lord God, 1613. and in the third yeare of his | Graces Translation.* | [Device: McKerrow 283] | LONDON, | Printed by William Iaggard. *src:* 10237.

Bishop Richard Neile's Visitation Articles

Richard Neile (1562–1640) was bishop of Lincoln between 1614 and 1617, when he became

archbishop of York. He was a strong supporter of the Crown against the commons and a prominent member of William Laud's party. He had been chaplain to William, Lord Burghley, and then to Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury.¹

ARTICL(.,) | TO BE ENQVIRE(.,) | of within the Diocesse of *Lincolne*, in | the first visitation of the Right Reuerend | *Father in God*, RICHARD, by Gods *proui-* | dence, Bishop of *Lincolne*, in the yeere of | our Lord God 1614. and in the twelue | yeere of he raigne of our most gracious | *Soueraigne Lord* JAMES, by the *grace* | of God, King of *England, France,* | and Ireland, defender of the | faith, &c. and of Scotland. | the fortie seauenth. | [Device] | LONDON: | Printed for CLEMENT KNIGHT. | 1614. *stc*: 10238.

Bishop George Mountain's Visitation Articles

George Mountain (1569–1628) was bishop of Lincoln from 1617 to 1621 and subsequently bishop of London, then Durham, and finally but briefly archbishop of York (1628). A strong ally of William Laud and member of the 'high church party,' he preached the doctrine of passive obedience, permitted images in churches, and suppressed lay preachers.

[headpiece] ARTICLES | to be enquired of vvith- | in the Diocesse of *Lincolne*. | In the Primarie Visitation of the Reuerend Father in | *God*, George by the *providence of God*, | Bishop of *Lincolne*. *An. Dom.* | 1618. | [Device: McKerrow 344 between vertical borders] | AT LONDON, | Printed by Thomas Purfoot. | *An. Dom.* 1618. | (:·). *stc*: 10239. On the title page of the copy in the British Library is written in a contemporary hand: 'The Like were (*per omnia*) in his Lordships triennial visitacion 1621.'

Bishop John Williams' Visitation Articles

John Williams (1582–1650) was bishop of Lincoln from 1621 to 1641. He was deeply involved in Caroline politics and in 1641 became archbishop of York.

ARTICLES | TO BE ENQVIERED | of within the diocesse of *Lincolne*, in the | primarie Visitation of the Right Reuerend Father | in God, IOHN, by Gods *prouidence*, Bishop | of LINCOLNE, and Lord Keeper | of the great Seale of | ENGLAND. | [Device: McKerrow 293] | LONDON, | Printed for RICHARD WHITAKER. | 1622. *stc*: 10240.

ARTICLES | TO BE ENQVIERED | OF VVITHIN THE DIO- | cesse of LINCOLNE in the generall | and trienniall Visitation of the right reue- | rend Father in God IOHN by Gods *pro-* | uidence, Bishop of *Lincolne*, Lord | Keeper of the great Seale | of ENGLAND. | [horizontal rule] | [Device: McKerrow 390] | [horizontal rule] | Imprinted at LONDON. | 1625. *stc*: 10241.

ARTICLES | TO BEE ENQVIERED | of within the Diocesse of | LINCOLNE, | In the generall and trienniall | Visitation of the right Reve- | rend Father in God | IOHN | By Gods *providence* Bishop of *Lincolne*, | to be held in the yeares of our LORD | GOD 1627, and 1628. | [Device] | Printed by the Printers to the Vniuersitie | of CAMBRIDGE, 1627. *stc*: 10242.

ARTICLES | TO BE ENQVIERED | OF WITHIN THE DIO- | CESSE OF LINCOLNE, In the

generall and trienniall | Visitation of the Right Reve- | rend Father in God | JOHN | by GODS
 providence Lord Bishop of | LINCOLN, to be held in the | yeares of our Lord God, | 1630, & 1631. |
 [Device] | Printed by the Printers to the Universitie of Cambridge. | *src*: 10243.

ARTICLES | to be enquired of within the Diocesse | of LINCOLN, | In the generall and trienniall
 Visitation of | the right Reverend Father in God | JOHN, | by Gods providence, Lord Bishop of
 Lincoln, | to be held in the yeare of our | Lord God 1635. | [Device] | Printed by the printers to the
 Universitie | of CAMBRIDGE, 1635. | *src*: 10244.

[enclosed within a border:] ARTICLES | to be enquired of | *Within the* DIOCESE of | LINCOLN, |
 In the generall and trienniall Visitation of | the right Reverend Father in God, | JOHN, | by Gods
 providence, Lord Bishop of LINCOLN, | to be held in the yeer of our | Lord God 1641. | [rule] | [Device] |
 [rule] | LONDON | Printed by *M. F.* 1641. Wing: C4053.

Archdeacon Morgan Wynne's Visitation Articles

Morgan Wynne (d. 1644) was archdeacon of Lincoln from 1626 to 1644.²

<...>CLES | <...> <...>SVVERED | <...> THE CHVRCH- | VVardens and Sworne- | men: | In the ordinary
 visitation of the Right | Worshipfull *M. Morgan Wynne*, Batchelor of | *Diuinitie*, Archdeacon of Lincolne. |
 [rule] | [Device: McKerrow 311] | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed for *Henry Seile*. 1627. *src*: 10245.3.

[headpiece] ARTICLES | To bee enquired of by the | Minister, Church-wardens, and | Side-men of
 euery Parish, and Precinct, | within the Arch-deaconry of | Lincolne. | Giuen in charge, in the |
 visitation of the Right Worshipfull | Mr. MORGAN WINNE Doctor of | Diuinity, Arch-deacon of |
 LINCOLNE. | [rule] | [Device] | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by ROBERT YOUNG, on Bredstreet hill |
M. DC. *src*: 10245.8. '*M. DC.*' is printer's error for 1637.

Archbishop William Laud's Visitation Articles

William Laud (1573–1645) became archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Theologically he favoured a moderate ground between Catholicism and reform Protestantism but also engaged in irreconcilable disputes with the Commons, fatally alienating many with the strict severity of his judgments concerning the imposition of ceremonial uniformity. He was tried and executed in 1644/5.

ARTICLES | *TO BE* | INQVIED OF | IN THE TRIENNIALL | VISITATION OF THE MOST |
 REVEREND FATHER, | VVILLIAM, | By GODS providence, Lord Arch-Bishop of | *Canterburie*,
Primate of all England; and | METROPOLITAN: | In and for the Diocesse of *Lincolne*, during the
 Suspension of | the L. Bishop there; and in the yeere of our LORD GOD 1638. | And in the 5th. yeere
 of his Graces Translation. | [Device: McKerrow 417] | Printed at *London*, by *Richard Badger*. | 1638.
src: 10245. In the Bodleian Library copy (Bodl.: Vet. A2 d.19), the surname 'Laud' has been added
 in pencil in an antiquarian hand after 'VVILLIAM' in the seventh line.

Boroughs and Parishes

ADDLETHORPE

St Nicholas' Churchwardens' Accounts

This document is a vestry book with churchwardens' accounts from 1542 through 1589, followed by minutes and memoranda of parish officers through 1825. Addlethorpe made its accounts during the first two weeks of January each year. The scribes used only a single year date (for example, 1546 for January 1546/7) to identify the end date of the accounts.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, ADDLETHORPE PAR/10/1; 1542–1825; English; paper; viii + 223 + iii (first 4 and final 3 flyleaves are strips); 310mm x 205mm (text area variable); unnumbered; fairly good condition; booklets stitched together, original binding and calfskin cover.

ALLINGTON

Inventory of Edward Russell

Russell had a wife (Margery) and three daughters, all three of whom were less than ten years of age at the time of his death. His will (LCC WILLS 1611/i, f 197) names one brother and numerous in-laws. He leased farm lands and had cash, crops, farm animals, a considerable number of implements, household goods, and a house with at least three rooms. He was buried 15 October 1611 and his will was proved at Grantham on 30 October 1611.³

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 111/151; 28 October 1611; English; parchment; single membrane; 565mm x 130mm (565mm x 115mm).

ASHBY DE LA LAUNDE

Thomas de la Launde's Complaint against John Babyngton and Babyngton's Answers (AC)

These documents are preserved in a compilation made by the eighteenth-century antiquary Francis Peck with a view toward a revision of Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Marginal notes provide the dating of 1520–1 and give as Peck's source a manuscript 'penes Nevilem King Armigerum 1730.' Since there is no office of King of Arms that fits that abbreviation, it is probable that this is a careless reference to a manuscript belonging to Peter le Neve, Norroy King at Arms from 1704 until his death in 1729, who left an extensive collection of antiquarian material. This manuscript is one of five volumes presented to the British Library by Sir Thomas Cave after Peck's death.

London, British Library, Additional ms 4937; c 1729–34; English and Latin; paper; iii + 277 + iv;

247mm x 186mm (220mm x 140mm); foliated; bound in 18th-c. binding with title on spine: 'F. PECK: MONASTICUM ANGLICANUM SUPPLEMENT VOL. IV.'

BARDNEY

Will of Alexander Burton, Piper

Burton was buried in Bardney. He must have owned or leased pasture lands because he bequeathed a number of domestic livestock to his children, his parents, and several of his associates. He had one daughter, plus at least three of his wife's children brought with her from an earlier marriage. Handbye may have been Hanby in Lenton, southeast of Grantham, or Hanbeck, a lost village in Wilsford parish.⁴ Burton's will was proved on 17 November 1576.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1576; 1576; English; paper; ii + 238 + viii; 310mm x 210mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation; sewn booklets in 19th-c. parchment binding (reused deed of 1838), title on cover: '1576.'

Inventory of Alexander Burton, Piper

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 59/275; 30 October 1576; English; single sheet; 280mm x 150mm.

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/21; 1638; English and Latin; paper; vii + 219 + vii; 310mm x 210mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation continued by modern stamped numbers, individual booklets or deaneries numbered separately; booklets of deaneries bound as a single volume, original vellum cover intact inside modern cover, title on spine: 'Vij | ARCHID | VISIT | LINCOLN. | 1638.'

This book includes entries for Burnham, Hougham, and Timberland.

BARNETBY LE WOLD

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/19; 1629; English and Latin; paper; vii + 194 + vii; 310mm x 205mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation 1–195 (f 2 missing), numerous small interspersed documents variously numbered a, b, c, etc. of the leaf preceding them, eg, 6a; repaired, many faded leaves, some fragments at beginning (fragment of 18th-c. sheet and fragment of original parchment cover) and end of volume; booklets for visitations to various deaneries bound together, modern cover, title on spine: 'Vij | ARCHID | VISIT | LINCOLN | 1629 | 19.'

BARROW UPON HUMBER

Letter of John Coke to Thomas Cromwell

John Coke was the secretary of the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp from 1521 to 1527 but by 1533 had returned to London where he was clerk of the statutes staple at Westminster.⁵ Thomas Cromwell (c 1485–1540) rose to a position of influence in Cardinal Wolsey's service, before becoming a member of the privy council in 1530/1, principal secretary and chief minister to Henry VIII in 1534, and lord great chamberlain of England in 1539. He was instrumental in effecting the dissolution of religious houses. In 1540 he was executed on charges of treason and heresy. A number of communities throughout the country bore the name Barrow, but the presence of Spaniards and the Merchant Adventurers in this episode strongly suggests that it occurred in a port town, or in one near the sea, making Barrow upon Humber the most likely candidate.

London, British Library, Cotton Galba B.x.17; 17 May 1533; English; paper; single sheet; 200mm x 310mm (200mm x 310mm); endorsed: 'To the right honorable Mr Cromwell oon of the Lordes of the kynges moost honorable Council.' Foliated 44 (formerly f 40) and bound with letters of various sizes in a volume titled on the spine: '21 | ACTA INTER | ANGLIAM | ET BELGIUM. | 1531–1546 | MUS. BRIT. | BIBL COTTON. | GALBA B. X. | d.'

BARTON UPON HUMBER

St Mary's Churchwardens' Accounts (AC)

When writing this book in the 1850s, Ball seems to have had access to the original churchwardens' accounts of St Mary's parish church, 1640–1760, because he quotes copiously from them (pp 6–9). As of 1893 the accounts for St Mary's Church were reported by the vicar, C. Moor, to be in the parish chest.⁶ Sometime after, they disappeared. The present vicar, Canon E. Hepworth, reports (after making inquiries) that 'unfortunately, they were lost at some stage after 1893, but certainly not recently.'

Henry William Ball, *The Social History and Antiquities of Barton-Upon-Humber, Part Second* (Barton upon Humber, 1856).

BASTON

This document bears no date, but it was one of numerous returns of Lincolnshire guilds (descriptions of their structure and extent, governance, and customs) that Richard II, with parliamentary agreement, ordered sent to the Chancery before 2 February 1388/9. So while the guild had been founded in 1366, this return appears to have been made on, or shortly before, 1388/9.⁸

Certificate of the Guild of St John Baptist

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 47/39/76; 1389; Latin; parchment; single sheet; 300mm x 220mm (257mm x 160mm); faded and hard to read.

BENINGTON

All Saints' Churchwardens' Accounts

Most of these accounts are summary only and an accounting term is specified in only a few cases, making it impossible to recover what the churchwardens' account year might have been for this parish.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, BENINGTON IN HOLLAND PAR/13/1; 1566–1625; English; paper; 22 leaves; 310mm x 210mm; modern pencil foliation; very fragile condition, not available for production, seen under supervision of conservator.

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/12; 1609; English and Latin; paper; ix + 521 + ix; 300mm x 200mm (text area variable); individual booklets originally paginated in ink, now inconsistently paginated throughout with modern stamp on rectos only; repaired; booklets bound in a single volume, title on spine: 'Vij | ARCHID | VISIT | LINCOLN. | 1609 | 12.'

This book contains entries for Grainthorpe, Roughton, and Westborough.

BIGBY

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/3; 1566–7; Latin and English; paper; ix + 152 + ix; 310mm x 210mm (text area variable); modern stamped foliation 1–154; some repairs; sewn booklets in a single volume, title on spine: 'Vij | ARCHID | VISITATION | LINCOLN | 1566–1567. | 3.'

This book also contains an entry for Lincoln.

BOSTON

Boston received its charter of incorporation in 1545. Thereafter a mayor, twelve aldermen, and a common council of eighteen burgesses governed the town. Mayors were elected from the ranks of the burgesses on Lady Day (25 March), and they took office on or about 1 May.⁹ The mayor and council met to conduct business throughout the year, the minute book recording the decisions from those meetings. The minute books provide most of the information that survives concerning ecclesiastical affairs, commerce, and political and religious dissension in Boston during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁰

Civic Records

Council Minute Books

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, BB 2/A/1/1; 1545–1607; English and Latin; paper; iii + 425 + vi; 370mm x 250mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation; some repaired pages, but generally excellent condition; rebound in 19th-c. board and suede cover.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, BB 2/A/1/2; 1608–38; English and Latin; paper; iii + 306 + ii; 420mm x 285mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation; some repaired pages, but generally good condition; rebound, modern board and suede cover.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, BB 2/A/1/3; 1638–71; English and Latin; paper; ii + 236 + ii; 420mm x 285mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation 307–543; some repaired pages, but generally good condition; rebound.

Bailiff's Account

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, BB 4/B/1/1A; 1609–10; Latin; parchment; 10 membranes tied at top; 430mm x 320mm; damaged at ends of sheets and some damage on right side.

Guild Records

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts

For discussion of the history of the several surviving accounts of the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Boston and of the guild's organization, possessions, and activities as the town's most important guild, see the Lincolnshire Archives Office, 'Gild of Blessed Mary Virgin' and 'Boston Guild Account'; and Cragg, 'Four Lincolnshire MSS.' According to Cragg, BL: Egerton MS 2886 was 'offered for sale in the window of a curio shop at Boston' where 'it was bought by a stranger for £2, who sold it to Mr. Quaritch for £90 and by him it was sold to the British Museum where it now is.'

In LA: Misc. Don. 169, ff 1–8v are the account of Reginald Duchefeld, bailiff and collector of the guild of the BVM, from Thursday in the week of Pentecost 1518 to the same in 1519. BL: Egerton MS 2886 is a bailiff's account of the guild of the BVM for 1514–25, with the quire for 1518–19 missing.

London, British Library, Egerton MS 2886; 1514–25; Latin; parchment; iv + 303 + iii; 300mm x 220mm (generally 230mm x 175mm); modern foliation 1–303; within account paragraphs sums of money are often underlined; good condition; title on spine: 'Compotus-Book I of the Guild of I St. Mary, Boston, I 1514–1525. I Brit. Mus. I Egerton MS. I 2886.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Misc. Don. 169; 1518–19; Latin; parchment; 12 leaves; 280mm x

197mm (235mm x 197mm); foliated 1–12; ff 1 and 12v faded and hard to read; stitched booklet with left rule to indicate margin; no cover.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, BB 4/C/1/1; 1525–6; Latin; parchment; 32 leaves; 315mm x 220mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–32; sewn booklet.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, BB 4/C/1/2; 1538–9; Latin; parchment; i + 21; 340mm x 250mm (text area 230mm x 190mm); modern foliation 1–21; 2 separated sewn booklets originally part of a single larger volume.

Ecclesiastical Records

St Botolph, Boston's imposing parish church, was begun in 1309 on the site of an earlier church. Its prodigious tower or 'stump,' as it is commonly known, was finished *c* 1510–20. It is 272 feet high and affords vast views of the countryside.¹¹

Inventory of St Botolph's Church Goods

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, E 117/3/57; 17 August 1552; English; paper; single sheet; 150mm x 470mm (150mm x 470mm); indented at top; mounted on repair paper in volume of inventories bound by TNA.

Sale of St Botolph's Church Goods

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, E 117/3/60; 26 May 1553; English; paper; bifolium; 155mm x 420mm (text area variable); mounted on repair paper in volume of 61 inventories and related documents of various size and composition for Lincolnshire; bound by TNA.

Episcopal Court Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Cj/16; 1605–10; Latin and English; paper; iv + 432 + iv; average 190mm x 305mm; modern foliation (original numbering of second codex visible); 3 originally separate groups of gatherings, with many leaves repaired and some mounted on guards, now bound in modern blue cloth over boards, gold title stamped on spine: 'EPISC: | COURT | BOOKS | 1605–7 | 1608 | 1610.'

Wills and Inventories

Inventory of John Wendon, Burgess

Wendon was a wealthy burgess who was expert in both music and medicine. His will (LA: LCC WILLS 1554–6, f 182) and inventory show him to have possessed considerable wealth in the form of money, goods, chattel, and an annuity from the abbot of Crowland (see p 747, endnote to LA: INV 21/167 single mb).

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 21/167; 20 December 1554; English; parchment; single membrane; 640mm x 173mm (635mm x 130mm); repaired, faded, parts readable only under ultraviolet light. Now bound with eighteen other inventories as INV 21/151–170.

Will of William Neudike, Musician

Neudike identified himself as a singing man and the vicar of Boston witnessed his will. His two sons and a daughter survived him. He bequeathed £10 to each of his children but apparently had few possessions. His will was proved on 7 April 1573.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1573i; 1573; English and Latin; paper; i + 314 + i; 315mm x 210mm (265mm x 140mm); contemporary ink foliation 48–356 (final 5 leaves (index) unfoliated, first 47 leaves missing); some repair in 19th c., good condition, binding fragile; sewn booklets in original parchment cover with strips.

Inventory of William Neudike, Musician

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 55/137; 6 April 1573; English; parchment; single membrane; 365mm x 160mm (365mm x 160mm); good condition.

Inventory of John Skyenner

Skyenner's one-page inventory lists but eight items; his will (LA: LCC WILLS 1572, made 19 July 1572, proved 7 April 1573) bequeathed his house and grounds in Boston 'where Mother Blaykamore dwellith,' plus goods and chattel, to his brother, Richard, who was also his executor. He left 20s each to his brother Richard's several children, and to many other individuals. Skyenner's will makes no reference to musical instruments or to him as a musician.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 55/150; undated; English; paper; single sheet; 205mm x 160mm (115mm x 130mm); good condition.

Inventory of John Copley, Gentleman

No will for Copley has turned up, nor is there a date of death in the heading of his inventory.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 100/223; 1605; English; paper; 2 leaves from a paper booklet (sewing holes visible); 307mm x 202mm (307mm x 202mm); unnumbered; good condition.

Will of Arthur Oudum, Musician

Oudum was a substantial member of the community who was able to bequeath a house and grounds to his son Richard. His will shows Oudum to have had strong connections with several other of Boston's musicians (see p 748, endnote to LA: LCC WILLS 1608ii ff 37, 37v).

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1608ii; 1608; English and Latin; paper; i + 280 + i; 310mm x 200mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation 1–278; good condition; sewn booklets in original parchment cover with tie-strings, title on spine: '1608 | 2.'

Inventory of Arthur Oudum, Musician

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 105/101; 21 March 1607/8; English; paper; single sheet; 465mm x 150mm; good condition.

Will of William Fox, Musician

From his will it is apparent that Fox was a wealthy man who was connected with, and gave his support to, the community and the parish church. His inventory (LA: INV 106/302) itemizes considerable furniture and household goods, two horses, and an estimated worth of £68 2s 4d. He held long-term leases from Sir William and Lady Bridget Carr of Sleaford and from the corporation of Boston.¹²

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1609i; 1609; English; paper; vii + 217 + xi; 300mm x 195mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation 1–217; 7 booklets in original binding and skin cover with tie-strings, title on cover: '1609 Mr Iohn Rudga(..).'

Inventory of William Fox, Musician

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 106/302; 12 December 1609; English; parchment; single membrane; 450mm x 155mm.

BRANSTON

Episcopal Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vj/24; 1618; English and Latin; paper; xiv (part of original parchment cover between ff ii and iii) + 78 + viii (part of original parchment cover between ff vi–vii); 305mm x 200mm (text area variable); first 6 leaves (mainly blanks) foliated in modern pencil 1–6, subsequent 71 leaves in contemporary foliation 1–71 (1 additional small sheet between ff 69 and 70 wrongly numbered f 70 (modern ink foliation); some repaired pages, but generally good condition; booklets of deaneries bound as single volume, title on spine: 'EP: | VIS: | LINC: | 1618 | 24.'

This book also contains entries for Brant Broughton, Grantham, and Potterhanworth.

BRANT BROUGHTON

Episcopal Visitation Book

See under Branston for LA: Diocesan Vj/24.

Will of Henry Sills, Musician

Sills named his wife, Isabel, to be his executrix and bequeathed to his two daughters, Isabel and Anne, £7 each. The will bears no date indicating that it was proved. His single membrane inventory of sixteen items lists a few livestock; some furniture and household goods; wool; tools and farm equipment; and a milne, picks (or pikes), cable, and sail cloth, clearly for a windmill. The total worth of his goods was £61 11s 8d.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1636; 1636; English and Latin; paper; i + 477 + i; 320mm x 205mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation 1–460 (final 17 leaves, including index, unnumbered); sewn booklets in original binding and hard parchment cover with tie-strings (flyleaf glued in much later), title on spine: '1636.'

Inventory of Henry Sills, Musician

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 144/141; August 1636; English; parchment; single membrane; 385mm x 150mm.

BURNHAM

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

See under Bardney for LA: Diocesan Vij/21.

CAISTOR

Orders and Ordinances of Caistor School (AC)

The original orders and ordinances do not seem to have survived; they are certainly not at the Lincolnshire Archives. Carlisle does not say whether he made his transcription from the originals early in the nineteenth century or from a copy. 'The History of South Kelsey' by Rev. H.C. Brewster (LA: MISC DON 462) contains a transcription (p 10) of the orders and ordinances that he seems to have taken from Carlisle, as have T.G. Dixon and H.E.J. Coxon, *Caistor Grammar School Records* (Caistor, 1932), 28–30.

Nicholas Carlisle, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*. Vol 1 (London, 1818).

CONINGSBY

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/10; 1600–1; English and Latin; paper; ix + 151 + ix (+

parchment covers); 310mm x 210mm (text area variable); modern foliation integrated with contemporary, 1a–1d–148; repaired, with numerous fragmentary pages at beginning and end of volume; booklets in a single volume, title on spine: 'ARCHID: | VISITAT'N | LINCOLN | 1600– | 1601 | 10.'

This book also contains entries for Holbeach and Sibsey.

Bill of Complaint and Other Documents in Lincoln v. Dymoke, Lovill, et al

This suit arose from an assault alleged to have taken place at Coningsby on 26 July 1601, involving riotous behaviour by men alleged to be armed and led by a drum and trumpet. In the examinations of the defendants and the witnesses' depositions, however, the events are described in terms more suited to May games than armed insurrection. The suit also reflects the protracted dispute between Henry Clinton, seventeenth earl of Lincoln, who lived at Tattershall (the plaintiff), and Sir Edward Dymoke of Kyme and Scrivelsby (one of the defendants).

For further details about Lincoln and Dymoke, see under South Kyme below, and the Records, pp 269–304, for another lawsuit between these parties concerning a play in August 1601.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/L13/33; 1602–3; English and Latin; parchment and paper; 19 items covering 49 sheets; modern foliation on dorso.

Details of the items (numbers supplied in parentheses) from which we have printed transcriptions follow:

(2) sheet 2; 23 November 1601; parchment; single membrane; 750mm x 680mm (715mm x 630mm); damaged by wear and tearing, at upper left ll.1–9 are damaged from edge 300mm x 50–100mm, at upper right ll.1–6 are damaged 230mm x 20–50mm, at lower left corner damaged area is 170–270mm in width and more than 360mm in length, approximately 410mm from left edge and 290mm from bottom edge is an area of damage more than 190mm wide and 250mm long, and on the right side 110mm from edge are 2 areas of damage of which one is 40mm x 20mm and the other 70mm x 65mm; endorsed 'C(...) vicesimo Tertio Novembris anno xliii^{to}.'

(6) sheet 6; before 7 April 1602; parchment; single membrane; 195mm x 520mm; writing continues at head of dorso. Interrogatories to be administered to defendants.

(8) sheets 9–35; 7 April 1602; parchment; 27 membranes, originally separate but now glued together; variable dimensions; contemporary numbering 1–27; written on first side only. Contains examinations of defendants taken at Horncastle; excerpts have been taken from sheet 26 (originally f 18): 215mm x 375mm, the examination of Richard Morrys, and sheet 28 (originally f 20): 230mm x 410mm, the examination of John Patchett.

(15) sheets 42–3; 1 September 1603; parchment; 2 membranes; sheet 42: 325mm x 710mm (300mm x 675mm), sheet 43: 325mm x 265mm (300mm x 210mm); bent in places, but readable; serially attached. Contains depositions by Charles Grisley and Richard Baylye, witnesses on behalf of the plaintiff.

(18) sheet 48; c 1603; English; parchment; single sheet; 232mm x 730mm (232mm x 710mm). Interrogatories to be administered to defendants' witnesses.

(19) sheet 49; before 1 September 1603; parchment; single membrane; 260mm x 585mm (250mm x 530mm); writing continues on dorse, starts at foot. Interrogatories to be administered to plaintiff's witnesses.

CUMBERWORTH

St Helen's Inventory of Church Furniture

This inventory survives in a collection of inventories that originally formed part of LA: Diocesan FUR 2, a volume of inventories that had been made in response to an ecclesiastical commission in 1566 (see Horbling, p 489). C.W. Foster published transcriptions made earlier by Edward Peacock of Cijj/36 and other inventories (excluded from Peacock's *English Church Furniture*) in an article, 'English Church Furniture,' pp 78–88, 109–16, 144–51, and 166–73. At that time Foster wrongly assumed that all the originals in Cijj/36 had been lost; they had not, but fourteen additional inventories listed by Foster (p 79) apparently do not survive.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter Cijj/36; 1566; English; paper; 35 loose leaves; 310mm x 210mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation while part of an original volume.

DONINGTON IN HOLLAND

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/9; 1599–1600; English and Latin; paper; ix + 123 + ix; 310mm x 200mm (text area variable); contemporary and modern foliation integrated 1–123; numerous repaired pages, but generally readable; booklets bound as a single volume, title on spine: 'Vij | ARC: | VIS: | LINC | 1599 – | 1600 | 9.'

List of Names and Parts Played

This list of names, together with the roles that the named individuals were assigned in a parish play, survives as a single sheet of paper lacking a heading or date. Another document from the same collection of parish records, a fragmentary page of churchwardens' accounts (PAR/7/2), is written in a similar hand and includes many of the same names. It contains dates between 1563 and 1565. Because one of the men on the cast list (Thomas Watson) died between February and 13 March 1562/3, the cast list was probably written in or before early 1563.¹¹

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, DONINGTON IN HOLLAND PAR/23/7; 1563–5; English; paper; single sheet; 263mm x 193mm; faded and hard to read, parts of right top and side and all of bottom missing.

EAGLE

Will of Eustace Watson, Musician

Though identified in his will and inventory as a musician, Watson was also a farmer. His inventory mentions land, woods, a barn, cattle, implements, and household goods, though he does not seem to have been demonstrably well-to-do. His wife, Elizabeth, was his executrix; he had a son and heir, John, and a daughter, Anne.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1638–40; 28 November 1638, proved 1 February 1638/9; English; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 195mm (305mm x 195mm); faded, damaged at top with text missing on half of right edge. Now foliated 163 and bound with other wills in a single volume for 1638–40.

Inventory of Eustace Watson, Musician

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 147/137; 28 January 1638/9; English; paper; bifolium; 395mm x 155mm; unnumbered; writing on f [1] only, edges damaged but readable.

EPWORTH

Archdeaconry of Stow Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vijj/1; 1623; English and Latin; paper; vi + 82 + xxv; 300mm x 200mm (text area variable); modern foliation bottom of leaves, fragmentary contemporary pagination top right (followed here); repaired; sewn booklets in modern binding, title on spine: 'Vijj | ARC: | VIS: | STOW | 1623 | 1.'

EWERBY

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vijj/15; 1615; English and Latin; paper; ix + 119 + vi; 310mm x 200mm (text area variable); modern ink foliation 7–125 with corresponding contemporary ink foliation on many leaves; repaired, numerous pages heavily damaged and fragmentary; booklets bound in a single volume, title on spine: 'Vij | ARCHID | VISIT: | LINC: | 1615 | 15.'

FOSDYKE

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vijj/4; 1568–9; Latin and English; paper; ix + 112 + ix; 315mm x 205mm (text area variable); contemporary foliation 14–124 (plus 1 unfoliated leaf at end);

numerous repaired pages, some fragmentary; modern blue hard cover, title on spine: 'Vij | ARC: | VIS: | LINC | 1568 - | 1569 | 4.'

FULSTOW

Inventory of Thomas Storr, Piper

Storr's will (LA: LCC WILLS 1608ii, f 140v) mentions no musical instruments. He left a house that he leased from Lord Willoughby and he mentions his sons, Thomas, Robert, and John, and his daughters, Alice and Ellen. At the time of making his will his wife's name was also Alice, but she was not the mother of all his children, since his daughter Alice was left an item that belonged to 'her owne mother,' presumably a previous wife. His will was made 13 January 1607/8 and proved 19 April 1608.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 105/34; 22 January 1607/8; English; paper; single sheet; 250mm x 200mm; irregularly cut edges at bottom of page; good condition.

GAINSBOROUGH

Exchequer, Special Commission of Inquiry Articles and Depositions

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, E 178/1315; 1587; English; parchment; single sheet; 265mm x 260mm (265mm x 260mm); signed: 'Thomas Fanshaw.' Bundled with depositions by five Gainsborough residents and a certification, dated 28 June 1587, which contains no entries.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, E 178/1315; 1587; English; parchment; 4 membranes serially attached; 295mm x 480mm (295mm x 480mm); unnumbered. Bundled with articles of inquiry (see above) and a certification, dated 28 June 1587, which contains no entries.

Bill of Complaint and Other Documents in Hickman v. Willoughby, Tournay, et al

A second set of interrogatories to be answered by those defendants who were to be examined on 31 May 1608 appears as (16) sheet 24, a single membrane, 360mm x 425mm. Another copy of the ballad appears as (13) sheet 21, a single membrane, 160mm x 160mm.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 8/168/31; 1606–8; English and Latin; parchment and paper; 19 attached items covering 29 sheets, some sewn; size of sheets varies; numbered.

Details of the items (numbers supplied in parentheses) from which we have printed transcriptions follow:

(3) sheets 3–5; 4 April 1608; English; parchment; 3 membranes; 220mm x 645mm (200mm x 540mm); sewn at top. Contains depositions by defendants.

(4) sheet 6; before 4 April 1608; English; parchment; single membrane; 515mm x 470mm (265mm x 652mm); foliated 6. Contains interrogatories to be answered by defendants.

(8) sheets 13–16; 10 July 1606; English and Latin; paper; booklet of 4 leaves; 215mm x 330mm (160mm x 330mm). Contains examination of Tristram Tournay.

(9) sheet 17; before 10 July 1606; English; parchment; single membrane; 265mm x 340mm (235mm x 270mm). Contains interrogatories to be answered by Tristram Tournay.

(12) sheet 20; July 1606; English; parchment; single membrane; 340mm x 205mm. Contains Tournay's answer to the bill of complaint.

(14) sheet 22; 30 June 1606; English; parchment; single membrane; 535mm x 315mm (490mm x 245mm). Contains bill of complaint by Sir William Hickman, knight.

(18) sheet 26; 1606, exhibited 31 May 1608; English; parchment; single membrane; 185mm x 220mm (190mm x 150mm). Contains libellous ballad.

(19) sheets 27–9; 31 May 1608; English; parchment; 3 membranes; f 27: 220mm x 670mm, f 28: 220mm x 430mm, f 29: 220mm x 640mm. Contains deposition given by defendants.

GRAINTHORPE

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

See under Benington for LA: Diocesan Vj/12.

GRANTHAM

Constables' Presentment

This document, the presentment of a piper from Leicester, is the fifteenth item within a folder (no. 3) that contains twenty-two tied and three loose documents, the first twelve being parchment strips, the second thirteen being paper sheets or bifolia of varying size and condition. LA: Grantham Borough QS 7/2/1–18 itself is a collection of quarter sessions documents in eighteen folders containing documents that record court actions, including presentments, examinations, indictments, and judgments, 1608–46.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Grantham Borough QS 7/2/3/15; 1608; Latin; paper; bifolium; 175mm x 270mm (175mm x 200mm); unnumbered; good condition.

Episcopal Visitation Book

See under Branston for LA: Diocesan Vj/24.

Corporation Minute Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Grantham Borough 5/1; 1633–1704; English and Latin; paper; 780 leaves; 420mm x 280mm (text area variable); contemporary foliation 1–780; repaired in 1980s, now in excellent condition; quires stitched as single volume, original binding and calf/board cover intact, title on front cover: ‘No. 1.’

Will of Thomas Seemly, Musician

Seemly had what seems to have been a substantial house and left considerable household possessions, including bedding and linens, brass and pewter pieces, metal kitchen and fireplace implements and containers, and furniture. He also owned livestock and had farmlands that were then planted. His total worth was listed in his inventory as being £34 13s 4d.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1636; 1636; English; mostly paper; i + 461 (excluding index booklet) + i; 205mm x 310mm; contemporary ink foliation; parchment binding with string ties.

Inventory of Thomas Seemly, Musician

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 144/85; 22 June 1636; English; parchment; single membrane (originally a 2 membrane roll); 655mm x 168mm. Proved 7 July.

GREAT HALE

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/11; 1607–8; English and Latin; paper; vii + 211 + vii; 315mm x 200mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation 1–211; good condition; booklets bound in a single volume, modern binding and cover, title on spine: ‘Vij | ARCHID | VISIT: | LINCOLN | 1607–8 | 11.’

The book also contains entries for Lincoln and Mareham le Fen.

Abstract of Sir Nathanael Brent's Metropolitan Visitation

Sir Nathanael Brent, who was knighted by James I in 1629, was commissary of the diocese of Canterbury and vicar general to Archbishops Abbot and Laud. He made this tour early in Laud's episcopacy, reporting and correcting ecclesiastical abuses. Eventually he fell out with Laud and was a witness against him at Laud's trial. Brent sided with parliament in the Civil War. According to the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* the abstracts in this document chronicle the visitation of the diocese of Lincoln, beginning in Lincoln on 9 August 1634 and ending at Eton on 9 September.¹³

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SP 16/274; August 1634; English; paper; 3 leaves;

200mm x 310mm (200mm x 310mm); unnumbered; stitched together and endorsed on f [3v]: 'An abstract of [ye visitation of y] [the Abuses in the] Diocese of Lincolne. 1634. in my Metropolist Visitacion[.]/ This may serue for my Lord Bishop of Lincolnes Accompt of his Diocese if he send noe others etc.' Bound by TNA as item 12 in a volume of otherwise unrelated state papers; modern ink foliation by stamp (top right) as ff 24–6 and by hand (bottom) as ff 23–5.

GRIMSBY

Civic Records

Chamberlains' Accounts

The borough elected its civic officials each September and many of the chamberlains' accounts run Michaelmas to Michaelmas, though some of them run October to October or December to December. Grimsby has the only sustained run of civic accounts in the county. Forty-eight accounts survive for the years between 1390 and 1584–5, the bulk of them from the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. No accounts survive between 1586 and 1669. Of the forty-eight surviving accounts, twenty-eight contain payments related to performances of one kind or another.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/5/1; 1396–7; Latin; parchment; 2 membranes (originally a serially attached roll); mb 1: 625mm x 220mm, mb 2: 560mm x 220mm; some small holes, repaired. Due to holes and fading, the account year can no longer be determined; although it did end in October, the starting point is now illegible.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/12; 9 October 1424–9 October 1425; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 620mm x 230mm; torn nearly apart near the top, readable; stitched end to end, written head to foot on dorse.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/13; 9 October 1441–9 October 1442; Latin; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 575mm x 250mm; some damage and lost words, repaired; dorse written head to foot.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/16; 25 October 1468–15 September 1469; Latin; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 445mm x 290mm (445mm x 290mm); repaired; written on both sides.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/19; 8 October 1499–8 October 1500; Latin; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 330mm x 230mm; faded and hard to read, repaired; written on both sides, head to foot.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/21; 10 October 1514–10 October 1515; Latin; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 725mm x 300mm; some deterioration, repaired as a flat sheet.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/22; 9 October 1515–9 October 1516; Latin; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 450mm x 320mm (450mm x 320mm); repaired; written on both sides, foot to head.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/27; 1550–1; English; paper; single sheet (originally a roll); 368mm x 300mm (368mm x 300mm); damaged (45mm x 95mm upper left corner, including part of heading), repaired; written on both sides. The only legible date that appears on this sheet is 4 Edward VI.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/31; 29 September 1558–29 September 1559; Latin and English; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 565mm x 500mm; parts of left and right edges damaged, otherwise faded but readable, now a repaired sheet.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/33/2; 29 September 1559–29 September 1560; English; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 565mm x 365mm; heading crumbled, a tear in the lower right quadrant of the text, now a repaired sheet.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/33/1; 29 September 1560–29 September 1561; Latin and English; paper; single sheet; 680mm x 285mm; foot of document badly damaged, part missing, otherwise readable.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/34; 29 September 1561–29 September 1564; Latin; parchment; 3 membranes; mb 1 (1561–2): 260mm x 245mm, mb 2 (1563–4): 520mm x 245mm, mb 3 (1562–3): 700mm x 245mm; faded and hard to read, mb 2 tattered at foot; mbs 1 and 2 serially attached, stitched to mb 3 at top.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/35; 29 September 1565–29 September 1566; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 725mm x 280mm; damaged but repaired with some text missing or obscured.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/37; 29 September 1566–29 September 1567; Latin; paper; single sheet (originally a roll); 680mm x 345mm; torn, wrinkled in places, repaired as a sheet; written head to foot on the dorse; stored within a cover.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/38; 29 September 1568–29 September 1569; Latin; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 400mm x 200mm; much damaged, part of lower left missing, several other holes, hard to read in places, repaired as a sheet. Date heading is damaged but enough can be seen to establish the Michaelmas to Michaelmas pattern of surrounding years.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/39; 29 September 1569–29 September 1570; Latin; paper; single sheet (originally a roll); 600mm x 430mm; 120mm x 50mm missing at lower left corner; stored as a sheet.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/30/3; 29 September 1570–29 September 1571; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 685mm x 573mm; condition poor but repaired.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/601/1; 29 September 1571–29 September 1572; English; paper; 12 leaves; 410mm x 150mm; foliated 1–12 in modern pencil; repaired, in highly readable condition; stitched booklet in manilla cover. This is a draft account with no headings; the only dates are inadvertently given on ff 1v, 2v, 3, but the surrounding accounts show it must have run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/41; 29 September 1572–29 September 1573; Latin; paper; single sheet; 665mm x 575mm; faded and torn in places; folded twice.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/42; 29 September 1573–29 September 1574; Latin; paper; single sheet; 655mm x 560mm; bent, torn, and damaged in places; folded once, top to bottom.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/44; 29 September 1574–29 September 1575; Latin; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 570mm x 550mm; parts faded, several large holes, upper right side missing.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/36; 29 September 1575–29 September 1576; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 475mm x 560mm; badly damaged, part missing, faded and hard to read, repaired as a sheet.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/43; 29 September 1576–29 September 1577; Latin; paper; single sheet; 640mm x 525mm; very readable; folded once, lengthwise.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/32; 1577–8. This roll could not be produced for examination.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/45; 29 September 1579–29 September 1580; Latin; parchment; single membrane (originally a roll); 752mm x 590mm; good condition; written on dorse head to foot.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/46; 29 September 1580–29 September 1581; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 800mm x 620mm; parts faded and illegible.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/47; 29 September 1582–29 September 1583; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 710mm x 610mm; generally good condition, but faded in places from water damage.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/600/48; 29 September 1584–29 September 1585; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 785mm x 650mm; good condition except for 1 small tear.

Borough Court Roll

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/101/5/10; 1430–1; Latin; paper; 12 sheets (originally rolls); varies from 305–435mm x 85–305mm (sheet with the entry is 435mm x 285mm); repaired, unattached.

Mayor's Court Books

The eight mayor's court books, designated NELA: 1/102/1–8, cover the actions of the court between 1450 and 1657. NELA: 1/102/2 contains booklets (organized by year) covering the years 1501–39. Only two booklets within 1/102/2 contain relevant entries.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/102/2; 1507–8; English and Latin; paper; 12 leaves; 345mm x 250mm; modern foliation 1–12; repaired; modern hard cover.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/102/2; 1526–7; English and Latin; paper; 8 leaves; 280mm x 205mm; modern foliation 1–8; repaired; modern hard cover.

Court Leet Books

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 1/108; a series of individual paper rolls written on one side only, now flattened and repaired with some loss of text. The following yielded entries:

14 October 1546; English and Latin; 4 sheets; 410mm x 300mm; foliated in modern ink.

19 April 1547; English and Latin; 4 sheets; 400mm x 290mm; foliated in modern ink.

October 1547; English and Latin; 4 sheets; 425mm x 315mm; foliated in modern ink.

April 1556; English and Latin; 4 sheets; 400mm x 310mm; foliated in modern ink.

13 October 1556; English and Latin; 4 sheets; 400mm x 310mm; foliated 1B–4B in modern pencil.

27 April 1557; English and Latin; 4 sheets; 410mm x 300mm; foliated 1C–4C in modern pencil.

9 October 1565; English and Latin; 4 sheets; 430mm x 320mm; foliated 1–3 in modern pencil.

Guild Records

Mariners' Guild Book

The Mariners' guild book is the only record of a guild – craft or religious – to have survived in the Grimsby civic archives.

Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire Archives, 261/1; 1538–87; English; paper; between 205–15mm x 145–60mm; 5 original booklets foliated A1–A42v + 1 blank leaf (A43–3v) + X1–X6v + 1 blank leaf + Y1–Y4 + C1–C19v + B1–B20v in modern pencil; repaired, good condition; now bound with covers of parchment leaves from medieval books.

Miscellaneous Records

Letter of James VI of Scotland to James Hudson

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SP 52/68; 7 July 1602; English; paper; bifolium; 305mm x 200mm (125mm x 150mm); unnumbered; originally folded in 3; addressed 'To *our* trusty *servitor* James Hudsoun presentlie at London.' Bound with miscellaneous state papers as item 81.

Letter of George Nicolson to Sir Robert Cecil

George Nicolson was 'the ordinary English agent in Scotland,' working on behalf of Elizabeth I.¹⁵ The many surviving letters from Nicolson to Sir Robert Cecil 'contained highly important information dealing with the innermost secrets of the state.'¹⁶ Cecil (1563–1612) was secretary of state to Elizabeth I and subsequently to James I.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SP 52/68; 14 August 1602; English; paper; bifolium; 275mm x 165mm (275mm x 130mm); unnumbered; signed f [1v], endorsed on f [2v]: 'To the right honorable *Sir* Robert Cecyll, principal scretary to her *maiesty*.' Bound with miscellaneous state papers as item 91.

Letter of Roger Dallison, Sheriff of Lincolnshire, to Sir Robert Cecil

Roger Dallison (or Dalyson), of Laughton was a member of an 'eminent royalist family' whose ascendance began with the Dissolution. Dallison became master of the Ordnance but lost his offices and his estates after embezzling Crown revenue and the family never recovered its prominence.¹⁷ Sir Robert Cecil was secretary of state to both Elizabeth I and James I.

Hertfordshire, Hatfield House Archives, Cecil Papers Vol. 95/66; 10 September 1602; English; paper; bifolium; 314mm x 190mm; on dorse: 'To the *Right* honourable *Sir* Robert Cicill knight principall Secretary to [...] her *Maiestie*.' Now numbered in modern pencil as item 66 and bound in a modern volume of Cecil letters and papers.

HAGWORTHINGHAM

Holy Trinity Church Book (A)

In 1704 Sir Joseph Banks of Revesby made transcriptions from the original 'Church Book' of Hagworthingham, and copies from Banks' transcriptions were made in 1888 by Ernest L. Grange, editor of *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries*. In 1888 Banks' transcriptions were part of his Lincolnshire Topographical Collection now deposited at Lincoln Central Library (see Banks: Linc. Collection 6/12 for Hagworthingham). His transcriptions for the years between 1525 and 1653 – encompassing the years with references to entertainments (apparently ff 3–3v) – are now missing, having disappeared between 1888 and their deposit in the library. Banks'

transcription for Hagworthingham is a booklet of eleven sheets foliated 1–11 (lacking f 3). His transcriptions give no headings and no clues as to accounting year other than to give a single year (ie, 17 H VIII). Since the original book is lost as well, the only surviving transcription is that copied by the *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries* editors. For the dispersal of Banks' voluminous collection relating to Lincolnshire, first to Revesby Abbey (his county house), then for sale to various individuals and institutions, see Warren R. Dawson, *The Banks Letters* (London, 1958), xvii. Some portions relating to Lincolnshire went to the Lincoln Central Library.

Ernest L. Grange, 'Hagworthingham Church Book,' *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries* 1 (1888–9), 5–13.

HALTHAM

Bill of Complaint in Dymoke v. Cholmeley

The Thomas Dymoke, esquire, of this case was presumably the son of John Dymoke, who was himself son and heir of Sir Edward Dymoke of Kyme and Scrivelsby (d. 1566).

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 8/124/20; 21 March 1605/6; English; parchment; single membrane; 730mm x 530mm (700mm x 510mm); top right corner of the sheet, with ends of first 2 lines, missing. Now numbered 16 in a bundle with seven other items, including deposition, interrogatories, answer and demurrer, and two pleas, all by Cholmeley, and two copies of the commission patent. None of them contain entries.

HAYDOR

Court of High Commission Sentence

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SP 16/410; 24 January 1638/9; English, some Latin; paper; 4 leaves; 200mm x 305mm (145mm x 280mm); unnumbered; title on dorso of final folio: '24^o Ianuarij 1638 Actus finalis Northern.' Bound into a volume of otherwise unrelated state papers and foliated 28–31.

HECKINGTON

St Andrew's Churchwardens' Accounts

The first five fragmentary leaves of these accounts bear no date, but they immediately precede the first dated account, on f 4, which identifies itself as being for 1568. They appear to be from the early years of the same decade, thus the tentative date given for the volume in the description below. The accounting year in Heckington was January to January.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, HECKINGTON PAR/7/1; c 1560–1729; English; paper; 190 leaves (first 3 are fragments); 303mm x 200mm (variable); modern pencil foliation 1–43 (excluding 3

fragments), then unnumbered to end; first 8 leaves badly damaged and fragmentary; booklets stitched together in original binding and back of original skin cover that is no longer attached to the volume.

HOLBEACH

All Saints' Churchwardens' Accounts

These six pages of churchwardens' accounts (ff 87–92), which were once part of a volume of churchwardens' accounts for years 1465–70, 1539–40, 1560–1, 1579–80, and 1586–7, survive among the family papers of the Stukeleys and Fleets, two ancient families of Holbeach who were united by marriage during the sixteenth century. The churchwardens' accounts probably came into the collection through the efforts of the eighteenth-century antiquarian Dr William Stukeley (1687–1765) of Holbeach, one of the founders and the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding. In the course of his studies Stukeley gathered a collection of materials into a publication, the *Itinerarium Curiosum*, that 'ranged over the antiquities of the whole country.'¹⁸

Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Eng. misc. b .72; 15th and 16th c.; English and Latin; paper; 210mm x 314mm (text area variable); antiquarian pencil numbering (on documents, not volume pages); title on spine: 'STUKELEY | FAMILY | PAPERS | MS. | ENG. MISC. | b.72.' Bound with other documents of various kinds and sizes glued onto large pieces of paper of uniform size (345mm x 445mm), sometimes multiple documents are affixed to one sheet; documents numbered 1–103; nos 1–63 are modern transcriptions, mainly genealogies; nos 64–103 are described as 'MSS: of my fathers' but include some transcriptions.

Inventory of All Saints' Church Goods (AC)

Dr Stukeley transcribed and printed parts of a mid-sixteenth-century inventory of church furniture. The original of the inventory has not come to light and is not among the inventories from many parishes in the inventory of heathenish church goods (LA: Diocesan FUR 2), made in the same year as this inventory. Peacock, who included this transcription from Marrat's 1814 reprinting in his *English Church Furniture*, p 237n, says 'I have not been able to ascertain where the original of the inventory here printed is at the present time.' Owen's *Church and Society*, p 112, identifies this sale of church furniture at Holbeach as occurring in 1543, and the amount (for playing properties) as 18s 8d, her sources seeming to have been a note by one E.G.A. of Holbeach entitled 'The Apostles' coats at Holbeach,' in *Fenland Notes and Queries*, p 9, where that erroneous amount was first given. Stukeley's transcription provides unique information about pre-Reformation playing traditions in Holbeach. It was reprinted early in the nineteenth century by Marrat in volume 2 of his four-volume *History of Lincolnshire*, pp 104–7. For more on Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, see 'All Saints' Churchwardens' Accounts' above.

William Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum. Or, an Account of the Antiquitys and Remarkable Curiositys In Nature or Art, observ'd in Travels thro' Great Brittan* (London, 1724).

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

See under Coningsby for LA: Diocesan Vij/10.

HORBLING

Inventory of Heathenish Church Goods

This document is composed of booklets containing inventories of problematic church goods possessed by 200 parishes (plus a later copy for Boston), essentially one parish per folio.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan FUR 2; 1566; English; paper; i + 201 + i (+ original parchment covers); 305mm x 205mm (text area generally 245mm x 150mm); contemporary ink foliation (modern added to damaged pages), ff 1–5 and about 30 others removed but survive as LA: Dean and Chapter Cijj/36; extensively repaired, parchment cover and ff 6–15 fragmentary; bound in modern hard cover in 1930s, on back of parchment cover: ‘Inuentarium Monumen(…) | Superstitionis.’

This book also contains an entry for Stallingborough, Waddingham, and Welton le Wold.

HOUGHAM

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

See under Bardney for LA: Diocesan Vij/21.

KIRKBY ON BAIN

Archiepiscopal Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vj/30; 1638; English and Latin; paper; v + 232 (lacks f 1) + vij; 302mm x 200mm (text area variable); integrated contemporary and modern foliation (ff 2–26 are contemporary); repaired; booklets bound as single volume in modern blue hard cover binding, title on spine: ‘Vj | ARCHEP | VISIT: | 1638 | 30.’

KIRTON IN LINDSEY

St Andrew's Churchwardens' and Corpus Christi Guild Accounts

The accounting year was from March to March, often beginning or ending on one of the Sundays in Lent.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, KIRTON IN LINDSEY PAR/7/1; 1484–1766; English; paper; ii + 137 (plus unnumbered slips between ff [98–9], [110–11], [115–16], [125–6]) + ii; 310mm x 210mm (text

area variable); modern foliation 1–67, 67, remaining leaves unnumbered; leaves in good condition but binding coming apart; modern hard cover.

Bill of Complaint and Other Documents in Hickman v. Willoughby, Tournay, et al

See under Gainsborough for TNA: PRO STAC 8/168/31.

LEVERTON

St Helen's Churchwardens' Accounts

The accounting year varied. In 1525–6 and 1594–5 it was December to December, but more often wardens made their accounts during the summer, so the accounting year is often June to June or July to July.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LEVERTON PAR/7/1; 1492–1625; English and a little Latin; paper; ii + 94 + ii; 307mm x 213mm (generally 255mm x 170mm); modern foliation 1–94; good condition; sewn booklets rebound into 19th-c. volume with a leather cover, title: 'Compotus | Gardianorum Ecclesiae | Sanctae Helenae | DE | LEVERTON | MCCCCXCII – MDCXXV.'

St Helen's Overseers of the Poor Accounts

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LEVERTON PAR/13/1; 1563–98; English, some Latin; paper; ii + 26 + ii; 210mm x 150mm (210mm x 150mm); modern foliation 1–52; good condition; booklets bound into calf and board book form, title on cover: 'LEVERTON. | Overseers Accounts. | A.D. 1563–1598.'

LINCOLN

The civic and ecclesiastical records of Lincoln are voluminous and early, ranging from the twelfth through the late seventeenth centuries. Most records of the city of Lincoln, the dean and chapter of Lincoln Cathedral, and the diocese of Lincoln now survive at the Lincolnshire Archives. Other important records with material related to performance in Lincoln are held at The National Archives and a number of other libraries and repositories in England and other countries because they were generated, or confiscated, by officials situated outside Lincolnshire. Because only one of Lincoln's civic account rolls and one of its craft guild books survive, most of the city's dramatic records turn up in city council minute books and the account and minute book of the Cordwainers' guild; together they provide unique information concerning the city's contribution to the elaborate celebration and enactments that occurred on St Anne's Day. The records of the dean and chapter and the diocese are much more complete than those of the city. They include early statute books, bishops' registers, a very full run of cathedral accounts, probate records, chapter act books, ecclesiastical courts materials, and more.

Civic Records

Civic Register

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, L1/3/1; 1421–1729; Latin and English; parchment; board and leather cover + parchment cover + 321 + parchment cover + board and leather cover; 380mm x 270mm (text area varies); modern foliation 1–322 (includes back cover) (ff 235–40, 260–73, 306–16 blanks); undecorated; original leather cover, once white (thus its name, ‘The White Book’), title on spine (on a later strip): ‘MISCELLANEOUS | ENTRIES FROM | 1421 TO 1729.’

City Council Minute Books

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, L1/1/1/1; 1511–41; English and Latin; paper; i + page from medieval MS + 292 + page from medieval MS + i; 400mm x 280mm (variable, but average 325mm x 187–90mm); contemporary ink foliation 1–289; good condition; bound in 19th-c. board and leather cover, title on spine: ‘Entries of | Common | Council | 1511–1541 | This is the | Whyte Book.’

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, L1/1/1/2; 1541–64; English and Latin; paper; i + 194 + i; 405mm x 290mm (average 305mm x 210mm); contemporary ink foliation (earlier foliation at foot of pages superceded), contemporary index (paper booklet of 12 leaves) attached at the front unnumbered; edges of pages damaged at front and back of volume, but otherwise good condition; 19th-c. binding with board and suede cover, title on spine: ‘ENTRIES OF | COMMON | COUNCIL | 1541 TO 1564.’

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, L1/1/1/3; 1565–99; English and Latin; paper; i. + 255 + i; 415mm x 275mm (average 310mm x 220mm, but varies widely); modern foliation 1–252 (2nd and 3rd leaves in contemporary foliation), an earlier foliation in Roman numerals at foot of pages, ij–CCiii, then Arabic 204–53; good condition; 19th-c. binding, board and suede cover, title on spine: ‘ENTRIES OF | COMMON | COUNCIL | 1565 TO 1599.’

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, L1/1/1/4; 1599–1638; English and Latin; paper; ii + 280 + i (+ loose folded bifolium, 1636 minutes); 425mm x 280mm (variable), final loose bifolium: 310mm x 200mm; contemporary ink foliation 1–280 (followed here) and modern foliation 1–15; f 1 missing save left edge, otherwise good condition; 19th-c. binding with board and skin cover, title on spine: ‘ENTRIES OF | COMMON | COUNCIL | 1599 TO 1638.’

List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs (A)

This list was written in several different hands from different time periods. Membrane 1, a list of legendary and historical kings, was written partly in the time of Henry VIII and partly in Charles I. Membranes 2–3, a list of mayors, temp. Edward II and III (to 32 Edward III, 1358–9), was written in the time of Elizabeth I’s early reign, as the handwriting is similar to that dated 7 Elizabeth (1564–5). Membranes 4–7 contain a list of mayors from 34 Edward III (1359–60) to 1532–3; there are annalistic notes in red ink of important national and local events in the same hand as well as later accretions through 1564. Membrane 8, a list of mayors, 1583–99, date of writing indeterminate, ends the roll. All references to plays occur on mbs

4–7. For detailed discussion of this and two similar lists that appear in the diocesan records (the second two containing no references to drama), see Hill, ‘Three Lists.’

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1; c 1532–c 1630; parchment; English and Latin; 8 membranes serially attached (mb 8 appears to have been added later to an existing roll); ranging from 610–815mm x 190mm (text area variable); writing continues from foot of mb 7 to mb 7d and then to mb 8.

Guild Records

The number of craft guilds or trades in Lincoln is not precisely recorded. In the early sixteenth century at least twelve craft guild companies, some of them an amalgamation of numerous crafts, received new guild charters. The Cordwainers’ and Weavers’ guilds had separate royal charters of their own. Between 1511 and 1541 thirty-five individual crafts took apprentices and in 1563 the city council minute book lists thirty-seven trades in the city but entertainers and musicians are not among them.¹⁹ All but two of the guilds died out during the seventeenth century and only the Cordwainers’ guild has left documents that record its activities.²⁰

Certificate of Minstrels’ and Entertainers’ Guild

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 47/41/156; 1389; Latin; parchment; single sheet; 255mm x 90mm (240mm x 55mm); very faded (requires ultraviolet to read).

Certificate of Cordwainers’ Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 47/41/152; 1389; Latin; parchment; single sheet; 475mm x 465mm (460mm x 390mm); very faded and damaged, repaired but readable only under ultraviolet light.

Cordwainers’ Account and Minute Book

The Cordwainers’ accounts ran from the Sunday or Monday after 14 February to the same in the next year; the guild officers for the new year were often elected on the Monday following the close of the previous year’s account.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCL/5009; 1527–1785; English and Latin; paper; 504 leaves; 363mm x 235mm (variable); foliated 1–264 (erratic combination of contemporary and modern), rest unfoliated; individual leaves strong; fragments of original binding survive within 19th-c. broken rebinding.

Cathedral Records

John de Schalby’s Book

The author of these lives of the bishops of Lincoln, John de Schalby (d. 1333), was a canon

of Lincoln and registrar to Bishop Oliver Sutton (1280–99). In his capacity as registrar, he travelled the diocese with the bishop for eighteen years.²¹

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/2/3; early 14th c.; Latin; parchment and paper; v (first 2 are strips) + 54 + ix (final 2 are strips); 290mm x 200mm (text area generally 205mm x 155mm); foliated 1–48 (final 6 leaves unfoliated); half of f 19 is missing; original binding, skin and paper board cover, title on spine: 'A | Marti | Logium | 2 | 3.'

Liber Niger

This book was originally compiled in the early fourteenth century but it now includes customs from c 1250 to 1600. Known as the 'Black Book' since the fifteenth century, it has three parts: 'consuetudines et officia' of the church; privileges, awards, and compensations of the chapter; and 'consuetudines' of divine office.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/2/1; c 1300; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; vi + 46 + vii; 335mm x 220mm (235mm x 130mm); modern foliation 1–45; repaired and mounted on paper; rebound in morocco in 1883.

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts

The accounts of the common fund were administered by an elected provost of the common and a clerk of the common. The accounts run from 1290 through the twentieth century (with some omissions). In his *Malone Society Collections VIII* (p 30), Kahrl dates Bj/5/10/3a (which he numbers Bj/5/10) as 1429 or 1430, and says that the accounts for 1425–30 are missing, but Bj/5/10/3a covers the year 1426–7. He also says that the accounts for 1430 through 1440 are missing, but Bj/5/9/12 is for the year 1431–2.

The accounting year in cathedral accounts ran from the Sunday following the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September) to the same Sunday the following year. Until 1305 the accounts were made on parchment rolls; thereafter they were made on parchment quires. The accounts are divided into receipts, expenses, lists of resident and non-resident members of the chapter, arrears, and chantries. Receipts and expenses are further divided into numerous sub-sections. Receipts record revenue from rents, endowments, offerings, pensions, and income from prebends. Expenditures include salaries of chantry priests, 'feedings' on obit days, costs of services in the minster, maintenance and repairs of properties, legal charges, and dividends. Most references to drama and mimetic services and ceremonies occur in the sections entitled customary payments, expenses noted, allowances, or gifts, depending on the nature of the event.²²

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/4; 1304–18; Latin; parchment; ii + 138 + ii; 310mm x 190mm (255mm x 155mm); modern foliation 1–138; 14 accounts on parchment leaves collected as booklets in a single volume, modern cover.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/5; 1318–40 (lacking 1319–20, 1330–1, 1333–4); Latin; parchment;

ii + 185 + ii; 315mm x 200mm; modern foliation 1–138; made up of pages recovered from a parchment roll (before it was used for accounts), some pages damaged; modern cover. The accounts of Richard de Carleton.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/6; 1357–69 (lacking 1358–9); Latin; parchment; 17 leaves; 295mm x 205mm; modern foliation 1–17; damaged and faded; booklet containing 11 accounts, original binding missing.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/7; 1377–87; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iii + 190 + ii; 300mm x 210mm (235mm x 150mm); modern foliation 1–190; generally good condition; 8 booklets stitched together, original binding and skin and board cover.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/3b; 1384–5; Latin; parchment; 19 leaves; 270mm x 210mm; modern foliation 1–19; readable but faded; rough account book made of sheets folded and tied on poor quality skin.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/8; 1389–97; Latin; parchment; iiiii + 167; 285mm x 200mm (220mm x 145mm); modern foliation 1–167; booklets stitched together in original board and skin cover and (fragile) binding.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/10; 1399–1409; Latin; parchment and paper; iii + 158 + ii; varies between 250mm x 200mm and 290mm x 210mm (190mm x 145mm and 250mm x 140mm); modern foliation; booklets stitched together in original, but deteriorating, binding, skin and board cover.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/9/10; 1403–4; Latin; parchment; 4 leaves; 255mm x 200mm (195mm x 150mm); unnumbered; very good condition. Fragment of an account that matches draft account Bj/5/5.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/10/6(3); 1417–18; Latin; parchment; 4 leaves; 270mm x 205mm (215mm x 145mm); unnumbered; fragment of an account, receipts missing, upper left of pages eaten away, some text missing; part of original stitching intact.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/11; 1420–1, 1423–4; Latin; parchment; 44 leaves; 295mm x 220mm (text area variable) and 300mm x 220mm (240mm x 170mm); contemporary foliation; a quire of 2 accounts bound together after being written, original stitching and parchment cover intact, title on cover: 'Comptus Thomas Greave l Anno 1424.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/10/3a; 1426–7; Latin; parchment; 6 leaves; 390mm x 240mm (text area variable); folio numbers missing except that the first appears to be f 4 (the entry on what may originally have been f 5 is numbered f [2] here); original stitching intact.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/9/12; 1431–2; Latin; parchment; 8 leaves; 280mm x 220mm (text area variable); unnumbered; 4 bifolia of an original booklet from which only expenses remain, now reunited with bits from Bj/2/11.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/9/13; 1433–4; Latin; parchment; 18 leaves; 290mm x 230mm

(text area variable); unnumbered; faded and damaged (parts of page tops missing). The account has been reunited with fragments from Bj/5/10/4.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/10/3c; 1434–5; Latin; parchment; 12 leaves; 295mm x 230mm (text area variable); most receipts missing, pages very faded, read under ultraviolet light.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/12; 1440–1; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; ii + 22 (+ fragment of parchment cover) + ii; 315mm x 245mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–22; faded, many leaves, especially at the back, damaged or missing the right edges or more; original parchment and paper board cover and stitching intact. Rough account of the common fund by Robert Melton.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/13; 1442–5; Latin; parchment; 134 leaves; 305mm x 225mm (235mm x 150mm); modern foliation 1–134; booklets stitched together, original binding and cover intact.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/14; 1445–8; Latin; parchment and paper; 125 leaves; ii + 125 + ii; parchment: 330mm x 235mm (text area variable), paper: 290mm x 210mm (text area variable); unnumbered; marginal heading and upper left portion of the document are missing; original stitching and paper and skin cover intact.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/15; 1448–51; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; ii + 80 + ii, plus a loose sheet between ff [9–10]; 300mm x 210mm (text area variable); unnumbered; original stitching and paper and skin cover intact.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/2/16; 1452–66; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iiiii + 397 + iiiii; 360mm x 250mm (225mm x 135mm); modern foliation 1–397; beautiful condition; 14 accounts in booklets bound in original board and suede cover with metal clasps intact, title on spine: 'Meeley l 1452 : 1466.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/6(2); 1467–8; Latin; parchment; 18 leaves; 340mm x 240mm (240mm x 145mm); unnumbered; damaged and fragile booklet; first 2 leaves severely damaged, much of text missing, parts of final leaf missing. Part of a three-document stack stored in a cardboard folder as Bj/5/6.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/6(3); 1470–1; Latin; parchment; 12 leaves; 330mm x 255mm (235mm x 170mm); unnumbered; nearly every leaf damaged, parts missing, fragile. See Bj/5/6(2) above concerning the composition of the stack of which it is part. An archivist's note says that the five surviving bifolia of this account are loose and were earlier misattributed to 1466–7. One leaf was found in Bj/2/16 and the outer bifolium was recovered from Bj/5/10/7(1). Evidence on f 1 indicates that the account is for 1470–1, including mention of the reduction of Alexander Prowet (precentor) to minor residence because of his death (February 1470/1).

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/7; 1473–8; Latin; parchment; 84 leaves; 355mm x 240mm (260mm x 170mm); unnumbered; extremely fragile, tattered fragment of a former account book, many leaves damaged or partially missing, not fit for production; previously sewn. Original order not preserved; sequence now is 1475–6, 1477–8, 1473–4, 1474–5.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/3/1; 1478–9; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iii + 23 + iii; 365mm x 280mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–19 (excludes first and last 2 nearly blank leaves); good condition; single account in original binding and paper and skin cover tied with thongs.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/3/2; 1480–96; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iiii + 343 + iiii; dimensions vary from 400mm x 310mm to 375mm x 280mm (text area also variable); modern foliation 1–342 (first leaf a blank fragment); excellent condition; booklets bound together in original stitching and paper and suede cover, 2 metal clasps intact, title on spine: 'Pinchbeck | 1480 : 1495.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/3/3; 1501–20; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iiii + 386 + iiii; average 430mm x 310mm (average text area: 310mm x 175mm); modern foliation 1–386; good condition; booklets of accounts bound as a single volume, original stitching and paper and suede cover, 2 metal clasps intact.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/3/4; 1520–9; Latin; parchment and paper; i + 214 + ii; average 435mm x 310mm (average text area: 305mm x 175mm); unnumbered; good condition; accounts in bifolia bound as a single volume, original stitching and paper and suede cover, clasps intact, title on spine: 'Lilelow | 1520 | 1528.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/3/5; 1529–44; Latin; parchment and paper; parchment strip + iii + 326 + iiii + parchment strip; 435mm x 310mm (average text area: 310mm x 180mm); paginated 1–175, thereafter unnumbered; good condition; original stitching and paper and suede cover with 2 metal clasps intact, title on spine: 'Beuercoat | 1530 : 1546.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, D/V/2/2a; 1548–9; Latin; parchment; 16 leaves; 430mm x 310mm (285mm x 195mm); unnumbered; parts at the top and right side eaten away, some text missing; otherwise readable; booklet tied with 3 leather strips.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/3/6; 1552–77 (lacking 1557–8); Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iiii + 293 + ii; 470mm x 360mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–293; weak condition; booklets bound as a single volume, original stitching and paper and suede cover intact, title on spine: 'L. Browne | Robertson | 1549 : 1577.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, D/V/2/2b; 1562–3; Latin; parchment; 6 leaves; 450mm x 365mm (text area variable); unnumbered. Part of the account of the common fund for this year, detached from Bj/3/6 and datable by accession of William Byrd as master of the choristers (f [4]) in 1563.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/3/8; 1524–95; Latin; paper; iii + 335 + iii; 310mm x 220mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–135; water damaged but readable; 9 rough accounts bound as a single volume, original stitching and paper and skin cover and leather strips intact. In a box with Bj/3/7.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/5/12(38); 1596–7; Latin; paper; 34 leaves; 308mm x 210mm (text area variable); unnumbered; damaged but repaired with much loss of text; unbound stitched booklet.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bj/3/9; 1601–26; Latin and English; paper; iii + 240 + iii; 300mm x

200mm (text area variable); modern foliation; some loose account sheets at front; title on spine: 'Comp. l ab 1601 l ad 1626 l Bj/3/9.'

Bishop Robert Grosseteste's Letters and Mandates

The dean of Lincoln to whom this letter was addressed was William de Tournay, who was dean from 1223 until his deposition by Bishop Grosseteste in 1239. The letter is dated '1236?' by Luard.²³ Powicke and Cheney observe only that it is likely to have been written earlier than the diocesan statutes, which they date '1239?' (see p 762, endnote to Letter 32).²⁴

See p 460 under Diocese of Lincoln.

Bishop John Buckingham's Register

John Buckingham (c 1320–98/9) was bishop of Lincoln from 1363 to 1398. He was translated to Coventry and Lichfield in 1398 but refused the appointment and died the same year. Before his episcopal reign in Lincoln he had been keeper of the privy seal to Edward III. As bishop he was particularly concerned to stamp out heresy and superstition. This register contains memoranda ranging from probate and installations to consistory court 'acta' to episcopal visitations.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bishop's Register 12; 1363–98; Latin; parchment and paper; iv + 497 + iii; on average 345mm x 270mm (285mm x 200mm); modern foliation 1–497 superceding contemporary foliation in Roman numerals but corresponding with it through f 90; original binding intact but fragile, calf and paper cover, partially detached.

Injunctions at the Archbishop of Canterbury's Sede Vacante Visitation

John Grantham was prebend of Liddington from 1492 to 1505 and compiled this book of statutes and customs c 1500, though its contents date from much earlier.²⁵

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/2/7; 1390; Latin; paper; ii (first a slip) + 95 + ii (last a slip); 310mm x 215mm (225mm x 160mm); contemporary foliation 1–95; good condition; original stitching and parchment and paper board cover, title on spine: '[symbol (box and lines)] l 2 l 7.'

Dean and Chapter Act Books

Among the records of the dean and chapter are thirty-seven act books dating from 1305 through 1640. Of those, seven proved to contain material related to the sponsorship and control of drama and other entertainments.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/2/36; 1465–78; Latin; parchment and paper; vii + 113 + original parchment cover (separated) + iv; varies from 300mm x 230mm to 320mm x 230mm

(text area variable); modern foliation 1–113 (contemporary foliation at top does not match); repaired, damaged in places but generally very readable; modern binding and cover, title on spine: 'A.2.36 | ACTA | CAPITULARIA | 1465–1478.' Folios 93–110 comprise a booklet transcribed from the book or a rough version of some elements.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/2/37; 1479–92; Latin and English; paper; xv (ff ix–xiv part-pages) + 73 + vi (modern flyleaf followed by original parchment cover followed by 4 modern flyleaves); 310mm x 225mm (text area variable); contemporary ink foliation 1–66, partial modern pencil foliation begins on f vii (small unnumbered sheet between ff 22 and 23); repaired; rebound in modern white vellum over boards, title on spine: 'D & C | A.2.37 | ACTA | CAPITULARIA | 1479 | TO | 1496.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/3/1; 1479–96; Latin and English; paper; iv + 200 + parchment cover (separated from book) + iv; modern foliation 1–200, contemporary foliation at top; some booklets 300mm x 220mm (210mm x 130mm), some booklets 315mm x 230mm (215mm x 160mm); heavily repaired and mounted on repair paper, sections separated by cardboard pieces attached to repair strips, very readable condition; title on spine: 'D & C | A.3.1 | ACTA | CAPITULARIA | 1479–1496.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/3/3; 1507–20 (lacking 1510, 1511, 1512); Latin and English; parchment; original parchment cover + iii + 196 + iii + parchment cover; contemporary foliation 1–196; 305mm x 245mm (text area variable); fragile, edges deteriorated but generally readable; original binding, not repaired yet, on spine: 'L | 1507 | 1520 | A | 3 | 3.' On Cover: 'No. 116.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/3/4; 1509–13; Latin and English; paper; original parchment and paper cover + 97 (2 pages between 95–6 cut out); contemporary foliation 1–95; 360mm x 255mm (280mm x 190mm); needing repair, ends of pages damaged and deteriorating; on spine: 'H | 1509 | 1513 | L | A | 3 | 4.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/3/7; 1559–97; Latin; parchment; i + 140 + i; 380mm x 280mm (300mm x 185mm plus marginalia); modern foliation 1–140 (supercedes and does not correspond with contemporary foliation 1–127); ruled; repaired, faded and damaged in places but generally readable; modern cover, title on spine: 'A | Lincoln | ACTA | CAPITULARIA | 1559–1597 | 3 | (.).'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/3/10; 1604–40; Latin and English; paper; vii + 261 + i; 305mm x 195mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–256; some edges missing, repaired and mounted on strips, modern binding, white calf and board cover and leather strips, title on spine: 'A | ACTA | capitularia | 1604–1640 | outline of a square | 3 | missing no. 10.'

Lincoln Cathedral Statutes

This book contains 'consuetudines' and other statutes compiled in 1527 from the Liber Niger and John de Schalby's Book. Its dates can be found on ff 1 and 27.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/2/8; 1527; Latin; paper; (first 3 strips) + ix + 39 + vi (last 3 strips); 310mm x 210mm (230mm x 150mm); contemporary foliation 1–39; good condition; original stitching and skin and hard paper cover, marked with a symbol approximating an 8 with a vertical line through it inside and on spine: '[symbol] | Statuta. Ecc. Lin | 2 | 8.'

Cathedral Treasurer's Inventory

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Dean and Chapter A/2/15/1–3; 1536; English and Latin; paper; parchment cover (illuminated medieval manuscript page) + 40 + back cover; modern foliation 1–40; 310mm x 210mm (205mm x 125mm); edges damaged, otherwise good condition; sewn booklet. The first of the inventories (for 1536, the one with the entry) is ff 1–26; the second one (for 11 May 1557) is ff 29–40.

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Books

See Bigby for LA: Diocesan Vij/3 and see under Great Hale for LA: Diocesan Vij/11.

Inventory of the Cathedral Vestry (A)

The original inventory of 1548 no longer survives among the cathedral muniments. It is thought to have been made, or ordered made, by Dean Heneage (d. 1548) who became treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral in June 1521, archdeacon of Oxford in 1522, dean of Lincoln in 1528, archdeacon of Lincoln in 1542, and was warden of the College of Holy Trinity at Tattershall at the time of the Dissolution in 1545. By 1548 he had retired. The Heneages were an ancient Lincolnshire family who had lived at Hainton in central Lincolnshire since 1342 and George Heneage was a direct descendant of its earliest member.²⁶ Dean Heneage was certainly the king's man. He had narrowly escaped death in Louth at the hands of rebels during the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 and in 1540, as part of a royal commission, he had delivered the cathedral chapter's gold, silver, and gems to Henry VIII. The 'John Asfordfy,' a relative of Heneage who transcribed the inventory, may have been Charles Asfordby, made prebend of 'Leighton Ecclesia' in 1560, of which Heneage himself had also once been prebend.²⁷

London, British Library, Lansdowne ms 207D; 17th c.; English and Latin; paper; ii + 347 + ii; 195mm x 300mm (135mm x 230mm); modern foliation; excellent condition; bound by the BL, title on spine: '72 | COLLECTANEA | GERVASII | HOLLES | VOL. 4 | BRITISH | LIBRARY | LANSDOWNE | MS. | 207D.'

Parish Records

Medieval Lincoln had a great many and shifting number of parishes. In 1549–50 a civic commission reduced the number of parishes in the city (excluding the Bail, the Close, Newport, and Eastgate) to nine.²⁸ Only one set of parish accounts from the period survives.

St Martin's Churchwardens' Accounts

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, L1/5/12; 1554–1634; English; paper; i + 124 (+ 4 strips) + i; 310mm x 200mm (variable); modern foliation 1–124; first 3 leaves and final 4 strips plus several pages throughout damaged or partly missing, otherwise good condition; booklets bound into 19th-c. volume with skin and board cover, title on spine: 'Church | Warden's | Accounts | 1557–1634 [an error] | Parish of | St Martins.'

Wills and Inventories

Will of John Sawyer

See Thurlby for LA: LCC WILLS 1520–25.

Inventory of Edward Hogge

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 58/215; 16 August 1574; English; paper; single sheet; 310mm x 205mm; faded, damaged at edges (parts unreadable).

Inventory of Edward Rockadyne, Scrivener

Rockadyne's will (LA: LCC WILLS 1588 ii, f 135) shows that he had a brother, sister, son, two daughters, and a wife, Anne, but mentions no musical instruments. The will was made 26 October 1588 and proved 28 November 1588.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 75/271; 6 November 1588; English; paper; 2 sheets; sheet [1]: 378mm x 120mm, sheet [2]: 153mm x 120mm; unnumbered; damaged, parts missing, repaired (was originally longer).

Inventory of Christopher Jackson, Musician

Jackson's will (LA: LCC WILLS 1591ii, f 310v) identifies him as a musician who was buried in St Swithin parish, Lincoln. One of his two witnesses was Richard Bell, perhaps the Richard Bell who was also a musician in Lincoln. Jackson had a son and daughter, both yet in minority, and a wife, Grace, who was his executrix. His will mentions no musical instruments. It was made 6 January 1590/1 and proved 21 April 1591.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 80/9; 10 April 1591; English; paper; 2 sheets; sheet [1]: 410mm x 147mm, sheet [2]: 310mm x 147mm; unnumbered; edges damaged but readable.

Inventory of John Lions

The extraordinary number of instruments (nineteen) listed in the inventory, worth £13 9s,

suggests that Lions was a dealer who sold them for a living, a speculation also made by Johnston, 'Furniture and Furnishings,' p 9. With Lions' inventory is an obligation bond requiring his wife Sarah to administer his goods and chattel. The bond is also cited as INV 1616/253.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC ADMONS 1616/253; 17 October 1616; English; parchment; single membrane; 380mm x 165mm (380mm x 165mm); good condition.

Inventory of Edmund Sandye, Musician

Sandye was a member of St Michael on the Hill parish in Lincoln. His inventory includes mainly household goods (pewter, glass, beds, and similar items). His will (LA: LCC ADMONS 1616/343[b]) names his son Robert, yeoman, as the supervisor of his will, with an obligation to administer it.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC ADMONS 1616/343(a); 5 November 1616; English; parchment; single membrane; 400mm x 152mm; good condition.

Inventory of Humphrey Wilkinson, Musician

Wilkinson's inventory indicates that he was from St Martin's parish in Lincoln. Aside from brass and pewter kitchenware and candlesticks, some furniture, and a 'graie nagge,' he had little else, his possessions' total worth being £7 2s.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 128/124; 14 June 1624; English; parchment; single membrane; 320mm x 70mm.

Inventory of Richard Bell, Musician

Bell's inventory was proved on 30 October 1628. Aside from some cash in his purse, a small number of household goods, and £14 9s 8d owed to him in debts, Bell seems to have had little in the way of material wealth. His inventory estimated his total worth as £6 14s 6d.²⁹ He first appears in the Lincoln records in 1597 when the city approved his selling of wood from Monks' Fen and from New Bank in Lincoln Fen because he had undertaken repair of both for the city at his own expense. He was also reimbursed for the costs of those repairs. In 1610 he bought his freedom of the city and the same was awarded to his son Richard, as was traditional in the city. In 1616 one Thomas Becket was apprenticed to him. In 1624 his apprentice Becket was admitted a freeman of the city. One of the witnesses of his inventory, Richard Moone, may perhaps have been related to George Moone, one of the waits of Lincoln (see p 217).

Bell's will (LA: LCC WILLS 1628ii, f 153) makes no mention of musical instruments. It bequeaths most of his estate to his son Richard, who was his executor. It gave his son Henry

the lease of a house near Thorne Bridge, leased of the common chamber, and clothing and the lease of another house to his son Thomas, but to his daughter Katharine he gave only 12d. He was buried in St Swithin's, Lincoln. His will was made 3 September 1628 and proved on 29 October 1628.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 134/49; 15 October 1628; English; paper; single sheet; 398mm x 155mm.

Will of John Morton, Musician

Morton appointed his wife (unnamed in the will) as his executrix. He had substantial holdings in Lincoln. He bequeathed his sons John and Nicholas £30 each from the sale of a house; his daughter Elizabeth received £10; and each of his four grandchildren (Edward Hill, Bridget Hill, Henry Bell, and John Bell) received houses.

The manuscript is now a broken register composed of twenty-four surviving leaves: thirteen separate leaves foliated 1–13 and the booklet foliated 14–24; Morton's will is on f 15.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1635i; 1635–6; English; paper; 11 leaves; 305mm x 200mm (text area variable); contemporary foliation 14–24; stitching now gone.

Inventory of Thomas Bishop, Clerk

Bishop was a man of few means, fewer goods, and no property, though he had a horse and lots of cash. His will (LA: LCC WILLS 1636, ff 340–1) indicates that he had a brother and five sisters who each received £10 plus many other relatives but no wife or children, and his mother was his executrix. He was a true bachelor. His will was made on 21 December 1636 and proved on 7 March 1636/7.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 144/257; 7 January 1636/7; English; parchment; single membrane; 340mm x 155mm (340mm x 155mm); good condition.

Inventory of Henry Bell, Musician

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 150/6; 21 April 1640; English; paper; single sheet; 392mm x 155mm (392mm x 155mm); unnumbered; good condition, folded once.

Miscellaneous Records

Hundred Roll

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SC 5/LINCS/TOWER/17A; November 1274–November 1275; Latin; parchment; 6 membranes stitched end to end (serially); 3170mm x 230–60mm (text area variable), mb 4: 575mm x 240mm; endorsed on mb 1: 'Ciuitas Lincolnie 3.

E. 1 | vacet in fine caretule,' and on mb 6: '¶ Uillata Lincolnie de Magno Anno domini Edwardi regis tercio.'

Book of Ceremonials

This manuscript is a kind of precedent book describing the protocols and processes involved in ceremonials of many kinds, from progresses to creations. The manuscript was originally a series of sewn booklets that, based on the hand, were compiled during Henry VIII's reign, then augmented during the reign of Elizabeth I.

London, British Library, Additional ms 6113; 1510–60; English; paper; iv + 210 + iv; 305mm x 200mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–210 replacing earlier, contemporary foliation made inaccurate during rebinding; good condition; bound in hard cover by BL, title on spine: '173 | CEREMONIALS | ETC. | EDW. III – ELIZ. I | BRIT. MUS. | ADDITIONAL | MS. 6113 | D.'

Letter of Thomas Lake to Sir Ralph Winwood

Thomas Lake (1567–1630) was secretary of state to James I and a member of the privy council. Sir Ralph Winwood (1562/3–1617) was a diplomat. He was appointed to the posts of English resident at The Hague in the Low Countries (1603–14) and then secretary of state (1614–17).

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SP 14/90; 29 March 1617; English; paper; bifolium; 297mm x 200mm (270mm x 150mm); good condition; addressed on f [4]: '1616 To The right honorable Sir Raph Winwood Knight one of his *Maiesties* Principall Secretaries.' Bound as item 149 into a volume of otherwise unrelated state papers.

LONG SUTTON

St Mary's Churchwardens' Accounts

The accounts clearly show that the community consistently elected wardens and 'made' (declared) its accounts on Low Sunday, the first Sunday after Easter Day. The accounts indicate that if they say that the wardens were elected, for example, in 1544, the account would be for the year 1544–5, and from Easter to Easter. If the heading says that the account was made in 1544, that means it covers the period 1543–4. That pattern is consistent throughout the surviving accounts.

The accounts several times name four wardens as serving in a given year (in 1542–3, 1543–4, 1546–7, 1550–1, 1569–70); otherwise only two wardens are listed in a year. The senior warden was named first. Sometimes the choosing of the wardens follows a predictable pattern in which the junior warden becomes the senior warden in the following year. Those cases make dating the documents even easier. But sometimes both wardens repeat, while in other cases both wardens are new in subsequent years. The impression arises that the

community preferred a consistent pattern of two-year service but was not always able to get that from its wardens. The sometime presence of four wardens suggests that the parish may have had four wards or jurisdictions.

Each churchwarden presented his own section of receipts and payments. Having separate sections in the accounts does not seem to indicate that wardens were responsible for different parts of the year, but rather that the sections were organized according to some other principle – perhaps by parts of the parish. Payments to players could occur in either warden's payments section and sometimes in both wardens' sections in a given account, but often the payments occurred in the senior warden's section only.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1; 1542–73; English; paper; 226 leaves; 310mm x 210mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–113; readable but fragile, not for production, booklets very loosely connected, with some pages now out of order; original binding, tattered parchment cover with nearly all of back portion missing.

LOUTH

Records from Louth are more substantial and varied than for most other Lincolnshire towns. They range from extensive runs of accounts (churchwardens', Trinity guild's, and town wardens') to court rolls to antiquarian transcriptions – all now stored at Lincolnshire Archives.

Trinity Guild Accounts

Trinity Guild was, along with the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary, one of the two 'greater' guilds of Louth. It is first recorded in 1376 and confirmed, with a charter, by the bishop in 1377. The guild was renewed by Henry VI on 7 October 1450, further articulating its rights and activities.³⁰ These accounts run from Trinity Sunday (the Sunday following Pentecost) to Trinity Sunday of the following year.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Goulding 4A/1/2/1; 7 June 1422–31 May 1423; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 560mm x 170mm (entire); faded and hard to read; writing continues on dorse. Contains the account of Ralph Caylstope, dean of the Trinity guild.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Monson 7/2; 1489–1529; Latin and English; paper; vii (+ unnumbered leaf with fragment of cover attached) + 243 + vi; 300mm x 200mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–243 (between f 243 and flyleaf is unnumbered fragment of final page of the account); booklets bound into single modern volume.

Trinity Guild Accounts (A)

Goulding made the transcriptions for 1525–6, among others, and bound them into a single volume with transcriptions from court rolls and other guild accounts in the nineteenth century. He separated transcriptions of each set of documents by an identifying cover sheet.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Monson 7/28; 19th c.; Latin; paper; 17 leaves; 230mm x 185mm (230mm x 185mm); paginated 46–66, 83–8, 105–16. Designated item 5 and bound with 4 other documents (items [1–4]); title on spine: ‘TRANSCRIPTA | LOUTHIANA | MON 7 | 28 | MONSON | M.S.S. | LXXIX.’

Louth Court Roll

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Louth Museum, Louth Court Rolls, Box 1; 1446–7; Latin; parchment; 5 unattached membranes; mb [1]: 560mm x 240mm.

Louth Court Rolls (AC)

The original court roll is too fragile for production until it is repaired so I was only permitted to see the transcriptions by Goulding, who made these transcriptions of court rolls from the manor and vill of Louth for the years 1392–1509 during the 1890s. He bequeathed them to the Lindsey County Council, which deposited them at Lincolnshire Archives in 1967.³¹ In his transcriptions Goulding has underlined some words or letters, apparently to indicate either words left in the original spelling or expansion of a word abbreviated in the original.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Goulding 4B/5/1; c 1890; English; paper; 330mm x 210mm.

St James' Churchwardens' Accounts

These accounts run from the Sunday following Easter to the same Sunday in the next year.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1; 1500–24; English and some Latin; paper; i + 177 + ii; 340mm x 130mm (text area variable); modern pagination 1–354; repaired but pp 339–54 severely damaged, large parts of the volume missing; booklets bound into single volume in a calfskin cover.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/2; 1527–59; English; paper; i + 290 + i; 415mm x 155mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–145; sewn booklets in original binding and cover.

Town Wardens' Accounts

Though traditionally called school accounts these are, in fact, the accounts of the town warden and his six assistants, officers established by a charter from Edward VI to administer the town and the school. The earliest accounts are for the warden or bailiff of the school, without mention of the town, but the headings of later accounts always say ‘warden of the town (or burgh) and school of Louth.’ While the accounts do contain entries concerning the school, the majority are civic accounts that give a comprehensive picture of official business during the period covered by the accounts.

A number of extracts from the Louth Grammar School accounts and other local records are included by R.W. Goulding (1868–1929), antiquary, printer, and bookseller of Louth,

in his *Louth Old Corporation Records* but often without identifying the particular documents from which they were taken and never supplying folio or page numbers. Goulding was one of the founders of Louth Naturalists' Society and librarian to the sixth duke of Portland. For a summary of his life and the manuscript materials in his collection deposited at Lincolnshire Archives, see Lincolnshire Archives Committee, 'Records in Other Custody: Goulding,' *Archivists' Report* 19 (1967–8), 63–8.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Louth Grammar School B/3/1; 1551–1686; English and Latin; paper; 472 leaves; 298mm x 195mm (text area variable); modern pagination 1–944; good condition; booklets bound in single volume, original stitching and parchment cover intact.

MAREHAM LE FEN

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

See under Great Hale for LA: Diocesan Vij/11.

MARKET DEEPING

St Guthlac's Vestry Book

The accounting years of these accounts vary. In one year the churchwardens' accounts were March to April, in another year Christmas to Christmas. The highway and the bailiffs' and constables' accounts were always made on Plough Monday (the Monday following the Epiphany, 6 January).

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, MARKET DEEPING PAR/10/1; 1570–1647; paper; English, some Latin; 300mm x 200mm; modern foliation A1–36 (churchwardens' accounts, 1570–1642), B (2 unnumbered sheets of undated churchwardens' account), C1–12 (dyke reeves' accounts, 1571–85), D1–42 (town bailiffs' and constables' accounts, 1590–1647), plus several loose enclosures and interleaved pages of modern transcriptions; brown leather cover (1878), title on spine: 'MARKET-DEEPING I ACCOUNTS | 1570–1647.'

MARSH CHAPEL

Bill of Complaint and Defendant's Answer in Dawson v. Mumby

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 8/114/12; 1621; English; parchment; 2 attached items covering 2 sheets; numbered 73–4 (apparently originally part of a much larger bundle).

Details of the items follow:

(1) 8 November 1621; single sheet; 360mm x 185mm (360mm x 185mm). Contains answer by Thomas Mumby to bill of complaint.

(2) 7 November 1621; single sheet; 515mm x 470mm (500mm x 450mm); faded in places; date on dorso. Contains bill of complaint by Thomas Dawson.

MORTON

Episcopal Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vj/19; 1607; English and Latin; paper; v + 176 + v; 310mm x 197mm; modern foliation 1–58 in stamping, 59–176 in pencil; water stained and heavily repaired; bound in boards covered with blue cloth, gold-stamped title on spine: 'EPISC: | VISIT: | 1607.'

PINCHBECK

Letter of Richard Ogle to Sir William Cecil

Richard Ogle (d. 1555) of Pinchbeck was a member of a royal commission to re-evaluate ecclesiastical properties in Lincolnshire in 1535, a commissioner of sewers for Lincolnshire (first appointed in 1540), a justice of the peace for Holland and Kesteven (1543 and 1547), a commissioner for inquisitions post mortem (1548) in Lincolnshire, and a commissioner to manage the disposition of church goods in Holland and Boston in 1553. In 1538 he received an annuity of £3 secured on an estate of Crowland Abbey. At the time of this letter he was one of the commissioners of sewers for Lincolnshire, a group charged with controlling drainage of the Fens. To be a commissioner one had to have at least £26 13s 4d a year 'in freehold land and tenements ... or else be resident in a corporate town with a capital of £100 or else be a barrister.'³²

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SP 10/15; 27 October 1552; English; paper; 2 sheets, originally bifolium; f [1]: 205mm x 300mm (170mm x 285mm), f [2]: 190mm x 300mm (blank except endorsement); endorsed: 'To the right honorable Sir william Cycill Knight one of the kinges moost honorable councell be these *dictated* in haste.' Foliated 76–7 as item 33 in a collection of unrelated state papers bound by TNA into single volume; title on spine: 'SP | 10 | STATE | PAPERS | DOMESTIC | EDWARD VI | 15.'

Inventory of Hugh Artle, Piper

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC ADMONS 1582/21; 2 February 1582/3; English; paper; single sheet; 410mm x 155mm.

POTTERHANWORTH

Episcopal Visitation Book

See Branston for LA: Diocesan Vj/24.

RIPPINGALE

Episcopal Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Vj/21; 1611; English and Latin; paper; vi + 177 + vi (+ parchment cover, front and back); average 310mm x 205mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–177; repaired, some fragmentary pages at beginning; booklets bound in a modern cover, title on spine: 'Vj | EPISC: | VISIT: | LINC: | STOW | LEIC: | 1611 | 21.'

ROUGHTON

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

See under Benington for LA: Diocesan Vij/12.

SAXILBY

St Botolph's Churchwardens' Accounts

For a complete antiquarian transcription of the book of Saxilby accounts, see Gibbons, 'A Transcript.'

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, SAXILBY PAR/7/d; 1551–1790; English; paper; 35 leaves; 155mm x 415mm (110mm x 360mm); modern foliation 1–35; fragmentary volume with many damaged or partial pages; repaired and bound in modern blue cover, title on spine: 'SAXILBY CHURCHWARDENS ACCOUNTS.'

SIBSEY

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

See under Coningsby for LA: Diocesan Vij/10.

SILK WILLOUGHBY

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/18; 1623; English and Latin; paper; vi + 273 + ix; 305mm x 200mm (text area variable); contemporary foliation (numerous small pages and fragments among foliated leaves, numbered a, b, c, etc. of the leaf preceding); repaired; booklets bound together in modern cover, title on spine: 'Vij | ARCHID: | VISIT | LINCOLN | 1623 | 18.'

SLEAFORD

Trinity Guild Accounts

The Trinity guild was apparently the most important of the guilds in Sleaford and its members included the vicar and the leading persons who lived in and near Sleaford. The guild had considerable holdings and provided a wide array of services. It had a guildhall or church house situated near the church, where it held dinners and conducted guild business.³³

A transcription of these accounts was made by John Cragg of Threckingham in 1796 (see LA: CRAGG 1/3). When Oliver wrote his *History of the Holy Trinity Guild*, he had access to the original accounts and transcribed the first entry, for 1477. Since then, those writing about entertainments in the accounts have assumed the originals to be lost, and have relied on that inaccurate transcription by Cragg.³⁴

These summary accounts of the guild for various years each cover, roughly, the period from Trinity Sunday to the same feast the following year.

London, British Library, Additional MS 28,533; 1477–1545 (notations concerning financial matters between 1585 and 1613 on f 17v); English; paper; iii + 17 + iii; 385mm x 265mm (385mm x 265mm); modern foliation 1–17; repaired and rebound with modern hard cover, title on spine: 'Additional 1 28,533 | BRIT. MUS. | SLEAFORD | GILD | 1477–1545.'

SOUTH KYME

Lincoln v. Dymoke, Bayard, et al

This suit, brought by the earl of Lincoln, charged that his nephews, Sir Edward Dymoke and his brother Tailboys, had organized the performance of a libellous play against him in August 1601. It was allegedly written by Tailboys Dymoke himself, a poet who had published his *Caltha Poetarum* (STC: 5161) under the pseudonym Thomas Cutwode. The surviving documents are found under two separate shelfmarks. How the interrogatories and depositions for witnesses preserved as TNA: PRO STAC 5/L34/37 became separated from the bill of complaint and other documents preserved as TNA: PRO STAC 5/L1/29 is not known.

At its core this case was part of a continuing, extremely volatile, conflict between two of Lincolnshire's most powerful families – the Dymokes and the Clintons. The Dymokes, of Scrivelsby and Kyme, had lived at Scrivelsby since the reign of Edward III. They also possessed the barony of Kyme that came into the hands of the Dymokes when Sir Edward Dymoke married Anne Tailboys, daughter of Sir George Tailboys, and sister and heir of Sir Gilbert Tailboys, Baron Kyme.³⁵

During the sixteenth century several of the Dymoke lords of Scrivelsby were also sheriffs of Lincoln. The chief defendant in this case, Sir Edward Dymoke (d. 1624) of Kyme, was champion to James I, sheriff of Lincoln in 1584, and nephew of the plaintiff. The ceremonial title 'king's champion' had come permanently into the hands of the Dymokes when Sir John

Dymoke married Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Ludlow, champion of England (the title had descended to her descendants from Joan Marmion, youngest daughter of the last Marmion champion, who had inherited Scrivelsby). The principal duty of the champion was a ritual conducted at the coronation banquet, in which the champion, wearing armour, rode a white horse into the banqueting hall and three times threw down a gauntlet, challenging to mortal combat anyone opposing the selection of this person as king. The Dymokes enacted this vivid ceremony at the coronation of nearly every monarch between Richard II and George IV, after which it lapsed.³⁶

The plaintiff in the case, Henry Clinton (after 1539–29 September 1616), seventeenth earl of Lincoln, was the son of Edward Clinton (1512–84/5), sixteenth earl of Lincoln, and lord high admiral of England from 1550 until his death. Henry Clinton was variously described as ‘the irascible peer’ and ‘an unpleasant tyrant who was afraid of no man – the privy council had to reprimand him on more than one occasion.’ Driven by unrelenting notions of class and station, Clinton (in lawsuits and personal confrontations) characteristically dismissed his opponents and their lawyers for their ‘lowly origins.’ Even Sir Edward Dymoke was a ‘mongrill, a curre, a rebell, a pesant of the order of clownes,’ and an ‘ale knight.’ The feud between Clinton and Dymoke, resulting in the retaliatory morality play, led to something approaching a ‘private war’ that eventually involved most of the gentry in the county during the first decade of the seventeenth century. More often than not, the confrontations of their respective supporters resulted in riots and affrays.³⁷ For a detailed discussion of the case, see O’Conor, *Godes Peace*, pp 108–26.

Ironically, the Dymokes and Clintons had become related by marriage when Robert Dymoke married Bridget, daughter and surviving co-heir of Edward Clinton. Robert Dymoke died in Lincoln prison in 1580 where, though in ill health, he had been incarcerated after being interrogated, during a visitation at Kyme by the bishop of Lincoln, on suspicion of Dymoke’s recusancy and Catholic practices. Henry Clinton, conversely, had served on a commission in 1592 ‘to search out seminaries and recusants’ that were against the law of the land.³⁸ Although fines against Sir Edward Dymoke, in another case brought by the earl of Lincoln, were mitigated and his punishment suspended by royal pardon, he received no mitigation for fines related to his involvement with the play (see pp 303–4). His brother and co-defendant, Tailboys Dymoke, who acted and sang in the play, died in 1602.

See under Coningsby, pp 476–7 above, and the Records, pp 48–55, for another lawsuit between these parties concerning May games in July 1601.

Bill of Complaint and Other Documents in *Lincoln v. Dymoke, Bayard, et al*

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/L1/29; 1601–3; English and Latin; parchment and paper; 17 items comprising 30 sheets, the first 16 items (sheets [1–29]) bound together; size of sheets varies greatly; unnumbered.

Details of the items (numbers supplied in parentheses) from which we have printed transcriptions follow:

(1) sheets [1–4]; 11 February 1602/3; English; paper booklet now bundled with item (2); 4 sheets;

320mm x 205mm (text area variable); sheet [4v] blank. Contains examination of Marmaduke Dickinson, defendant.

(2) sheets [5–14]; 7 December 1601; English; paper booklet now bundled with item (1); 10 sheets; 330mm x 205mm (average 310mm x 160mm). Contains examinations of defendants Tailboys Dymoke, John Craddock the younger, and John Craddock the elder.

(5) sheet [17]; before 7 April 1602; English; parchment; single sheet; 340mm x 260mm (text area variable); endorsed: 'Interrogatons against *Sir* Dymocke knight vponn the bill for the play at kymez.' Contains interrogatories for Sir Edward Dymoke, defendant.

(6) sheet [18]; before April 1602; English; parchment; single sheet; 440mm x 210mm (text area variable). Contains interrogatories for defendant Roger Bayard.

(7) sheets [19–20]; 7 April 1602; English; parchment; 2 sheets; 530mm x 190mm and 470mm x 210mm; sheets are written on 1 side only; sheet [20] endorsed: 'A Comission betwene the right *honorable* Earl & lincoln & *Sir* Edwa(.) dimock knight to be *deliuered* into his *maiest*(...) *cour*(.) of starchamber.' Depositions of Sir Edward Dymoke and Roger Bayard, defendants, taken at Horncastle.

(8) sheet [21]; 23 November 1601; English, some Latin; single sheet; 480mm x 275mm (480mm x 275mm); endorsed: '*Sir* Edward Dymocke.' Bill of complaint of Henry Clinton, earl of Lincoln.

(15) sheet [28]; before 11 February 1602/3; English; parchment; single sheet; 530mm x 310mm; endorsed: 'Comes Lincolnie | *versus* | dickinson | *Hilary* 45.' Contains interrogatories for Marmaduke Dickinson, defendant.

(16) sheet [29]; before 7 December 1601; English; parchment; single sheet; 660mm x 330mm; endorsed: 'Interrogatories e(...) | *versus* | Tailbois dymocke *gentleman* | Iohn Cradocke senior & | Iohn Cradocke yonger | vponn the second bill.' Interrogatories for defendants Tailboys Dymoke, John Craddock the elder, and John Craddock the younger.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office STAC 5/L34/37; 1601/2; English and Latin; parchment and paper; 2 items covering 7 sheets; size of sheets varies; unnumbered.

Details of the items (numbers supplied in parentheses) from which we have printed transcriptions follow:

(1) sheets [1–6]; 18 February 1601/2; English with Latin heading; paper; 2 gatherings of 2 bifolia and 1 bifolium, respectively, sewn together to form a booklet; 305mm x 205mm (285mm x 155mm); sheets [6–6v] blank. Contains examinations of William Scotchye and Robert Hychcock, witnesses on the plaintiff's behalf.

(2) sheets [7–7v]; before 18 February 1601/2; English; parchment; single sheet; 275mm x 465mm (275mm x 430mm); writing continues at head of dorse. Contains interrogatories to be administered to William Scotchye and Robert Hychcock.

Sentencing Notes in *Lincoln v. Dymoke, Bayard, et al*

San Marino, California, Huntington Library, EL 2733 (2); c 1610; English and some Latin; paper; bifolium, still showing folds from filing, now stored in folder with EL 2733 (1); 313mm x 195mm; unnumbered; good condition; endorsed: 'Comes Lyncolnie *versus* Dymocke' in panel formed by folds and '27^d' in faded 19th-c. blue pencil.

Sentences in *Lincoln v. Dymoke, Bayard, et al*

San Marino, California, Huntington Library, EL 2733 (1); 4 May 1610; English and some Latin; paper; bifolium, still showing folds from filing, formerly bound in 19th-c. guard book but now stored in folder with EL2733 (2); 305mm x 205mm; endorsed: 'Comes Lyncolnie | *versus* | Dymocke et al | Sentence in Starr | Chamber.' and 'Comes Lincolnie | *versus* | Dymocke militem. | Sentence in Starchamber | 4 Maij anno 8 Iacobi.' in panels formed by folds and '27c' in faded 19th-c. blue pencil.

Fines in Various Suits Involving the Earl of Lincoln and Sir Edward Dymoke

San Marino, California, Huntington Library, EL 2723; c 1610; English and some Latin; paper; bifolium, still showing folds from filing, formerly bound in 19th-c. guard book; 318mm x 200mm; unnumbered; good condition; endorsed: 'Camera Stellata | The ffynes imposed vppon | therle of Lyncolne and | Sir Edwarde dymocke | by seuerall decrees &c' in panel formed by folds and '27' in faded 19th-c. blue pencil.

SPALDING

Spalding Gentlemen's Society Minute Book 1 (AC)

This minute book contains a summary of an entry concerning a play from a volume of churchwardens' accounts that is now lost; this summary provides the only surviving evidence of that play.

Spalding, Gentlemen's Society Museum, Maurice Johnson Papers; 1710–29; English and Latin; paper; iv + 123; 325mm x 210mm (325mm x 210mm); contemporary foliation i–iv, 1–247; original binding, title on cover: 'Minutes of the Acts and Observations of the Spaldyng Gentlemen's Society in Lincolnshire Being the Institution Book, with some Dissertations and Drawings By the Members to whom it is Inscribed from 1710. to 1729. Volume I.'

Description of a Play in Spalding (A)

Gooch quotes extensively from what seems to have been an address, letter, or publication by Maurice Johnson, founder of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society. The original document's whereabouts or authenticity are unknown, but as printed by Gooch, it presents a vastly more detailed and specific description of the play that was staged late in the reign of Henry VIII than does the entry in the Spalding minute book.

H. Gooch, *A History of Spalding* (Spalding, 1940).

Bill of Complaint and Other Documents in Jackson et al v. Earle et al

TNA: PRO STAC 8/186/12 is a composite document made up of six items. They reflect stages in the legal processes of a case accusing the defendants of writing, singing, and spreading libellous ballads against the plaintiffs. Extracts have been taken from items 1–2 and 4–6.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 8/186/12; 1605; English and Latin; parchment and paper; 6 items covering 9 sheets; size of sheets varies greatly; numbered 1–9 (numbers on sheets 5–9 were subsequently crossed out and renumbered as 4–8 but the original, correct foliation is still visible).

Details of the items from which we have printed transcriptions follow:

(1) 11 May 1605; English and some Latin; paper; 2 bifolia (sheets 3–4v blank); 210mm x 330mm (155mm x 330mm); numbered 1–4. Contains examination of George Earle, gentleman, of Spalding.

(2) 8 May 1605; English; parchment; single sheet; 460mm x 250mm (400mm x 250mm); numbered 5; use of display script at beginning of articles. Contains interrogatories to be answered by the four defendants and signed by their attorney Leonard Bawtrie.

(4) 1604/5; English and some Latin; parchment; single lined sheet; 480mm x 240mm (480mm x 110–20mm); numbered 7 (renumbered 6). Contains exhibit copy of thirteen-verse ballad.

(5) 1604/5; English and some Latin; parchment; single lined sheet; 260mm x 215mm (215mm x 90mm); numbered 8 (renumbered 7). Contains exhibit copy of six-verse ballad.

(6) 8 February 1604/5; English; parchment; single sheet; 360mm x 450mm (340mm x 410mm); numbered 9 (renumbered 8). Contains plaintiffs' bill of complaint signed by attornies and clerks of Star Chamber.

SPILSBY

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/2; 1564; Latin and English; paper; ix + 120 + ix; 310mm x 210mm (text area variable); modern foliation integrated with fragmentary contemporary foliation 1–120; sewn booklets bound together in modern blue cover, title on spine: 'ARC: | VIS: | LINC | 1564 | 2.'

STANTON BY LANGWORTH

Lease to Giles Farnaby, Musician

Giles Farnaby (c 1563–1640) was a musician and a composer. In the first decade of the

seventeenth century Farnaby and his family, including his musician son Richard, were living in Aisthorpe, and working in the service of Sir Nicholas Saunderson (c 1561–1631) of Fillingham.

A.E.B. Owen discovered the indenture proving that Giles Farnaby had come to live in Aisthorpe, Lincolnshire, by 1608 and apparently was resident on the property leased from Saunderson between 1608 and at least 1611. Other documents indicate that he and his family had moved from London by 1602; by 1614 both the Farnabys, father and son, were back in London. Owen (p 154) speculates that Giles Farnaby had come to Lincolnshire ‘specifically to take service either with the Saundersons or some other local family.’³⁹

Saunderson was high sheriff of Lincolnshire, 1592–3 and 1613–14, and MP for Grimsby, 1593, and Lincolnshire, 1625; he was created a baronet by James I in 1611 and first Viscount Castleton by Charles I in 1627. He had four sons and three daughters, all of whom seem to have been quite young at the time of the lease and the apprenticing of their musical tutor.

When the sixth Viscount Castleton died in 1723, the Saunderson estates (and documents such as this one) in Lincolnshire passed to a cousin, Thomas Lumley, who later became the third earl of Scarbrough.

Sandbeck Park, Yorkshire, West Riding, MTD/B17/9; 18 February 1607/8; English, some Latin; parchment; single sheet; 420mm x 240mm (370mm x 190mm); on dorse: ‘The Counter teame of Giles Farnaby his lease at Stainton/ From May 1608./ for 20 yeres 16 li. 2 fat hens Vacat consensu.’

STALLINGBOROUGH

Inventory of Heathenish Church Goods

See Horbling for LA: Diocesan FUR 2.

STAMFORD

Despite Stamford’s early importance as a town, and its multiplicity of parishes, few civic or parish records survive. Most of the performance records appear in the corporation hall book.

Civic Records

Corporation Hall Book 1

Stamford, Town Hall, Hall Book 2A/1/1; 1461–1657; Latin and English; paper; iv + 459 + v; 370mm x 255mm (variable); contemporary foliation; good condition; original binding.

Recognizance of Nathan Ash as Alehouse Keeper

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Stamford Quarter Sessions Book, 1629–30; Latin and English; parchment and paper; 59 items from the court on strips and pages of varying size; pages unnumbered, items

numbered 1–57 (2 unnumbered at the end); repaired and mounted on repair paper (sometimes more than 1 item mounted on a page); all now bound as a single volume.

One of the items yielded an entry for this volume:

(29) 23 January 1629/30; English and Latin; parchment; single sheet; 255mm x 135mm; very faded; signed by 2 aldermen.

Ecclesiastical Records

Certificate of Guild of St Martin

St Martin's guild was associated with St Martin's Church, in a ward of the town that was 'administratively in Northamptonshire and belonged to the Abbey of Peterborough.'⁴⁰ This guild organized the annual bull-running.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 47/41/173; 1389; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 260mm x 75mm (235mm x 55mm).

St Mary's Churchwardens' Account

This account appears in the computus book of Peterborough Abbey, which mainly contains leaves of accounts and other financial documents of the abbot of Peterborough from a variety of places. The abbot of Peterborough was a major holder of property in Stamford, including five parish churches and the Benedictine nunnery. In fact during the Middle Ages all but one of greater Stamford's fifteen churches 'had passed into the patronage of religious houses,' thus the presence of this account in the computus book.⁴¹ The St Mary's account, f 3v, is on a single leaf but it appears to be a complete account. Its heading says that it is 6 Henry vi (that is, 1427–8) but the account gives no clues as to the accounting year.

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xxiv; 1427–8; Latin; paper; 96 leaves + folded strip; contemporary foliation 1–93 (+ 3 blanks and 1st half of a folded strip), 2nd half of folded strip numbered 94; modern binding, title on cover: 'COMPOTUS | OF | PETERBOROUGH | ABBEY | 1448–1467. | BRIT. MUS. | COTTON | MS. | VESPASIAN | A.XXIV.'

Episcopal Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vj/1; 1436–49; Latin, some English; paper; iv + 140 + iv (+ detached back of parchment cover); average 210mm x 300mm (text area variable); modern foliation (some contemporary foliation visible, variant from modern); sewn gatherings of leaves, many repaired, some mounted on guards, many damaged by damp or wear, edges of some pages missing, faded and hard to read in places; modern dark blue cover, cloth binding over boards, gold title stamped on spine: 'EPISC: | VISIT: | RELIG: | HOUSES | 1436–49.'

The book also contains entries for Humberston and Thornton Abbeys.

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/1; 1533–8; Latin and some English; paper; xix + 256 + vii; 310mm x 210mm (text area variable); modern foliation 9–264; some repaired pages; booklets bound as a single volume, title on spine: 'Vij | ARCHID | VISITATION | LINCOLN | 1533–8 | 1.'

*Wills and Inventories**Inventory of John Mackreth, Musician*

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 65/178 (B); 2 January 1580/1; English; paper; single sheet; 420mm x 150mm (420mm x 150mm); good condition.

SUTTERTON

St Mary's Churchwardens' Accounts

The accounts run from Easter to Easter. The fragmentary original cover and the first sixteen leaves 'were found in MSS Rawlinson D. 1480–1, (miscellaneous topographical scraps owned by Richard Rawlinson), and added to the volume' in 1897, according to Miss Molly Barratt, Assistant to the Keeper of Western Manuscripts, in a letter to Stanley Kahrl (20 July 1967).⁴²

Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Rawlinson D 786; 1461–1537; English and Latin; paper; ii (+ parchment front cover) + 140 + ii; ff 1–46; 313mm x 240mm (text area variable); foliated in modern pencil; title on spine of modern binding: 'CHURCHWARDEN | ACCOUNTS OF | SUTTERTON | LINCOLNSHIRE | RAWL. MS. | MISCELL | d. 786.'

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/9; 1599–1600; English and Latin; paper; ix + 123 + ix; 310mm x 200mm (text area variable); contemporary and modern foliation integrated 1–123; numerous repaired pages but generally readable; booklets bound as a single volume, title on spine: 'Vij | ARC: | VIS: | LINC | 1599 – | 1600 | 9.'

SWINESHEAD

Will of Richard Lambeson, Notary

Lambeson named his wife, Beatrix, as his executrix. He had four other sons (Richard, Thomas, William, and George), and one daughter, Jane. He had a messuage and tenement and a substantial amount of cash and number of goods. Lambeson's will is transcribed in Hickman (ed), *Lincoln Wills*, pp 311–13. Apparently his son Anthony, like his father, played the clavichords.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1532–34; 1532–4; English; paper; 342 leaves; 310mm x 215mm (260mm x 180mm); contemporary foliation 1–338; originally a volume of sewn paper booklets, now broken and kept in 7 folders. Lambeson's will is in the final folder, which contains ff 295–338 + index.

TATTERSHALL

Tattershall College Records

Tattershall took its name from the ancient family (Tatershale) who were descended from Eudo (lord of the site in 1086). The first castle on the site passed into the hands of the Cromwell family in the late fourteenth century when the first Baron Cromwell married Maud de Barnack (descended from the Tatershales). The key person in Tattershall's subsequent history is Ralph, third Baron Cromwell (1393?–1456), who between 1434 and 1446 built the impressive brick castle that still stands, and whose will 'provided for the building of Tattershall College and almshouses.'⁴³ William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester and executor of Cromwell's will, built Tattershall church, the foundation charter of the college and church dating from 1439.⁴⁴ As Pevsner puts it, 'the whole ensemble of castle, college, almshouses, school, and market place is a classic example of late medieval seignorial patronage.'⁴⁵

Cromwell himself fought for Henry v at Agincourt. He served for ten years as lord treasurer to Henry vi, as his master of the Mews and Falcons, and (for life) as constable of Nottingham Castle and warden of Sherwood Forest, all of which made him extremely wealthy. In addition to Tattershall, Cromwell held impressive estates in Derbyshire and Northamptonshire and records show that he maintained a large and lavish household at Tattershall.⁴⁶ Tattershall was confiscated by the Crown in 1471, during the Wars of the Roses, and given by Henry vii to his mother, Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond; then in 1537 Henry viii gave it to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. After it had reverted to the Crown following the death of Suffolk, Tattershall then came into the hands first of Sir Henry Sidney, then (in 1573–4) of Edward Clinton, the sixteenth earl of Lincoln, whose family held Tattershall until 1693.⁴⁷

The college of Tattershall had seven priests, six laymen, and six choristers; and an almshouse for thirteen poor people. It possessed the rights to revenues from a number of wealth-producing manors, and former abbey and church lands.⁴⁸ The account year ran from 29 September to 29 September. Most of the buildings of Tattershall College no longer survive but the magnificent collegiate church of the Holy Trinity (begun 1469) does; it is notable for huge windows that create exceptional interior light.⁴⁹ The song and grammar school associated with Tattershall College had a rich musical tradition that is reflected in these payments for complex musical texts. Figures such as the composer John Taverner began their education, training, and service at Tattershall, then often moved to Boston or other lucrative posts.

Receiver's Accounts

Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, U1475/Q16/2; 1495–6; Latin; paper; 6 sheets serially attached; 417mm x 314mm, average 42 long lines; writing on both sides, some titles underlined.

Precentor's Accounts

Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, U1475/Q19/4; 1498–9; Latin; paper; 3 sheets attached at top; 220–445mm x 158–309mm, average 45 long lines; writing on both sides, some titles underlined.

Impositor's, Precentor's, and Steward's Accounts

Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, U1475/Q19/6; 1500–1; Latin; paper; 4 sheets attached at top; 439–45mm x 158–309mm, average 57 long lines; writing on both sides.

Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, U1475/Q19/7; 1501–2; Latin; paper; 4 sheets attached at top; 436mm x 312mm, average 49 long lines; writing on both sides.

Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, U1475/Q19/8; 1501–3; Latin; paper; 5 sheets attached at top; 440mm x 158–317mm, average 48 long lines; writing on both sides, some sums underlined. Contains 1502–3 accounts of Porter and Litster, and 1501–2 accounts of Tott.

Inventory of John Atkin, Musician

Atkin's will indicated that he held a house as a tenant of Edward Clinton, sixteenth earl of Lincoln, which he conveyed to his wife, Dorothy; he was estranged from his daughter, Susan. His will makes no mention of goods, money, or musical instruments. It was proved 21 March 1584/5.⁵⁰

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 73/49; 19 March 1584/5; English; paper; single sheet; 260mm x 138mm (260mm x 138mm); good condition.

Episcopal Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vj/18; 1604; English and Latin; paper; viii (+ parchment cover) + 111 + vii; average 305mm x 200mm (text area variable); modern pagination 1–221; repaired, some leaves fragmentary, many with edges missing; booklets bound as single volume in a modern cover, title on spine: 'EP: | VIS: | LINC: | & | STOW | 1604 | 18.'

THORPE ST PETER

St Peter's Churchwardens' Accounts

The heading for the 1550–2 account (p 3) says that the account that year was made on 20 May, appearing to indicate that the accounting year in Thorpe ran May to May. But other accounts do not supply an ending date, making it impossible to be certain that accounts always ran May to May.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, THORPE ST PETER PAR/7/1; 1546–1660; English; paper; ii + 92 + ii; 310mm x 205mm (310mm x 205mm); modern pagination 1–19 in very faded pencil, remaining leaves unnumbered; modern suede and board cover, title on cover: ‘THORPE ST PETER | CHURCHWARDEN | 1546–1650.’

THURLBY

Will of John Sawyer

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1520–25; 1520–5; Latin and English; paper; 85 leaves; 355mm x 250mm (except ff 25–42, a booklet 315mm x 220mm) (text area variable); contemporary foliation 1–85; repaired, no longer firmly bound; original parchment and paper cover.

The ms also contains a will for Whaplode.

TIMBERLAND

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

See under Bardney for LA: Diocesan Vij/21.

TOYNTON ALL SAINTS

Inventory of Charles Cooke, Gentleman

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 112A/131; 8 April 1612; English; parchment; 2 membranes serially stitched; 370mm x 150mm and 365mm x 150mm respectively. Presented at Spilsby 4 May 1612.

TOYNTON (NEXT HORNCastle)

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/20; 1637; English and Latin; paper; vii + 325 (+ some small documents interleaved) + vii; 305mm x 200mm (text area variable); contemporary foliation augmented by modern, 1–325 (interleaves numbered a, b, c, etc, as in 17a); booklets for various deaneries bound together in original binding, but volume also has modern binding and cover, title on spine: ‘ARCHID: | VISIT | LINCOLN | 1637 | 20.’

TOYNTON ST PETER

Will of Ralph Knyght, Musician

Knyght’s inventory lists him as being from Boston, but his will expresses his wish to be buried at Toynton. There seems no doubt that the Ralph Knyght of the will and of the inventory is

the same person. Both documents were proved on 26 October 1615 at Boston and nothing in either contradicts information in the other. Perhaps Knyght was working in Boston but living in Toynton when he died. Knyght's will mentions no wife or children. His executrix was his sister Anne Knyght, to whom he gave the farm that he held of Lord Willoughby in Toynton, plus 4 marks owed him. To his second sister, Susan Carlill of Legbourne, he gave 40s. His will lists no other belongings; his brief inventory includes only three entries totalling 53s 4d.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, LCC WILLS 1615; 17 June 1615; English; paper; i + 725 + i; 310mm x 205mm (text area variable); contemporary foliation 1–720 (final 5 leaves unnumbered); good condition; sewn booklets with sheets glued to cover and first and last leaves, title on spine: '1615.'

Inventory of Ralph Knyght, Musician

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, INV 117/394; 2 October 1615; English; parchment; single sheet; 280mm x 160mm (280mm x 160mm).

TYDD ST MARY

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/16; 1616; English and Latin; paper; ix + 100 + ix (+ parchment covers); 310mm x 200mm (text area variable); contemporary foliation; repaired; booklets bound in a single volume, title on spine: 'Vij | ARCH | VISIT | LINC: | & | LEIC: | 1616 | 16.'

WADDINGHAM

Inventory of Heathenish Church Goods

See Horbling for LA: Diocesan FUR 2.

WADDINGTON

St Michael's Vestry Book

The vestry book contains appointments, accounts, and other parish business. According to an entry on f 8v, the accounts were commonly declared on the Sunday following the feast of the Purification. Thus they ran 2 February to 2 February each year.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, WADDINGTON PAR/10/1; 1639–1805; English; paper; 293 leaves; 370mm x 145mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–292 (2 folios 11 marked 'a' and 'b'); volume coming apart, some leaves damaged; booklets bound into a single volume in original binding, skin over paper board cover. At the end of the volume and opposite side up are several accounts, 1640–1780, foliated 1–34.

WAINFLEET ST MARY

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

LA: Diocesan Vij/17 was seen under the supervision of a conservator; it was too fragile to permit detailed examination.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/17; 1616–17; Latin and English; paper; approximately 300mm x 200mm; entirely broken volume in several bundles, with many pages of the original volume missing.

WELTON LE WOLD

Inventory of Heathenish Church Goods

See Horbling for LA: Diocesan FUR 2.

WESTBOROUGH

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

See under Benington for LA: Diocesan Vij/12.

WHAPLODE

Will of John Randall

See Thurlby for LA: LCC WILLS 1520–25.

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vij/20; 1637; English and Latin; paper; vii + 325 (plus some small documents interleaved) + vii; 305mm x 200mm (text area variable); contemporary foliation augmented by modern, 1–325 (interleaves numbered a, b, c, etc, as in 17a); booklets for various deaneries bound together in original binding but volume also has modern binding and cover, title on spine: 'ARCHID: | VISIT | LINCOLN | 1637 | 20.'

WIGTOFT

Sts Peter and Paul's Churchwardens' Accounts (AC)

Wigtoft is a small village seven miles southwest of Boston in the wapentake of Kirton, Holland. Its churchwardens' accounts seem to have survived only as transcriptions, printed by Nichols

in 1797. Marrat, in *The History of Lincolnshire*, vol 1, pp 192–201, includes the same extracts from the Wigtoft churchwardens' accounts as those in Nichols. Harrod says that his transcriptions of the accounts were extracted from the 'Illustrations of the Manners & Customes of Antient Times.'⁵¹ Although the wording in the title differs slightly and Harrod's book bears an earlier publication date than does Nichols' book, Harrod's source seems to have been Nichols. Wills and/or inventories surviving for several of the churchwardens named in the accounts support the strong likelihood that the transcriptions reflect actual accounts.

Accounts often ran Easter to Easter, but the starting date could vary widely, ranging from early February to mid-June. A brief entry in *Gallery Music: English church and chapel music of the 1700s and early 1800s* (<<http://www.psalmody.co.uk/>>) describes Harrod as a 'Psalmody of Stamford, Lincs' and cites his *Select psalms of David* (1789).

F., M. 'Extracts from the Churchwardens Accompts of Wigtoft, a Village near Boston, in Lincolnshire,' *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England*. J. Nichols (ed) (London, 1797), 195–249.

WITHAM ON THE HILL

St Andrew's Churchwardens' Accounts

In most years Witham made its accounts shortly before or sometime during Christmas week.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, WITHAM ON THE HILL PAR/7/1; 1548–1828; English; paper; 273 leaves; 292mm x 190mm (text area variable); modern foliation 1–43, rest unnumbered; good condition; booklets bound as single volume in original binding and worn, faded skin cover.

WRAGBY

Episcopal Visitation Book

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Diocesan Vj/16; 1585; Latin; paper; viii + 139 + viii; average 200mm x 300mm; modern foliation; many gatherings repaired, some mounted on guards, many damaged by damp or wear; modern dark blue cloth binding over boards, gold title stamped on spine: 'EPISC: I VISIT: I DIOCESE I 1585.'

Religious Houses

BARDNEY ABBEY

The monastery of St Peter, St Paul, and St Oswald at Bardney was founded in the seventh century, destroyed by the Danes in 870, and refounded as an alien priory for Benedictine monks in 1087 by the earl of Lincoln. It was dissolved at the order of Henry VIII in 1538; six of

its monks had been condemned to death the previous year for supporting the Lincolnshire uprising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁵²

Bardney Abbey Chartulary

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E.xx; early 13th–early 16th c.; Latin; parchment; v + 292 + iv; 260mm x 180mm (185mm x 130mm); modern foliation 1–292 (unnumbered blank between ff 178 and 179) replacing contemporary foliation 1–286, which excluded first 2 folios and blanks between ff 2–3, 3–4, and 66–7 (misnumbering of 2 folios 110 and 2 folios 279); illuminated initial 'A' on original first leaf of chartulary (now f 8), ruled; modern BL binding, title on spine: '22 | BARDNEY CHARTULARY. | BRIT. MUS. | COTTON | MS. | VESPASIAN | E. XX. | b.'

Bishop William Gray's Register

William Gray (d. 1436) was bishop of London (1425–31) before his translation to Lincoln in 1431.⁵³

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bishop's Register 17; 1431–6; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iii + 221 + iv; 360mm x 280mm (255mm x 185mm); contemporary foliation 1–221; original binding and hard cover, clasps and leather straps missing.

Cellarers' Accounts

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SC 6/HENVIII/1986; 1527–32; Latin; paper; 69 leaves (2 gatherings of bifoliums and single pages, ff 1–41v and 42–69v, stitched together and then to the centre of the volume); generally 345mm x 245mm (some folios now cut in half or lengthwise); pencil foliation; several folios repaired and others with crumbling edges; bound in ancient stiff vellum folder over at each edge, no spine, title on front in black ink on pasted label: 'I.P.R. | 6337. | 19–23. Hen. VIII. | Accounts chiefly of the Cellarer | of the Abbey of Bardney in | Lincolnshire' (also some faded older handwriting, '(.)nnorum H xix (.)oque (.)').

CROWLAND ABBEY

The Benedictine abbey of St Mary, St Bartholomew, and St Guthlac was first founded in 714 by King Æthelbald. It was destroyed by the Danes in 870 and refounded during the reign of Ædred. In 1534 its abbot and thirty-two monks subscribed to the Act of Supremacy but the house was dissolved in 1539.⁵⁴ Crowland was one of the largest and wealthiest foundations in the county, attracting multitudes of pilgrims to the shrine of St Guthlac.⁵⁵

Letter to Thomas Cromwell

Thomas Bedyll (c 1486–1537), administrator and canon lawyer, was appointed clerk of the king's council in 1532. He was favoured by Thomas Cromwell and Bishop Cranmer because he

shared their views on the Church. He served the Crown in the king's divorce from Katherine of Arragon and he worked to gain oaths to the Royal Supremacy by religious houses, helping with their seizure. He also took part in the trial of Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher. For Thomas Cromwell see p 469 above.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SP 1/101; 26 January 1535/6; English; paper; single sheet; 210mm x 260mm (170mm x 160mm); on dorse: 'To the right worshipful I and my moost especial I frende maister Thomas I Cromwel the kyng his I graces secretary moost worthy' and 'Thomas Bedell (aduertiz that the kinge maye haue a pleasant fole at Croyland.' Now foliated 192 and bound with 245 other state papers into a single volume, title on spine: 'SP | 1 | LETTERS | AND | PAPERS | HENRY VIII | 101 | X | 1-246.14.'

HUMBERSTON ABBEY

Humberston Abbey of St Mary and St Peter, a Benedictine house near Cleethorpes in northeast Lincolnshire, was founded during the reign of Henry II. In 1534 its abbot and four monks subscribed to the Act of Supremacy.⁵⁶ Only a few archaeological fragments remain.

Episcopal Visitation Book

For a thorough discussion of Bishop Alnwick's visitation books with transcriptions and translations, see Thompson, *Visitations*.

See under Stamford for LA: Diocesan Vj/1.

NUN COTHAM PRIORY

The Cistercian priory of St Mary, Nun Cotham, was founded during the episcopate of Henry Murdac of York (1147–53). The priory was designed for thirty nuns, twelve lay brothers, and two chaplains as well as the prioress and a master, but at the time of its dissolution in 1539, it had only a prioress and twelve nuns, all of whom were granted pensions.⁵⁷

Bishop John Longland's Register

John Longland (1473–1547), bishop of Lincoln from 1521 to 1547, had been Henry VIII's confessor.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bishop's Register 26; 1521–47; Latin, some English; parchment with paper flyleaves; iv + 155 + ix; 380mm x 285mm (360mm x 160mm plus marginalia); modern foliation 1–310 replacing contemporary foliation; very good condition; original binding, suede and paperboard cover, title on spine missing.

THORNTON ABBEY

The Augustinian priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary was founded in 1139 and became a mitred abbey in 1518. Thornton Abbey operated a school for fourteen boys under a master. In 1534 its abbot and twenty-four others subscribed to the Act of Supremacy; it was dissolved in 1539. After the dissolution the abbey was refounded as a secular college.⁵⁸

Episcopal Visitation Book

See Stamford for LA: Diocesan Vj/1.

Households

ARMINE OF OSGODBY

Letters of Thomas Tuke to Sir William Armine

This is a collection of thirty-five letters from Thomas Tuke (1580/1–1657), vicar of St Olave Jewry, London, to Sir William Armine (or Armyne) of Osgodby (1593–1651), Lincolnshire, written between 1631 and 1633 mainly concerning the campaign by Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden on the continent. Tuke, a prolific author of religious tracts, received his BA and MA from Christ College, Cambridge University, in 1599–1600 and 1603 respectively. He was vicar of St Olave Jewry from 19 July 1617 until 16 March 1642/3, when he was imprisoned and sequestered (although shortly afterwards bailed and freed). Armine was a baronet and a parliamentarian; at the time the letters were written, he was high sheriff of Lincolnshire.

Taunton, Somerset Record Office, DD/FJ 25; 1578–1634; English; paper; 40 leaves made up of original letters (bifolia and single sheets) of various sizes; now bound in a single modern repaired volume numbered in two sections, 1–35 and 1–5.

Extracts from:

10–15 February 1631/2; bifolium; 305mm x 400mm (unfolded); unnumbered; extreme damage at the fold; now unfolded, flattened, and bound as ff 5–5v (the original ff [1] and [2v] being the recto and the original ff [1v–2] being the verso), addressed to ‘right worshipfull Sir William Armyne Knight at Orton nigh Peterburgh.’

2–4 April 1632; single sheet; 322mm x 210mm; unnumbered; now bound as ff 11–11v.

1–5 May 1632; bifolium; 325mm x 417mm; unnumbered; damaged at fold; now unfolded, flattened, and bound as ff 13–13v (the original ff [1] and [2v] being the recto and the original ff [1v–2] being the verso).

28–9 November 1632; bifolium; 305mm x 377mm; paginated 1–4; damaged at fold; now unfolded,

flattened, and bound as ff 21–1v (the original pp 1 and 4 being the recto and the original pp 2–3 being the verso).

30 November–1 December 1632; bifolium; 303mm x 390mm; paginated; now unfolded, flattened, and bound as pp 22–2v (the original pp 1 and 4 being the recto and the original pp 2–3 (left blank) being the verso), addressed to ‘Sir William Armyne knight at Osgodby Lincolnshier,’ on the back of the letter (p 4 when folded) is written: ‘To the right *Worshipfull* Sir William Armyne Knight at Osgodby in Lincolnshier,’ and below that, ‘Leave this letter at Grantham with the Master of the red Lyon, to be safely & speedily conveyed to Osgodby.’

9 January 1633/4; single sheet; 234mm x 185mm; damaged at left edge, small hole at top of text, slightly faded in parts; now bound as ff 29–9v.

BERTIE OF GRIMSTHORPE

Richard and Katherine Bertie's Household Account

Richard Bertie (1517–82) was married to Katherine (1518/19–80), dowager duchess of Suffolk and Baroness Willoughby de Eresby. The account runs from December 1560 to September 1562.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, 1 ANC 7/A/2; 1560–2; English; paper; 386 leaves; 305mm x 210mm (variable); modern foliation 1–193; booklets stitched together, original parchment cover.

Richard Bertie's Household Accounts

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, 10 ANC 317; September 1581; English; paper; 12 leaves; 310mm x 210mm (generally 270mm x 130mm); modern pagination 1–24; stitched booklet, no cover. This booklet is the second of two documents that are both designated 10 ANC 317.

Peregrine Bertie's Household Accounts

Peregrine Bertie (1555–1601), thirteenth Lord Willoughby de Eresby, was the only son of Richard and Katherine.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, 1 ANC 7/A/7; November 1583; English; paper; 7 leaves; 307mm x 210mm (variable); modern foliation; stitched booklet, no cover.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, 2 ANC 14/18; December 1583; English; paper; 6 leaves; 305mm x 205mm (variable); modern pagination 1–12; sewn booklet, no cover.

Letter from Elizabeth Bertie to Robert Bertie

The writer of this letter, Elizabeth Bertie (1586–1654), wife of Robert, was daughter of

Edward Montagu of Boughton, 'a wealthy Northamptonshire landowner.' He was created first Baron Montagu of Boughton in 1621.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, 10 ANC/Lot 340/1; between 1605 and 1626; English; paper; bifolium (folded in 4's for mailing); 300mm x 195mm; unnumbered; on f [2v]: 'To ye Right Honerabl and my very louing husband ye Lord Willoughby of Earsby at his Lodgin in great St Bartllmie giue this.'

Letter from Peregrine Bertie to Robert Bertie

Peregrine Bertie (1585–1640), second son of Peregrine Bertie, thirteenth Lord Willoughby de Eresby, was writing to his eldest brother, Robert (1582–1642), fourteenth Lord Willoughby de Eresby and later first earl of Lindsey.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, 10 ANC/Lot 338; 1615; English; paper; bifolium (then further folded in 3's for mailing); 262mm x 186mm (text on f [1] only); unnumbered; addressed on f [4]: 'To the Right Honorable my very good Lorde and brother, my Lorde Willoughby of Earsby.'

Robert Bertie's List of Costs for Services to the Crown

Robert Bertie, fourteenth Lord Willoughby de Eresby and first earl of Lindsey, was the eldest son of Peregrine Bertie, thirteenth Lord Willoughby de Eresby, succeeding to his father's barony and estates in 1601. He divided much of his life between service to the Crown and attempts to reverse, by various means, losses inherited from the time of his father's military service on behalf of the Crown. This letter is part of that effort. In the early 1630s Lindsey unsuccessfully petitioned to be appointed either lord deputy of Ireland or lord high admiral; however, in 1632, the king authorized the Lincolnshire sewer commissioners to enter into negotiations with Lindsey to drain large tracts of the county's Fens in return for part of the recovered land.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, 10 ANC/341/1; between September 1629 and 1635; English; paper; bifolium (folded in 4's for mailing); 298mm x 210mm; unnumbered; addressed on f [2v]: 'Coddington, presumably where it was written,' in modern hand: 'N.B. before A D 1637.'

CONY OF BASSINGTHORPE

Thomas Cony's Household Book

The book was compiled between 1564–77 by Thomas Cony (c 1529–1611), owner of numerous estates near Grantham and in neighbouring Rutland, high sheriff of Rutland, and member of a family of prominent merchants. Cony built the manor house at Bassingthorpe in 1568 and was 'one of the richest wool merchants of his day.'⁵⁹ The book includes inventories and assorted documents that encompass all aspects of his business and financial affairs, and appears to have been compiled for his descendants. When Cony's great-grandson Thomas

sold the manor of North Stoke to Sir Edmund Turnor in 1671, the book went, with muniments of title, to the Turnor family and is now in the possession of Major H.B. Turnor, Little Ponton Hall, Grantham. The description below is of a microfilmed copy held by Lincolnshire Archives.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Record Office, M.C.D. 864; 1564–77; English; 116 leaves; contemporary foliation 1–116.

HATCHER OF CAREBY

Thomas Hatcher, antiquary, was the son of John Hatcher, MD, regius professor of physic (c 1554) and vice-chancellor (1579–80) of Cambridge University. He was elected in 1555 to King's College, Cambridge, where he was a fellow from 1558–66. He obtained his BA in 1559–60 and his MA in 1563. In his later years he lived at the family manor of Careby, near Stamford, and was buried there on 14 November 1583.

Inventory of Thomas Hatcher

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, HOLYWELL H.2/2; 1583; English; parchment; 7 membranes, serially attached; average 540mm x 680mm (text area variable); very good condition; indented at ends. Inventory dated 11 December 1583.

HOLLES OF GRIMSBY

Gervase Holles (1606/7–75) was 'one of the foremost antiquaries of his own times.' When his mother, Elizabeth, died in birthing a second child in 1608, Gervase had come under the care of his maternal grandparents both of whom tutored him. He subsequently attended the grammar school in Grimsby and maintained ties with Grimsby throughout his life, serving as mayor in 1636, 1638, and 1663. He was one of the burgesses of the corporation of Grimsby to parliament in 1640 and 1661 – years which spanned the English Civil War. But his involvement in the law and in the momentous political upheavals of his time also took him far from Grimsby. He was a member of the Middle Temple, a JP for Nottinghamshire in 1641, and a master of Requests in 1660. He was a staunch Royalist and in 1642 served as sergeant-major of a regiment of foot that fought at the battle of Edgehill. After distinguishing himself in battle that year, he received a royal commission to raise a regiment of foot from Lincolnshire and to command it. At various times he lived with his family in Grimsby; in Mansfield and Newark, both in Nottinghamshire; in London; and (by necessity during the Interregnum) in the Low Countries.⁶⁰

History of the Holles Family (A)

Longleat House, Portland Papers Volume XXIV; English; 1658; paper; 104 leaves; 315mm x 200mm; modern pencil foliation, contemporary pagination begins on f 4: 1–87, 116–229 (p 229 blank); excellent condition; display script is usually used for the text of quotations and proper names; f 1: 'PARENTELA & PARENTALIA HOLLESIORUM: SIVE TRACTATUS DE ORIGINE, PROGENIE, REBUS (TAM

BELLO QVAM PACE) PERACTIS, NVPTIIS OBITIBUS. & SEPVLTVRIS EIVSDEM FAMILIAE. AVTHORE GERVASION HOLLESIO GRIMESBÆENSI. ANNO DOMINI: 1658.' Now bound into a modern guardbook with letters, other documents, and illustrations similarly fixed onto stubs, title on spine: 'PORTLAND PAPERS VOL. XXIV. GERVASE HOLLES HISTORY OF THE HOLLES FAMILY, 1658.'

HUSSEY OF SLEAFORD

John Hussey of Sleaford (1465/6–1537) was the son and heir of Sir William Hussey, chief justice of King's Bench. John Hussey was knighted in 1497 and created Baron Hussey in 1529. He was one of Henry VII's trusted financial ministers and a privy councillor, a position he continued to hold under Henry VIII. During the period of the accounts he was a knight of the shire for Lincolnshire (1529), the chamberlain of Princess Mary's household (1530–3), as well as chief butler of England. He held estates in about thirty villages, was steward of other royal manors, agent for fifteen monastic houses, and the bishop of Lincoln's steward at Sleaford.⁶¹ For failing to act decisively against rebels during the Lincolnshire uprising in 1536, and perhaps supporting them, he was convicted of conspiracy and beheaded at Lincoln on 29 June 1537. His estates were seized by the Crown and he was posthumously attainted, which probably explains why Hussey's accounts ended up in the Exchequer.

The miscellaneous books (E 36), among which these accounts survive, are random collections of documents related to the Exchequer. Treasury of the receipt, miscellaneous book E 36/95, described below, contains household and estate accounts of Lord Hussey at his home in Sleaford.

The accounts run November to November.

John Hussey's Household Accounts

London, Public Record Office, E 36/95; 1529–37; Latin and English; paper; iii + 128 (+ strip of parchment cover) + iii; pp 1–142: 300mm x 210mm (text area variable), pp 143–266: 420mm x 315mm (text area variable), except pp 177–206 which revert to smaller size; modern pagination 1–266; bound as a single volume and attached to repair paper by TNA in a modern, hard cover.

County of Lincolnshire

Lord Chamberlain's Warrant

This printed copy of a warrant concerning unlicensed players from the lord chamberlain is among a large collection of materials related to the Spalding court of Sewers. Though the order was intended for every important royal and civic official in the land, this particular copy clearly had been delivered to Spalding court of Sewers.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, SP/S/460/5/40; 20 November 1622; English; paper; single sheet; 310mm x 200mm (260mm x 150mm); verso blank; good condition.

Editorial Procedures

Principles of Selection

This collection attempts to include all known documentary references to dramatic, secular music, and ceremonial or customal performances before 1642 within the boundaries of historic Lincolnshire. It also includes a number of letters written to people in Lincolnshire about performances outside the county (mostly at court), preserved in provincial archives and treated as part of the collection because of their intrinsic historical interest and the insights that they offer into the extent to which people within the county were aware of performances elsewhere. Also included are pastoral letters and injunctions by Bishop Grosseteste concerning performances by laity and clergy throughout the multi-county diocese of Lincoln, including the county of Lincolnshire itself.

Performance has been broadly defined to encompass nearly every mimetic, musical, or ritualistic form of play used to entertain or otherwise engage an audience. Entries may record an actual and identifiable performance or simply provide information that illuminates a performance tradition within the county. Many of the Lincolnshire records involve complex pre-Reformation celebrations. The collection includes all such recorded events, whether the mimetic elements are explicit or reasonably inferable. Other dramatic performances include plays, juggling, and other 'feats of activity' by itinerants; mummings; hobby-horse dancing; Christmas, May, and summer games and plays, including mock musters; various kinds of folk rituals; liturgical plays, boy bishops, and lords of misrule; and several kinds of country house, street, and alehouse dancing. Musical performance includes all forms of secular music by itinerant or local minstrels, musicians, town waits, and choristers in secular performance, as well as information about musical instruments and practices, but it excludes singing and instrumental music as part of public worship (unless that performance occurs within the context of the jointly sponsored celebrations described above). The collection also includes all references to actual bull- and bearbaitings and cockfightings, two of the most ubiquitous and popular forms of entertainment in the county, both often used in connection with parish traditional entertainments, and the latter often (but not exclusively) used by school-boys on play days. The collection also includes documents related to the Stamford bull-running (see Appendix 4), an event held annually six weeks before Christmas that included characters known as bullards. All bull-rings and cockpits, being rough playing places

of sorts, are discussed together under 'Animal Sports' in the Introduction (see above, pp 456–7).

Certain 'para-dramatic' activities have been included because of their mimetic elements and other links to ancient performance traditions. While REED collections generally exclude wrestling and other essentially non-mimetic sports and forms, this collection discusses wrestling traditionally used as the primary, and perhaps allegorical, element in customary fund-raising festivals by medieval hospitals, and includes one such incident. The collection also includes two later tournaments (a form also normally excluded), which clearly had mimetic and ceremonial dimensions. Similarly Rogation activities are generally excluded, but one, at Ashby de la Launde, has been included because it appears that the organizers were actually using the Rogation procession as a mock muster, with male and female participants, held in protest against the putative landlord of a piece of disputed land. Mock musters have had an inherent mimetic dimension. Ballads have also been included if they were performed, because they were often used within the context of a mocking or satirical performance and as such often turn up in cases of libel, notably in the court of Star Chamber. Conversely allusions to ballads where no actual performance could be verified have been omitted, as have cases in which horns were attached to doors as signs of cuckoldry. As is the REED practice, ales, wakes, revels, and fairs are included only when they involved entertainment such as music, drama, baitings, or dancing.

The collection includes a number of cases of libel from the court of Star Chamber because they contain evidences of musical and/or mimetic activities. For those cases selection aims to give as full a presentation as possible of pleadings and proofs that provide an adequate sense of the development of the suit, while copiously extracting the parts of the documentation that are most useful for reconstructing the shows themselves and any public performance of ensuing songs. Among pleadings the transcriptions almost always include the bill of complaint in its entirety, with the answers of the defendants and the plaintiff's reply summarized in notes. Among proofs transcriptions include interrogatories and the depositions responding to them only if they contain information about the entertainments that occurred in the context of the case. Witness statements that repeat those of other witnesses without providing fresh information are summarized in endnotes. Any surviving ballads used as evidence in a case are also printed entire.

The definition adopted for performance necessarily excludes Easter sepulchre observances and other purely liturgical rites as well as true military musters, even when accompanied by fife and drum. Civic ceremonial, bonfires, bell-ringsings, and feasts have been excluded unless there is clear evidence of accompanying entertainment, as there is, for example, with the dialogue associated with the custom of 'Crying Christmas' in Lincoln *c* 1565. Nor have references to entertainers in such documents as bonds and church registers been picked up (though they are listed in Appendix 3), unless they demonstrably bear upon entertainment tradition. Regrettably the collection must also exclude the many references to bowling greens and village archery butts, and to pastimes such as archery, football, fives, bowling, cards, dicing, and other games of skill and chance – all of which are entertainments in the larger, non-performative sense of the word.

Four 'ghosts' or phantom entries turned up during research for these volumes. A reference cited by A.F. Leach in the *vch: Lincoln*, vol 2, p 454, and repeated by Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croyland*, p 64, to 'Pageants' not going in procession in 1546 is actually a reference to an order that the 'Raymentes' not go in procession (LA: BB 2/A/1, f 3). A subsequent order, on 31 October 1552, approved the action of then mayor Henry Hood, in having sold the 'procession garmentes.' A reference to the 'Master of the Plaies,' c 1550, by Pishey Thompson in his *History and Antiquities of Boston* (p 146) is, in fact, a reference to the schoolmaster ('Iudimagistro') in BL: MS. Cotton Tiberius E.III, f 161v (though the schoolmaster was indeed paid for a play in 1567). Lucy Toulmin Smith in *York Plays* (1885; rpt New York, 1963), lxx, wrote that the computus of the Holy Trinity guild of Sleaford for 1477 includes a payment for the 'Kyngyng' on Corpus Christi Day, which she concluded was a reference to a play about the three kings of Cologne, but the payment is actually for 'ryngyng' and has nothing apparent to do with the three kings or with drama at all. The calendar of Miscellaneous Copies of Documents (M.C.D.) at Lincolnshire Archives says that the bursar's account of Stainfield Priory for 1449–50 (F.L. Deeds 1295, mb 3) contains customary payments for plays ('Iudentibus'), but the payment is instead for sheepfolds ('bidencium') and for ewes (courtesy of REED Associate Editor, Abigail Ann Young).

Dating

The usefulness of the documents depends in large measure on the accuracy of their dating; they have therefore been dated with care, by year and, whenever possible, to the month and day. The writers of the documents nearly all assume that the AD year began on 25 March, and for dates between 1 January and 24 March the years have routinely been advanced to conform with modern practice. This is indicated by using a slash, as in '1476/7.'

Many of the accounts follow Exchequer practice in starting and ending at Michaelmas, 29 September, and they often identify the year by reference in their headings to regnal years. This pattern is generally true for civic records from Lincoln and Grimsby; however, Lincoln Cathedral accounts run from the Sunday following 14 September to the same Sunday in the following year. In such clear-cut cases, which cross two of our modern years, a dual year (for example, 1496–7) has been given, based on the reckonings in C.R. Cheney's *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, Michael Jones (rev) (1945; rev ed Cambridge, 2000). Accounts in the Records appear without a date subheading either because they followed a Michaelmas–Michaelmas account year or because the accounting term could not be confidently established.

Other accounts, however, especially parish and religious guild accounts, follow a wide variety of different patterns. For example some parishes and local religious guilds made their accounts in January (for example, Addlethorpe, Grimsby Mariners' guild, Heckington, Market Deeping, and Saxilby); in February (Waddington); in March (Kirton in Lindsey); at Easter (Holbeach, Long Sutton, Louth, Sutterton, and Wigtoft); in May or June (Boston guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Leverton, Louth Trinity guild, and Sleaford Trinity guild); or at Christmas (Witham on the Hill). Lord Hussey of Sleaford made his household accounts in November. In those cases the actual year of the account is the year followed in the Records text heading and,

where possible, the actual account term is clarified in editorial subheadings or discussed in the apparatus.

If it can sometimes be difficult to date the account itself, it is often relatively easy to date its entries at least roughly. Most entries are not dated within the accounts themselves, but in nearly every account at least a handful of entries are either dated or datable by day and month. These entries make it possible to determine whether an account is in fairly good chronological order. Many entries concerning drama (for example, Long Sutton's) are actually dated and most of the others are in accounts that seem to be clearly chronological. Where possible, therefore, a date has been provided for each relevant entry, giving, where there is not an exact date, the limits of the date suggested by the chronology of the account. These dates can be presumed with certainty to be the date on which the performer received payment and the date of performance is therefore presumed likely to have been on or near that date. Where the account is not chronological, or there are too few dated entries to tell, the date given is that of the whole account.

Ecclesiastical and civil court records, which yielded many extracts for the volume, present dating problems as well because the only fixable date is the one on which the court was held. Therefore, the date that is assigned to extracts from the courts is that of the court proceeding, while the probable date of the performance, to the extent that it can be derived, is given in an endnote. When it is possible to trace the dates on which the case moved through the several stages of its process, those dates are also given, whether in subheadings for subsequent extracts concerning the case or in summaries of the process in endnotes. The component documents of the suit have been printed in the order in which they were produced, so far as that can be ascertained, moving logically and chronologically from bills of complaint through interrogatories and depositions to any judgments that might (rarely) have survived. The process in church courts seems to have remained fairly constant from diocese to diocese; a full explanation of standard process can be found in David N. Klausner (ed), *Herefordshire/Worcestershire*, REED (Toronto, 1990), 38–40.

Editorial Conventions

As with all REED collections this one uses an approach to editing that combines conservative principles with reasonable concessions to the user. The Records text is arranged by place, chronology, and kind of document. Thus extracts from the Diocese, some of which are the earliest in the collection, now come first, followed by those for Boroughs and Parishes, Religious Houses, Households, and the County. In the Boroughs and Parishes section, the records are arranged chronologically within each geographic unit. The records of Long Sutton, for example, are a chronological unit independent of the records of Louth. For a major centre such as Lincoln that had a broad array of documents, different kinds of records are always presented in the same order for each year (for example, civic records are followed by guild records, ecclesiastical records, and wills and inventories). Records from religious houses and private households are organized alphabetically by location (for the former) and by family name (for the latter).

Each entry in the Records is preceded by a name or descriptive title, along with a brief identification of its source. On a separate line the folio, page, or membrane number is given

along with the precise accounting period of the entry (where known) and the manuscript account heading (where available). Symbols in the left margin mark antiquarian compilations (A) and collections (AC).

Within practical limits the general layout of the originals has been preserved. Headings, marginalia, and account totals are printed in the approximate position they occupy in the source. Right marginalia are set in the left margin, with transposition indicated by the symbol ®. Marginalia too long or too cumbersome to set in the margin have been set within the text and marked with a dagger. Totals are included only when all the amounts making up the totals are also transcribed. Original lineation has not been preserved in passages of continuous prose. Where the layout of the original is idiosyncratic (for example, a diagonal left margin), no attempt has been made to reproduce that format.

Dittography and obvious scribal errors are noted in footnotes. Decay, damage, or other problems which adversely affect the clarity of the original are either briefly noted in footnotes or discussed at length in the Endnotes. An asterisk in the editorial subheading line will alert the reader to the existence of an endnote.

Manuscript punctuation has been retained, except that excessive scribal pointing, most manuscript braces, and all line fillers have been ignored. Virgules are indicated as / and //.

The spelling of the original has been preserved, along with the capitalization. The letters 'ff' have been retained for 'F'; the standard and elongated forms of 'I' are uniformly transcribed as 'I' except where the elongated form is clearly distinguished as a 'J' in printed sources after c 1625. Minuscules have been preferred where it has been difficult to distinguish minuscules from majuscules. Ornamental capitals and display letters have been transcribed as ordinary letters but are footnoted. Arabic '1' has been used for the 'i' occasionally found in arabic numerals. Majuscule letters appearing in the middle of words otherwise written in minuscules are presented as minuscules.

Abbreviated words have been expanded, with italics to indicate letters supplied by the editor. Because italics mark the expansion of abbreviated forms, original italics and other special fonts are printed as roman in excerpts from early printed books. Where manuscripts yield insufficient evidence to judge individual scribal habits, abbreviations are expanded to classical forms in Latin and modern British forms in English. First names have been expanded wherever possible. However in cases where it is impossible to determine what the scribe intended – whether, for example, 'altaris' refers to one or several acolytes – the word has been left unexpanded.

Abbreviations for sums of money ('li.,' 's.,' 'd.,' 'ob.' (for half-penny)), 'viz.,' and 'etc' or '&c,' as well as abbreviations cumbersome to expand, including those typical for weights and measures ('lb.' for 'pound'), are retained. 'Mr' and 'Dr' are left unexpanded when introducing a proper name, but expanded when used as nouns or when occurring before another title (for example, 'Master Mayor'). 'Xp-' and 'xp-' are expanded as 'Christ-' and 'christ-.' The sign ʃ has been expanded as 'es' except when it follows an 'e': in this case it is expanded as 's.' Where single minims are too many or too few by obvious scribal error, an editorially corrected version is supplied in the text and the textual oddity is footnoted. Otiose flourishes are ignored. Super-linear letters are lowered to the line except when used with numerals (for example, 'x^o,' 'xxiiij^{ti}).

Notes

Historical Background

- 1 David Robinson, 'Natural Regions,' *Historical Atlas*, Bennett and Bennett (eds), pp 8–9.
- 2 Bennett and Bennett (eds), 'Introduction,' *Historical Atlas*, p 1.
- 3 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 1, 3, 6.
- 4 J.B. Whitwell, *Roman Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1970), 17.
- 5 Concerning the Roman games, see Whitwell, *Roman Lincolnshire*, p 42 and Plate 4A. For thirteenth-century drama and customary entertainments, see the Records, pp 103–4.
- 6 Whitwell, *Roman Lincolnshire*, pp 12, 16, 45.
- 7 Whitwell, *Roman Lincolnshire*, pp 47–59.
- 8 Peter Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire 3 (Lincoln, 1998), 16–20; Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 9–10; and F.M. Stenton, 'The Road System of Medieval England,' *Economic History Review* 7 (1936), 3.
- 9 F.M. Stenton, 'The Roads of the Gough Map,' *The Map of Great Britain circa A.D. 1360, known as the Gough Map: An Introduction to the Facsimile*, E.J.S. Parsons (ed) (Oxford, 1958), 16–20.
- 10 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p 304.
- 11 Platts, *Land and People*, p 3; and S.H. Rigby, 'Boston and Grimsby in the Middle Ages: An Administrative Contrast,' *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984), 51. See also R.E. Glasscock, 'England circa 1334,' *A New Historical Geography of England before 1600*, H.C. Darby (ed) (Cambridge, 1976), 174–7.
- 12 LA: Crowle 8/7. This account roll of the bursar of Selby Abbey contains numerous payments to players by the abbot at Selby. Those entries will appear in REED's collection for Yorkshire West Riding, being edited by Barbara D. Palmer and John M. Wasson.
- 13 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 2, 80–1.
- 14 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 81–2; and Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 12–17.
- 15 David Roffe, 'Domesday Settlement,' *Historical Atlas*, Bennett and Bennett (eds), p 34; and Platts, *Land and People*, pp 7–9, 11, 164–5, 177–8.
- 16 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 66, 79. According to Peter Clark and Jean Hosking (eds), *Population Estimates of English Small Towns 1550–1851*, rev ed (Leicester, 1993), 95–101,

- in 1563 the populations of the eight major boroughs were Boston (2,370), Bourne (1,120), Grantham (1,350), Grimsby (730), Horncastle (820), Louth (in 1603, 2,100), Spalding (770), and Stamford (1,070).
- 17 Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 19–21.
 - 18 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, p 79.
 - 19 Joan Thirsk, 'The Farming Regions of England,' in Thirsk (ed), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol 4, 1500–1640* (Cambridge, 1967), 28–40. See also Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, p 66; and H.E. Hallam, *Settlement and Society: A Study of the Early Agrarian History of South Lincolnshire* (Cambridge, 1965), 3–5, 38–9. For more on the drainage efforts in the fenlands between Anglo-Saxon times and the end of the thirteenth century, see H.E. Hallam, *The New Lands of Elloe: A Study of Early Reclamation in Lincolnshire*, H.P.R. Finsberg (ed), University College of Leicester, Department of English Local History, Occasional Papers, 6 (Leicester, 1954).
 - 20 Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 13, 22; and Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, p 79.
 - 21 Simon Pawley, 'Maritime Trade and Fishing in the Middle Ages' and 'Maritime Trade and Fishing, 1500–1700,' *Historical Atlas*, Bennett and Bennett (eds), pp 56–9. All information concerning maritime trade and fishing is from Pawley.
 - 22 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 79–80; and Robert Tittler, 'Browne, Town, and Crown,' *Townsppeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences, 1540–1640* (Stanford, CA, 2001), 42–3. For detailed discussions of crafts and occupations in medieval and early modern Lincolnshire, see Platts, *Land and People*, pp 120–51; Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 79–90; and Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 12–17.
 - 23 Rodney W. Ambler, 'Markets and Fairs, 1086–1792,' *Historical Atlas*, Bennett and Bennett (eds), p 54.
 - 24 Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 13–14. Alan Everitt lists thirty-seven markets as operating in Lincolnshire between 1500 and 1640, in 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce,' *Agrarian History*, Thirsk (ed), p 474.
 - 25 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 189–97; and H.E. Hallam, 'Population Density in Medieval Fenland,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser, 14 (1961–2), 74–7.
 - 26 Everitt, 'Marketing,' pp 502–6; Robert Tittler, 'The Incorporation of Boroughs, 1540–1558,' *History* 62 (1977), 24–42, and 'Incorporation and Politics in Sixteenth-Century Thaxted,' *Essex Archaeology and History* 8 (1976), 224–33; and Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, p 13. For a relevant case study, see Tittler, 'Browne, Town, and Crown,' pp 39–59.
 - 27 Martin Weinbaum (ed), *British Borough Charters 1307–1660* (Cambridge, 1943), xxxii, xxxviii, xlii, xlv, lii, 69–74, and TNA: PRO MS. C.66/771, mb 10, 14 May 1545; Platts, *Land and People*, pp 202–3, 206, 212–15; Rigby, 'Boston and Grimsby,' p 61; and Robert Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c. 1540–1640* (Oxford, 1998), part III, 'Politics and Authority,' 137–244.
 - 28 Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1967), 3; Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), 324; and A.F. Leach, 'Schools,' *VCH: Lincolnshire*, vol 2, pp 421, 449–50, 484–90.

Nicholas Orme, as have other historians, accurately criticizes Leach for over-estimating the role of collegiate churches and their chantries in early education, while undervaluing the contributions of religious orders (*English Schools*, p 6). Like other historians of education of his generation, Leach gives the misleading impression (in the words of Joan Simon) 'that the medieval church sponsored an organized system of schools and exercised an unchallenged jurisdiction over educational affairs.' As she points out, the church in medieval and early modern England was but one sponsor of schools, together with great households, towns, craft guilds, religious confraternities, and individuals (*Education and Society*, p 20; see also pp 3–23, 92, 181, 187, 206, 233). Yet Leach offers a comprehensive and useful discussion of early Lincolnshire schools. See also Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 139–49. For excellent discussions of the history of the cathedral schools within the context of the history of Lincoln Minster, see Margaret Bowker, 'Historical Survey, 1450–1750,' in Dorothy Owen (ed), *A History of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994), 169, 177–81, 185; and, in the same volume, Dorothy Owen, 'Historical Survey, 1091–1450,' pp 119, 125–7, 142, 146–7, 151, 154.

- 29 Leach, 'Schools,' pp 421–92.
- 30 Platts, *Land and People*, p 211. The observations in this paragraph derive from Platts, *Land and People*, pp 211, 265–6.
- 31 BL: MS Harley 4795, f 27; Leach, 'Schools,' p 451; and Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy on Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1998), 9–12.
- 32 Simon, *Education and Society*, p 229 (see also pp 224, 227–8, 231); and Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 147, 149.
- 33 Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 16, 30–1, 52–5, 64.
- 34 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 20–1, 36, 56–70; and David Roffe, 'Medieval Administration,' *Historical Atlas*, Bennett and Bennett (eds), p 38.
- 35 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 12–15.
- 36 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 17, 20–30.
- 37 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 39–43; Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), 125–36; and Carole Rawcliffe, 'Lincolnshire,' *The House of Commons, 1386–1421*, J.S. Roskell (ed), *The History of Parliament*, vol 1 (Stroud, 1992), 477–82.
- 38 Simon Pawley, *The Book of Sleaford* (Baron Birch, 1996), 34–6; Trollope, *Sleaford*, pp 124–5; and Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 49–62.
- 39 Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 64–87; for comprehensive lists of, and genealogical trees for, the Lincolnshire gentry, see Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*.
- 40 For a historical description of the diocese, see Nicholas Bennett, 'Ecclesiastical Boundaries,' *Historical Atlas*, Bennett and Bennett (eds), pp 50–1. On the history of Stow, see 'The Archdeacons of Stow,' *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, Kathleen Major (ed), *Lincoln Record Society* 62, vol 9 (Lincoln, 1967), 255–62.
- 41 Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), 181–3; and Bennett, 'Ecclesiastical Boundaries,' p 50.
- 42 E.B. Fryde et al (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed (Cambridge, 1986), 255–6.

- 43 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 20–1. On Hugh and his reforms, see David Hugh Farmer, *Saint Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1985), especially 49–72. On Grosseteste and his program of reform, see James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 2000), 62–75, 140–5; and R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986), 237–71.
- 44 Owen, *Church and Society*, p 20; for comprehensive descriptive summaries of the medieval administrative system in the diocese of Lincoln, see pp 20–36; and A. Hamilton Thompson, ‘Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Deans,’ *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29 (1943), 153–94, especially 165, 181–3, 192.
- 45 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 37–8.
- 46 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 38–43.
- 47 Owen, *Church and Society*, p 45.
- 48 Platts, *Land and People*, p 267.
- 49 Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge, 1980), 20.
- 50 Owen, *Church and Society*, p 21.
- 51 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 9–10, 16.
- 52 Margaret Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln 1495–1520* (Cambridge, 1968), 155, 157, 161.
- 53 Margaret Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation: The Diocese of Lincoln Under John Longland 1521–1547* (Cambridge, 1981), 6, 17–18, 28.
- 54 Stanford E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485–1603* (Princeton, NJ, 1988), 25–8, 31.
- 55 Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, pp 7, 11–12.
- 56 Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, pp 29–37; and Lehmborg, *Reformation of Cathedrals*, p 67.
- 57 Anne Ward, *The Lincolnshire Rising 1536* (Louth, 1996), 10–28; N.M. Fuidge, ‘Lincolnshire,’ *The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, S.T. Bindoff (ed), *The History of Parliament*, vol 1 (London, 1982), 131–2; and Margaret Bowker, ‘Lincolnshire 1536: Heresy, Schism or Religious Discontent?’ *Studies in Church History* 9 (1972), 195–212.
- 58 Heal, *Prelates and Princes*, pp 2–3.
- 59 Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, pp 72–4.
- 60 Lehmborg, *Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp 73–5.
- 61 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 39–43, 49–59.
- 62 Lehmborg, *Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp 99, 105–9.
- 63 Heal, *Prelates and Princes*, pp 54, 131, 182, 202.
- 64 Heal, *Prelates and Princes*, pp 182, 202, 208.
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- 66 Lehmborg, *Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp 163, 180–1.
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- 68 Neil R. Wright, *The Book of Boston* (Buckingham, 1986), 13.

- 69 Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croylund*, pp 1, 106–7. The starting point for any historical study of Boston is Thompson, *History and Antiquities*. See also Bailey, *Transcription of Minutes*; Clark and Clark (eds), *Boston Assembly Minutes*; Rigby, ‘Boston and Grimsby,’ pp 51–66; and Tittler, ‘Browne, Town, and Crown,’ pp 39–59.
- 70 Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croylund*, pp 27–9, 61–5; and Wright, *Book of Boston*, p 59.
- 71 S.H. Rigby, ‘“Sore Decay” and “Fair Dwellings”: Boston and Urban Decline in the Later Middle Ages,’ *Midland History* 10 (1985), 48.
- 72 Wright, *Book of Boston*, pp 19–20; Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croylund*, p 29; and Norman Merritt, ‘The Pewterers and Braziers of Boston 1400–1800,’ *Journal of the Pewter Society* (2002), 3–14. On the nature and volume of Boston’s port activities in the late fourteenth century, see S.H. Rigby, *The Overseas Trade of Boston in the Reign of Richard II*, Lincoln Record Society 93 (Woodbridge, Suff, and Rochester, NY, 2005).
- 73 Wright, *Book of Boston*, pp 19–21, 27–8, 37; and Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croylund*, pp 31, 35–7.
- 74 Rigby, ‘“Sore Decay,”’ pp 48–9, 55; Clark and Clark (eds), *Boston Assembly Minutes*, p x; Wright, *Book of Boston*, pp 21, 38; and Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croylund*, pp 43–5.
- 75 Rigby, ‘“Sore Decay,”’ pp 49–55; Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croylund*, pp 60–1, 68–70; and Clark and Clark (eds), *Boston Assembly Minutes*, p xi.
- 76 Rigby, ‘“Sore Decay,”’ p 55; and John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543*, Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed), vol 5 (Carbondale, IL, 1964), 34.
- 77 Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croylund*, p 43; Clark and Clark (eds), *Boston Assembly Minutes*, p xii; Lincolnshire Archives Office, ‘Gild of Blessed Mary Virgin,’ pp 11–12; Karhl (ed), *Collections VIII*, p 2; and Lincolnshire Archives Office, ‘Boston Guild Account,’ pp 40–2. For a succinct description of the complicated financial and governmental constraints endured by Boston before its incorporation in 1545, see Tittler, ‘Browne, Town, and Crown,’ pp 44–7.
- 78 Lincolnshire Archives Office, ‘Boston Guild Account,’ pp 40–2.
- 79 Clark and Clark (eds), *Boston Assembly Minutes*, pp xvii–xviii.
- 80 Cross, ‘Communal Piety,’ pp 33–8. The subsequent quoted material from Cross in this paragraph is taken, respectively, from pp 33, 35, 37–8. See also Cross, ‘Protestant Evangelism in Boston on the Accession of Elizabeth: The Ministry of Melchior Smith,’ and Magnus Williamson, ‘Evangelicalism at Boston, Oxford and Windsor under Henry VIII: John Foxe’s Narratives Recontextualized,’ in *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, David Michael Loades (ed) (Aldershot, Hants, and Burlington, VT, 2004), 23–30, 31–45.
- 81 G.H. Martin, *The Royal Charters of Grantham 1463–1688* (Leicester, 1963), 9; Turnor, *Grantham*, p x; Arthur Mee, *Lincolnshire: A County of Infinite Charm* (London, 1949), 147; and Platts, *Land and People*, p 190.
- 82 Martin, *Royal Charters*, pp 9–19.
- 83 Owen, *Church and Society*, p 85; Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, p 79; Clark and Hosking,

- Population Estimates*, p 97; and Platts, *Land and People*, p 226. J.B. Manterfield, 'The Topographical Development of the pre-Industrial Town of Grantham, Lincolnshire, 1535–1835,' PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 1981), 53, estimates the population as being something between 1,467 and 1,640.
- 84 Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, Nicholas Antram (rev), 2nd ed (London, 1989; rpt 1998), 315; Platts, *Land and People*, pp 170, 192–3, 226. Manterfield, 'Grantham,' p 53, offers different figures than Platts, saying, 'Before 1548, the only reliable estimate [of the population of Grantham] is from Domesday, where the recorded population in 1066 is 268, which using a multiplier of 4.5 or 5 gives a total estimated at 1206 to 1340 people.'
- 85 Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 20–1; and Martin, *Royal Charters*, p 11.
- 86 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 265–6; Martin, *Royal Charters*, pp 17–18; Turnor, *Grantham*, pp 39–41.
- 87 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 1, 111, 128–9; Martin, *Royal Charters*, p 10; Turnor, *Grantham*, pp 1, 33, 35–8; and B. Street, *Historical Notes on Grantham, and Grantham Church* (Grantham, 1857), 58.
- 88 This description of Grimsby is drawn mainly from Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, the standard history of Grimsby; and a complementary study by Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby*, which analyses Grimsby's early history from economic, social, and governmental perspectives.
- 89 Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, p 1; and Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby*, pp 8, 38–9, 41, 104.
- 90 Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, pp 23–6, 35–7, 48–51, 66–7; Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby*, pp 8, 34, 77–8; and Clark and Hosking, *Population Estimates*, p 99.
- 91 Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby*, pp 79, 83.
- 92 Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby*, pp 67–73, 82; and Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, pp 51, 82.
- 93 Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby*, p 40.
- 94 Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, pp 4, 49, 52–3, 60–2.
- 95 Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, pp 69, 75–7, 80–4.
- 96 Scholarship on early Lincoln, which is excellent and voluminous, begins with Hill's *Medieval Lincoln* and *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*. I have referred copiously to both for this brief overview of Lincoln's early history.
- 97 On Lincoln's topography, and the period from the Roman to the Danish occupations, see Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 1–3, 9–15, 18–23, 26–7; and Whitwell, *Roman Lincolnshire*, pp 17–43.
- 98 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 44–5, 54–5, 61, 86–91, 99, and plate 2.
- 99 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 107–12, 128–9.
- 100 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p 147.
- 101 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 60–1, 131, 148–9.
- 102 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 54–5.
- 103 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 184–7, 191, 289, 293.
- 104 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 194–7, 206–7, 245–6, 248–51, 270, 293–5.
- 105 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p 302.

- 106 For numerous references to the royal visits and the city's changing fortunes, see Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, Chapters 9–13.
- 107 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 1–2.
- 108 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 7–8; and T.M. Hofman, 'Farrar (Ferrers), Robert,' 'Grantham, Vincent,' *House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol 2, pp 118–19, 242–3; 'St. Poll (Sampoll), George,' vol 3, pp 260–1.
- 109 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 19–35.
- 110 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, p 29. On the uprising, see Ian Beckwith, 'Lincolnshire Uprising,' *Historical Atlas*, Bennett and Bennett (eds), pp 60–1; and Ward, *Lincolnshire Rising*, pp 8–42.
- 111 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, p 51.
- 112 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 51–6.
- 113 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 70, 78–94.
- 114 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 96–108.
- 115 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 109–26, 128–43.
- 116 F.W. and B.A. Robinson, *A History of Long Sutton (South Lincolnshire)* (np, 1965), 12; and Owen, *Church and Society*, p 10.
- 117 Robinson, *Long Sutton*, pp 44–7, 51.
- 118 Robinson, *Long Sutton*, pp 46, 52, 58, 60.
- 119 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 104, 119.
- 120 Mee, *Lincolnshire*, pp 253–4.
- 121 Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, p 536.
- 122 Mee, *Lincolnshire*, p 255; Platts, *Land and People*, p 224; Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 1–2; Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, p 537; and David N. Robinson, *The Book of Louth: The Story of a Market Town* (Buckingham, 1979), 111–12.
- 123 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 169, 193–4, 200, 202; and Clark and Hosking, *Population Estimates*, p 99.
- 124 Owen, *Church and Society*, p 39; Platts, *Land and People*, pp 265–6; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward VI. Vol. IV. A.D. 1550–1553* (London, 1926), 119–22; and Carlisle, *Grammar Schools*, pp 822–5.
- 125 J.E. Swaby, *A History of Louth* (London, 1951), 68–79.
- 126 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 25–9, 50, 58.
- 127 Goulding (comp), *Louth*, pp 1–7; and Swaby, *History of Louth*, pp 138, 154–61.
- 128 Goulding (comp), *Louth*, pp 7–13, 30.
- 129 Alan Rogers, *The Book of Stamford* (Buckingham, 1983), 19. On the topography of Stamford and its environs, see also Martin Smith, *Stamford Then & Now* (Stamford, 1992); Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, *An Inventory of Historical Monuments: The Town of Stamford* (London, 1977), xxxv; Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, pp 685–716; and Mee, *Lincolnshire*, pp 356–7.
- 130 Rogers, *Book of Stamford*, pp 21–2, 29, 34, 44; Platts, *Land and People*, p 1; Smith, *Stamford Then & Now*, pp 3, 5; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, *The Town of Stamford*, p xxxix; and David Roffe (ed), *Stamford in the Thirteenth*

- Century: Two Inquisitions From the Reign of Edward I* (Stamford, 1994), 8–9. For a good overview of the town governing structure in late medieval Stamford, see Alan Rogers, 'Late Medieval Stamford: A Study of the Town Council 1465–1492,' *Perspectives in English Urban History*, Alan Everitt (ed) (London and Basingstoke, 1973), 16–38.
- 131 Rogers, *Book of Stamford*, pp 30–5.
- 132 Rogers, *Book of Stamford*, pp 43–4; and Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, p 177.
- 133 Rogers, *Book of Stamford*, pp 41–2.
- 134 Rogers, *Book of Stamford*, pp 43–5.
- 135 Rogers, *Book of Stamford*, pp 55–7, 60–1; Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 135–8; A.D.K. Hawkyard, 'Stamford,' 'Cecil, David,' 'Cecil, Richard,' 'Cecil, William,' *House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol 1, pp 137–9, 602–6; M.R. Pickering, 'Stamford,' *The House of Commons, 1558–1603*, P.W. Hasler (ed), *The History of Parliament*, vol 1 (London, 1981), 199–200; and Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 37, 42–3, 62–3.
- 136 Mee, *Lincolnshire*, pp 60, 62; and Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, p 93.
- 137 Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, pp 172–3; Mee, *Lincolnshire*, pp 60–1; and Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 49–50, 61.
- 138 J.D. Birkbeck, *A History of Bourne* (Bourne and London, 1970), 29–41; Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, p 138; and Clark and Hosking, *Population Estimates*, p 95.
- 139 Thomas Allen, *The History of the County of Lincoln, From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, vol 2 (London and Lincoln, 1834), 14–15; and Platts, *Land and People*, pp 187, 194.
- 140 Allen, *Lincoln*, pp 2–3, 6, 11–12; Platts, *Land and People*, pp 47, 213–15; and Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 31–2.
- 141 Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, p 384.
- 142 Mee, *Lincolnshire*, p 179; Marrat, *History of Lincolnshire*, pp 94, 98; Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 15–16, 31, 75, 104, 141; and MacDonald, *Historical Notices*, pp 122–3.
- 143 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 10, 12, 127.
- 144 MacDonald, *Historical Notices*, pp 86–91; Marrat, *History of Lincolnshire*, pp 93–5, 98, 104–5; Mee, *Lincolnshire*, p 179; Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, pp 383–4.
- 145 Trollope, *Sleaford*, pp 104, 169–70.
- 146 Mee, *Lincolnshire*, pp 328–9; and Pawley, *Book of Sleaford*, pp 34–6. On the bishop and his estate, and the civic history of Sleaford, see W.H. Hosford, 'The Manor of Sleaford in the Thirteenth Century,' *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 12 (1968), 21–39.
- 147 Oliver, *Holy Trinity Guild*, pp 53–5; Trollope, *Sleaford*, p 121; and Pawley, *Book of Sleaford*, p 33.
- 148 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 187, 194, 224.
- 149 Trollope, *Sleaford*, p 170; and Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 31, 75.
- 150 Neil R. Wright, *Spalding: An Industrial History* (Boston, 1973), 1–2, 12, 29.
- 151 Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, p 670; and 'St. Mary & St. Nicholas Church, Spalding,'

- South Holland Magazine* 1 (1869), 53. For more on Spalding parish church and the practices of the parish, see *South Holland Magazine* 1 (1869) and 2 (1870).
- 152 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 36–8, 55–6, 195–6; Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 57, 69; and Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, p 31.
- 153 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 47–8. On the kind, number, and location of religious foundations in Lincolnshire, see Nicholas Bennett, ‘Religious Houses,’ *Historical Atlas*, Bennett and Bennett (eds), pp 48–9. Owen identifies a total of 146 known religious foundations in Lincolnshire (forty-two of them religious houses, as opposed to cells or other entities). Her list excludes ‘so-called monasteries’ that were ‘no more than granges or large farms in monastic ownership’ (*Church and Society*, pp 146–53). For a list of religious foundations throughout the diocese of Lincoln, see Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p xvii. The standard source is David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953).
- 154 Owen, *Church and Society*, p 48.
- 155 B.A. Lees, quoted in Owen, *Church and Society*, p 49.
- 156 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 49–51.
- 157 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 52–7.
- 158 Platts, *Land and People*, pp 36–7.
- 159 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 57–66, 68–9.
- 160 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 71–3, 75–9.
- 161 Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 78–81; Orme, *English Schools*, pp 25, 237; Platts, *Land and People*, p 265; and Frances M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey: A Study in Manorial Organization* (Cambridge, 1934), 136.
- 162 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 41–8.

Drama, Music, and Popular Customs

- 1 Any study of the Lincolnshire dramatic records necessarily, and gratefully, builds upon the pioneering work of Hardin Craig and Stanley J. Kahrl. Craig was alerted to dramatic material in the Lincoln records by the work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, E.K. Chambers, and A.F. Leach. See the Historical Manuscripts Commission, ‘Lincoln,’ pp 1, 25–9, 32, 36, 38, 41, 47–8, 56–65; E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol 2 (Oxford, 1903), 65, 118, 126, 378; and Leach, ‘Some English Plays and Players,’ pp 222–8.
- Craig’s subsequent contributions to the study of drama in Lincoln spanned half a century. See his ‘News for Bibliophiles,’ *The Nation* 97 (1913), 308–9; ‘Note on the Home of Ludus Coventriae,’ *University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature* 1 (1914), 72–83; ‘An Elementary Account of Miracle Plays in Lincoln,’ *The Lincoln Diocesan Magazine* 30 (September 1914), 135–9; ‘The Lincoln Cordwainers’ Pageant,’ *PMLA* 32 (1917), 605–15; and ‘Mystery Plays at Lincoln – Further Research Needed,’ *The Lincolnshire Historian* 2 (1964), 37–41. Kahrl’s contributions include *Collections VIII* – the standard work since its publication; and with Kenneth Cameron, ‘The N-Town Plays at Lincoln,’ *Theatre Notebook* 20 (1966), 61–9; ‘Staging the N-Town Cycle,’ *Theatre*

- Notebook* 21 (1967), 122–38, 152–65; ‘Teaching Medieval Drama as Theatre,’ *The Learned and the Lewed: Studies in Chaucer and Medieval Literature*, Larry D. Benson (ed) (Cambridge, MA, 1974), 305–18. A number of other scholars (among them Alan H. Nelson and Virginia Shull) have also made important contributions to the study of drama in Lincoln (see Select Bibliography). For the linguistic argument that the home of the N-Town plays is East Anglia rather than Lincoln, see Mark Eccles, ‘*Ludus Coventriae: Lincoln or Norfolk?*’ *Medium Aevum* 40 (1971), 135–41. For a Lincoln perspective on the N-Town plays and their modern production in the cathedral close, see John Wesley Harris, *Medieval Plays at Lincoln* (Lincoln, 1994).
- 2 For a detailed discussion of the many ways in which *Handlyng Synne* reflects the ‘Lincolnshire mentality’ of the time, including customary diversions, see Platts, *Land and People*, pp 281–2, 284–93; and his ‘Robert Mannyng of Bourne’s “Handlyng Synne” and South Lincolnshire Society,’ *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 14 (1979), 23–9; Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, Idelle Sullens (ed) (Binghamton, NY, 1983), 27, 93–4, 115–19, 225–8.
 - 3 See Foster, ‘English Church Furniture,’ pp 78–173; Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, pp 155–80; and Peacock, *English Church Furniture*.
 - 4 Diana Wyatt, who is editing the records of Beverley for the REED series, kindly allowed me access to her work on Beverley, for which I would like to express my thanks. Except for a Pater Noster play, the central performance traditions that she has found in Beverley show considerable continuity with those in York, but none with Lincoln. Beverley had a cycle play ‘of the kind traditionally associated with the English Corpus Christi cycles’ (not an Assumption and Coronation play), mounted by craft guilds (not by a religio-civic guild), staged on wagons (not in the nave of a cathedral), and stopping at sites on a fixed route (not processing to a cathedral) (Diana Wyatt, ‘Performance and Ceremonial in Beverley before 1642. An annotated edition of local archive materials,’ PhD thesis (University of York, 1983), xlii–xliii). Lincoln had nothing comparable to the Rogation Monday Castles and Riding that Wyatt describes in Beverley. For cycle-play patterns in other counties, see Elizabeth Baldwin, Lawrence M. Clopper, and David Mills (eds), *Cheshire including Chester*, vol 1, REED (Toronto, 2007), xxxiii–xlvi; David Galloway (ed), *Norwich 1540–1642*, REED (Toronto, 1984); and Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (eds), *York*, REED (Toronto, 1979). For the lord and troupe pattern of the West Country, see James Stokes with Robert J. Alexander (eds), *Somerset including Bath*, vol 2, REED (Toronto, 1996), 475–6.
 - 5 See Glynne W.G. Wickham, ‘Robert Grosseteste and the Feast of Fools,’ *Sewanee Medieval Colloquium Occasional Papers* 2 (1985), 81–99, for the larger historical context of Grosseteste’s prohibition of the feast of fools in his diocese.
 - 6 LA: Bj/2/5, f 22.
 - 7 Alexandra F. Johnston, ‘The Emerging Pattern of the Easter Play in England,’ *Medieval English Theatre* 20 (1998), 5.
 - 8 Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1955; rpt 1960), 268.
 - 9 Holding tournaments in Lincoln (and elsewhere in the county) was no innovation of the

- moment (see Appendix 5, pp 596–609). The possible links between the tournament and large open-air plays in Lincolnshire (see, for example, the records for Spalding, *c* 1541–6 and *c* 1541–7, and Lincoln, 1563–4 and 1565–6) have not yet been explored.
- 10 Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, p 171. Wording in the guild returns of 1389 gives the impression that the great guild of the BVM in the suburb parish of St Andrew in Wigford was then the major guild in the city, but nothing in the records indicates that the guild sponsored the city's processions and drama. Indeed, the entity responsible for these productions between 1344 and 1515 remains unclear.
 - 11 Council minute books mention the procession and pageants for the last time in 1554–5 and St Anne's guild ceased to function as producer of the procession and shows with the accession of Elizabeth. A rather melancholy order in 1567–8 directs aldermen to inventory 'Stuff & gere as the seid william huddylston haith in custodye of [f] any guylde or plays' that remained in the hands of the bellman and cryer who was by then poor, aged, and sick (see p 194).
 - 12 Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, pp 167–74.
 - 13 Baldwin, Clopper, and Mills (eds), *Cheshire including Chester*, vol 1, pp cvii–cxvii.
 - 14 David Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston, 1975), 51–2, 57–66; Arnold Williams, *The Drama of Medieval England* (East Lansing, 1961), 21–7; Craig, *English Religious Drama*, pp 268–9; and Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol 2 (Oxford, 1933; rpt with corrections 1951), 4–5.
 - 15 Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: The Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play,' *Speculum* 50 (1975), 70–80; Johnston and Rogerson (eds), *York*, vol 1, pp 6–7, 261–2, 365, 645–8; and Bevington, *Medieval Drama*, pp 792–3.
 - 16 I would like to thank Diana Wyatt for allowing me to cite this information from her Beverley collection in progress for REED.
 - 17 Baldwin, Clopper, and Mills (eds), *Cheshire including Chester*, vol 1, p 70; vol 2, pp 877–8, 1003; and Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, vol 2, p 356.
 - 18 Johnston and Rogerson (eds), *York*, vol 1, p 68.
 - 19 Craig, *English Religious Drama*, pp 340–1.
 - 20 Francis Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 280–5.
 - 21 Stephen Spector (ed), *The N-Town Play Cotton ms Vespasian D.8*, vol 1 (Oxford, 1991), 152–63.
 - 22 Kahrl, *Collections viii*, p 2.
 - 23 For a discussion of the Boston ship and other ship pageants in England, see Louis, 'Nauiculum Noie.'
 - 24 Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, p 211, also cites a reference from the Boston council minute books to 'the play of the Passion ... acted in the Hall-garth (the present grammar-school yard), at Easter' in 1587, but this could not be confirmed at the time of publication because LA: BB 2/A/1/1 was unavailable for viewing.
 - 25 Arthur Mee, *Lincolnshire: A County of Infinite Charm* (London, 1949), 109; and Platts, *Land and People*, p 100.
 - 26 Stokes and Wright, 'Donington Cast List,' pp 63–81.

- 27 Gillet, *History of Grimsby*, p 84; and Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (London, 1909), 302.
- 28 Gillet, *History of Grimsby*, pp 51, 82; and Simon, 'Grimsby Mariners Guild,' pp 27–30.
- 29 NELA: 1/102/1, f 41.
- 30 MacDonald, *Historical Notices*, pp 86–91.
- 31 MacDonald, *Historical Notices*, p 88.
- 32 MacDonald, *Historical Notices*, pp 90–1.
- 33 For inventory, see LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1, f 222.
- 34 Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, pp 155–80.
- 35 J.E. Swaby, *A History of Louth* (London, 1951), 69.
- 36 Swaby, *History of Louth*, pp 76–9.
- 37 Goulding (comp), *Louth*, pp 47–8.
- 38 David N. Robinson, *The Book of Louth: The Story of a Market Town* (Buckingham, 1979), 111–12.
- 39 LA: SAXILBY PAR/7/d, ff 7v–9v; LA: LEVERTON PAR/7/1, f 88; LA: MARKET DEEPING PAR/10/1, ff A5, A13v, D17; and F., 'Extracts from the Churchwardens Accompts,' pp 219–20, 226.
- 40 F., 'Extracts from the Churchwardens Accompts,' pp 199, 219–20, 226.
- 41 LA: BB 2/A/3, f 444v.
- 42 In 1861 it was noted that at the parish church at Castle Bytham someone had carved into the ladder leading to the bell-chamber the words: 'this was the village Maypole, 1660' (Stamfordiensis, 'Maypoles,' *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser, 12 (1861), 138). In the village of Burton, near Lincoln, there still stands a maypole, said to be an ancient remnant of the custom in that place.
- 43 Nottingham University Library: Lincoln Cathedral ms 50, f 137v.
- 44 W. Carew Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore Of the British Isles*, vol 2 (London, 1905; rpt New York, 1965), 522. For references to a number of Rogation processions elsewhere in Lincolnshire, see Geo. Oliver, 'Beating of Bounds – The Ducking Stool,' *The Gentleman's Magazine Library*, vol 1, George Laurence Gomme (ed) (London, 1883), 52; Owen, *Church and Society*, pp 108–9 (Bourne; Careby; Clee; Friskney; Grimsby; Harrington; and Scopwick); Gillett, 'Early Churchwardens' Account,' pp 29, 33; and LA: SP/S/460/5/105, draft churchwardens' account for 1616–17, which has payments for cheese, beer, candles, and Rogation Day at Spalding.
- 45 Goulding, *Louth*, p 95.
- 46 NELA: 1/102/1, f 41. Bishop Gray's injunctions to Newnham Priory, Bedfordshire, in the diocese of Lincoln, c 1333, forbade anyone to permit 'of set purpose' the entry of 'any secular person, male or female' into the cloister precincts, or to 'have wrestlings or embracings with such persons' ('collectactiones habeat vel amplexus') (Thompson (ed), *Visitations*, vol 1, pp 87–8).
- 47 Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, pp 27, 94, 225.
- 48 New Haven, Beinecke Library, ms 3 (34), f 5.
- 49 Mee, *Lincolnshire*, p 275.

- 50 LA: Crowle 8/7, mb 4.
- 51 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 142–3.
- 52 Magnus Williamson, in ‘The Role of Religious Guilds in the Cultivation of Ritual Polyphony in England: The Case of Louth, 1450–1550,’ *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, Fiona Kisby (ed) (Cambridge, 2001), 82–93, convincingly illustrates the high ‘degree of collaboration between the town’s religious institutions,’ including the grammar and song school, ‘in their cultivation of music within the parish church,’ and shows Louth to have had a number of ‘competent musicians’ among its chaplains and other clergy.
- 53 Roger Bowers, ‘Music and worship to 1640,’ *A History of Lincoln Minster*, Dorothy Owen (ed) (Cambridge, 1994), 51–2, 54–5, 60.
- 54 Stanford E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485–1603* (Princeton, NJ, 1988), 142–3. On the tumultuous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history of the cathedral musicians, see A.R. Maddison, ‘Lincoln Cathedral Choir A.D. 1558 to 1640,’ *Associated Architectural Societies’ Reports and Papers* 18 (1886), 110–22.
- 55 For a comprehensive discussion of the custom of barring-out in England, see Keith Thomas, *Rule and Misrule in the Schools of Early Modern England*, Stenton Lecture 1975 (University of Reading, 1976), 20–35. The custom of barring-out was apparently widespread, recorded most often in the north and the Midlands – at Eton (Berkshire); Bromfield, Scotby, Warwick, and Wetheral (Cumberland); Durham; Litchfield (Hampshire); Ormskirk and Thornton (Lancashire); Houghton le Spring (Northumberland); and Kilkenny, Ireland. Incidences of violence and open revolt against hated schoolmasters could occur but more generally the custom was festive, involving tacit understandings between boys and authorities, and culminating in celebrations at end of term. The barring-out might occur in September or October, before Christmas holidays, on the feast of the Circumcision, at the beginning of Lent, or between Easter and Whitsuntide. Activities might be connected with the school’s play days, as most colourfully occurred at Bromfield near the beginning of Lent (Pan, ‘Custom of Barring-Out,’ *The Gentleman’s Magazine Library*, vol 1, George Laurence Gomme (ed) (London, 1883), 164–73).
- 56 A.F. Leach, ‘Some Results of Research in the History of Education in England; with Suggestions for its Continuance and Extension,’ *Proceedings of the British Academy* 6 (1913–14), 443, 445; Charles Garton, ‘Lincoln School 1090 to 1300: A Draft History,’ 6 vols (Williamsville, NY, 1980), 1010, 1012–13, 1063–4; and Jno. G. Williams, ‘The City of Lincoln,’ *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries* 6 (1900), 97–102.
- 57 J.B. Whitwell, *Roman Lincolnshire*, *History of Lincolnshire* 2 (Lincoln, 1970), 22; Christina Colyer, *Lincoln: the Archaeology of an Historic City* (Lincoln, 1975), 12.
- 58 Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 157–8; and Charles Garton, ‘Lincoln School,’ pp 484–5.
- 59 Local historians have identified a number of similar, but more rustic, playing fields and other kinds of dedicated ‘playing’ places. They turn up mainly in post-1642 sources, so it is not possible to know if their origin extends into the medieval or early modern periods, though it seems likely that some do. The village of Dorrington, for example, was still using a ‘playgarth’ on ‘Chapel Hill’ for seasonal revels and customary games in the

nineteenth century. On St Bartholomew's Day (24 August), young women are said to have gone in procession to the chapel where they strewed rushes, then continued to the playgarth where the village gathered for sports, games, and dancing. In the town of Winteringham, near the Humber, revellers annually affixed a May garland to an old stump 'in the cattle pasture' as part of May games and 'a milking feast.' In the village of Messingham outside Scunthorpe, the young people customarily 'assembled at Perestow Hills' on May evening for games, then 'danced their way to town' led by a fiddler. Horncastle had a 'may-pole hill,' identified on an early eighteenth-century map as being at a point near the town where the roads from Tattershall and Lincoln converged. In Haxey, in the Isle of Axholme, youths played the famous Haxey Hood game in 'an open field, on the north side of the Church.' See Gutch and Peacock (colls), *Printed Folk-Lore*, pp 24, 195, 202–3, 261–2, 268; and David N. Robinson, *The Book of Horncastle & Woodhall Spa* (Buckingham, 1983), 10.

- 60 Brian Williams, *A History of the Villages of Asterby and Goulceby* (Louth, 1993), 57, says that plays were held in the church at Goulceby during the Tudor era, but he cites no sources.
- 61 Richard Butcher, *The Survey and Antiquitie of the Towne of Stamford* (London, 1646), 20–1.
- 62 Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, pp 211, 238, 284.
- 63 Mee, *Lincolnshire*, p 393; see also Gutch and Peacock (colls), *Printed Folk-Lore*, pp 314–15.
- 64 For appearances in Ipswich, see V.B. Redstone and E.K. Chambers (eds), 'Players at Ipswich,' *Collections II*, Part 3, Malone Society (Oxford, 1931), 263–4.
- 65 An overlooked entry from the Lincoln city council minute book (LA: L1/1/1/2, f 39v), for 14 September 1545–6, was only discovered after it was too late to include it in the Records, so it is provided here: 'yt is agreid in this Comen Congregagacion that Edward Smyth nowe elected & sworn Mayor of this Cyte schall haue towardes the releyff & Mayntenaunce of his house keyng the some of ten poundes & xxxiiij s. iiij d. for rewardes to Mynstrelles of the Comen Chambre of this Cyte and also iiij ffraunchest men to be brought oute of the libertyes of this seid Cytye.'
- The phrase 'Mynstrelles of the Comen Chambre of this Cyte' is not a reference to the town waits, but rather, as becomes clear when examining similar entries from other years, a truncated version of the formulaic phrasing indicating that, as usual, the mayor's allowance for rewarding minstrels is being charged to the common chamber. Compare, for example, the 14 September 1549 entry from the city council minute book, which gives the same amount as in 1546 'for rewardes for mynstrylles and di. tunne of Wyne of the Charges of the Commen Chambre of this Cyte.'
- 66 For recent studies of musicology within the context of urban history, including music and religious guilds in Louth, see Kisby (ed), *Music and Musicians*, especially pp 82–93.
- 67 See Appendix 3, pp 585–7.
- 68 For the types of musical instruments used in the county, see 'musical instruments' in the Index to this collection.
- 69 For John Wendon, see p 747, endnote to LA: INV 21/167 single mb. See also Alexander

- Burton, of Bardney, and Arthur Oudum and William Fox, both of Boston, in *The Documents* (pp 468, and 473–4).
- 70 For a detailed discussion of the Lincolnshire waits, see Stokes, 'The Waits of Lincolnshire.'
- 71 For example, see Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, 1953; rpt New York, 1969). The twenty-five collections that REED has published to date all contain significant evidence of and discussion concerning the waits in areas covered by each volume.
- 72 Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, p 104.
- 73 Nottinghamshire Record Office: CA 1612, f 2v. For this and other references in the Nottingham borough records to visits by Lincolnshire waits, I would like to thank John Coldewey, co-editor of the REED collection for Nottinghamshire (forthcoming), where references to the waits' visits will be published in their entirety.
- 74 For the officers and administrative organization of the guild, see Lincolnshire Archives Office, 'Boston Guild Account.'
- 75 For the payments in Nottingham, see Nottingham chamberlains' accounts, Nottinghamshire Record Office: CA 1615, f 3; CA 1616, f 2v; CA 1618, f 3v; CA 1619, f 3; CA 1620, f 3; CA 1625, f 10v; CA 1627, p 12; CA 1631, p 37; for Carlisle, see Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield (eds), *Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire*, REED (Toronto, 1986), 100.
- 76 Whether the two new waits mentioned in the order in 1635 were coming as replacements or because the number of waits was to be increased is unclear (Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, p 70; LA: BB 2/A/3, f 39). An order in 1670 describes the number of waits as five, each with 'ancient badge or cognizance ... formerly used by the ancient waytes.' The order also gives a detailed description of the waits' duties 'as hath formerly been done.' The waits were discontinued in 1734, though the mayor continued to pay for musicians' performances, especially on May Day until at least 1782. Lambert and Walker claim that waits' coats cost about £1 10s in 1552 and 1553 (*Boston, Tattershall & Croyland*, p 69), but I have found no support for those dates in the borough records.
- 77 Nottinghamshire Record Office: CA 1610b, f 8; CA 1611, f 3; CA 1612, f 4; CA 1615, f 2v; CA 1616, f 2v; CA 1617, f 2v; CA 1618, f 3; CA 1625, f 12v; CA 1627, p 11; CA 1629, p 11.
- 78 Chatsworth House: Chatsworth Hardwick Manuscript 7 (H ms 7), f 180, courtesy of Barbara D. Palmer and John M. Wasson, editors of the REED collection for Derbyshire (forthcoming); and Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, pp 270, 272. In Woodhill, they are only referred to as waits in 1607/8; the other entries refer to them as 'musicians of Grantham' or 'Grantham musicians.'
- 79 Yorkshire Archaeological Society: DD56/J/3/3, f 121v; DD/J/3/4, ff 48v, 60v, 83v, courtesy of Barbara D. Palmer and John M. Wasson, editors of the REED collection for Yorkshire West Riding (forthcoming).
- 80 LA: Grantham Borough 5/1, ff 177, 181.
- 81 Local antiquarians claim that waits were still present in the nineteenth century. Writing in the early nineteenth century, the Rev. George Oliver, claiming that his source is an

- eyewitness account, says that the Grimsby waits were obliged to play at a Whitsuntide festival that included a Robin Hood bower, a lord and lady of the feast, a jester, and dancing, and that the waits accompanied the plough ship pageant on Plough Mondays, which included the pageant itself, morris dancing, and extravagantly costumed characters who 'repeated a kind of dialogue' (Gutch and Peacock (colls), *Printed Folk-Lore*, pp 194–5, 223.
- 82 The waits flourished during the Restoration, seemingly as part of a revitalized company, and the city appointed five in 1662–3. In 1695 the town recorded various expenses for the waits, who together with the waits of Newark, plus drummers, trumpeters, and hautboys, led a procession to Bargate in Lincoln to celebrate the king's visit (LA: L1/1/1/6, pp 119, 514).
- 83 For published evidence of travel by the waits of Lincoln, see Alan H. Nelson (ed), *Cambridge*, vol 1, REED (Toronto, 1989), 164, 166, 210; James M. Gibson (ed), *Kent: Diocese of Canterbury*, vol 1, REED (Toronto, 2002), 169; Johnston and Rogerson (eds), *York*, vol 1, p 66; Douglas and Greenfield (eds), *Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire*, pp 72, 81, 83, 89, 95, 101, 103–4; and R.W. Ingram (ed), *Coventry*, REED (Toronto, 1981), 397, 417, 436, 439.
- 84 For references to performances by the Lincoln waits in Nottingham, and in Derbyshire and Yorkshire, I would like to thank, respectively, John Coldeway, and Barbara D. Palmer and John M. Wasson. For Nottingham, see Nottinghamshire Record Office: CA 1610b, f 8; CA 1616, f 3v; CA 1619, f 3v; CA 1620, f 4; CA 1622/23, ff 5, 19; CA 1627, pp 15, 18. For references to performances elsewhere before private patrons, see Chatsworth House: Bolton Abbey Manuscripts, BAM 94, f 102v; 97, f 104v; 98, f 133; Chatsworth Hardwick Manuscripts (H ms 8), ff 87v, 122; the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G. Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, vol 4 (London, 1905), 313. The absence (to date) of payments at venues farther afield appears to support the impression that the Lincolnshire waits were primarily regional performers.
- 85 As late as the nineteenth century Stamford still had waits who performed in the streets between October and Christmas, in processions at important civic events, and during the annual bull-running. See Martin Smith, *The Myths and Legends of Stamford in Lincolnshire* (Stamford, 1991), 84–5. For a summary of documentary references to the waits in the Stamford hall books between 1486 and 1830, see Justin Simpson, 'The Stamford Waits and their Predecessors: an Historical Sketch,' *The Reliquary* 26 (July 1885), 1–6.
- 86 Yorkshire Archaeological Society: DD56/J/3/3, f 115v; DD56/J/3/4, f 69. For these references I would like to thank Barbara D. Palmer and John M. Wasson, editors of the REED collection for Yorkshire West Riding (forthcoming), where the entries from the Slingby papers will appear in full. For Grey (c 1599–1676), see his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>.
- 87 Chatsworth House: Bolton Abbey Manuscripts, BAM 85, ff 17–28; 167 (14 April 1634 entry); 172, f 78, courtesy of Barbara D. Palmer and John M. Wasson, REED collection for Derbyshire (forthcoming). See also Richard T. Spence, *Skipton Castle and Its Builders* (Skipton, 2002), 104–6.
- 88 Among Lincolnshire historians the one exception in substantively acknowledging the

contributions of women in the history of the county is Dorothy Owen, ecclesiastical historian, fellow of Wolfson College, Cambridge, and former archivist at Lincolnshire Archives and Cambridge University Library. Her article, 'Lincolnshire Women in History,' *The Lincolnshire Historian* 2 (1959), 31–45, describes notable Lincolnshire women and their contributions between 1066 and the seventeenth century, but without reference to entertainments. Her *Church and Society* offers the best available overview of parish entertainments in Lincolnshire during the Middle Ages, though with few references to contributions by women.

- 89 Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croyland*, pp 40, 50; and Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, pp 115–26, 134–5.
- 90 Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore*, pp 521–3.
- 91 LA: L1/1/1/1, f 97.
- 92 The mayor, former schoolmaster William Dighton, also appointed a mayoress (either the wife of the former mayor, then deceased, or Dighton's own wife, a fact not clarified in the records). Upon the king's arrival in Lincoln, the mayor, accompanied by his aldermen, presented a gift of victuals to the king, and the recorder of Lincoln made a welcoming speech; the mayoress, accompanied by 'addresses' (so-called in the records), made a similar gift to the queen, and the mayor made a similar speech to the queen on the mayoress' behalf (Garton, 'Lincoln School,' pp 581–7).
- 93 Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 3, p 939.
- 94 Alan Rogers, 'Late Medieval Stamford: A Study of the Town Council 1465–1492,' *Perspectives in English Urban History*, Alan Everitt (ed) (London and Basingstoke, 1973), 35; Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, p 116; and Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croyland*, p 57. Eve Rachele Sanders has shown that during the Middle Ages 'images of women learning and teaching became common features of Christian art.' She cites commonly depicted scenes of St Anne teaching Mary to read, and of Mary (and sometimes Anne) teaching Jesus to read, a noteworthy image in Lincolnshire given the focus on Mary and St Anne in that county's drama and ceremony. As Sanders also shows, the nuns in convents commonly ran schools for girls and acted as teachers there, a contribution taken from them – to the detriment of girls' education – with the dissolution of religious houses and a 'shift in iconography' during the sixteenth century that placed Christ (not Anne and Mary) at the centre of culture as teachers. The schoolmistress in Boston is part of that pre-Reformation culture, but even in that context she is unusual in seeming to be a secular schoolmistress of either a school for girls or a pre-Reformation school in Boston that had both a schoolmaster and a schoolmistress, and which therefore taught both boys and girls. See Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy on Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1998), 9, 12–13, 18.
- 95 Barbara Hanawalt, 'Keepers of the Lights: Late Medieval English Parish Gilds,' *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984), 25. For occupations held by women in medieval Lindsey (in Lincolnshire) – from butler to shopkeeper – see A.E.B. Owen (ed), *The Medieval Lindsey Marsh: Select Documents*, The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society 85 (Woodbridge, Suff, 1996), 185.
- 96 The bishop made similar complaints against other religious houses in the diocese, near

- Lincolnshire. For example in 1442 at the priory of Catesby (Northamptonshire in the diocese of Lincoln), one of the nuns, it was charged, 'did pass the night with the Austin friars at Northampton and did dance and play the lute with them in the same place until midnight, and on the night following she passed the night with the friars preachers at Northampton, luting and dancing in like manner' (Thompson (ed), *Visitations*, vol 2, p 50). For other examples, see Thompson (ed), *Visitations*, vol 2, p 76; and Thompson (ed), *Visitations*, vol 1, pp 87–8.
- 97 The duchess (and perhaps her players) and other female members of the local gentry may also have contributed to the staging of a major religious play late in the reign of Henry VIII in the town of Spalding, about fifteen miles from Grimsthorpe. The evidence cannot be verified with original documents, but an antiquarian source describes reputed churchwardens' accounts (now lost) as saying that contributors to the play in Spalding included 'the Lord Willoughby, the Lady Fitzwilliam, the Champion Dymocke, the Lady Kyme,' among others (see p 305).
- 98 Simon Pawley, *The Book of Sleaford* (np, 1996), 33–4, 37, 47, 56, 58, and inside front cover; for more on the Market Place and the bullbaitings there, see Trollope, *Sleaford*, pp 169–70.
- 99 Kenneth Cameron, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, English Place-Name Society 58 (Cambridge, 1985), 55.
- 100 Cameron, *Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, p 55; and Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p 153, n 3. Duncan McInnes, *History of Co-operation in Lincoln 1861–1911* (Manchester, 1911), 15, says that in periodical bullbaitings in Lincoln the 'bulls were loosed on Danes Terrace, pursued, goaded, yelped at by dogs, and hustled by crowds of men and boys down Danesgate into Broadgate, and tortured and maddened, sometimes for hours, before they were despatched.'
- 101 A.N. Claye, *Brigg Church and Town. Some Historical Notes* (Brigg, [1904]), 38.
- 102 Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, pp 104–6; and George Shaw, *Old Grimsby* (London, 1897), 102–3. For more on the bull-ring in Grimsby, see Anderson Bates, *A Gossip About Old Grimsby* (Grimsby, 1893), 33–5; and Bob Lincoln, *The Rise of Grimsby in Two Volumes*, vol 1, *Ancient from the 9th Century to 1865* (London, 1913), 91–3. One antiquarian claims that revelers also stood the maypole in the bull-ring and that 'the Corporation possessed the privilege of cutting down a tree in Bradley Wood for the May-pole,' which they 'brought into the Bull-ring with great ceremony' (G. Oliver, *Ye Byrde of Grime* (Grimsby, 1866), 190).
- 103 A number of records indicate the presence of many cockpits in the county between the mid-seventeenth century and 1834 (when cockfighting was abolished). For a comprehensive discussion of these later cockpits, see Stokes, 'Lost Playing Places,' pp 278–9.
- 104 LA: Vij 10, f 14v; Vij 14, f 28v.
- 105 LA: Vj 30, f 113.
- 106 For discussion of survivals and revivals of traditional entertainments in Lincolnshire, see Stokes, 'Women and Performance.'

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- 1 See also R.L. Arundale, *Richard Neile: Bishop of Lincoln 1614–1617* (Lincoln, 1987).
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- 5 Anne F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130–1578* (Williston, VT, 2005), 387.
- 6 ‘Barton-on-Humber Churchwardens’ Accounts,’ *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries* 3 (1893), 210–11.
- 7 Personal correspondence, 14 January 2000.
- 8 Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, pp 34, 36.
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- 10 Clark and Clark (eds), *Boston Assembly Minutes*, pp ix, xiv–xviii.
- 11 Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, Nicholas Antram (rev), 2nd ed (London, 1989; rpt 1998), 156–61.
- 12 For the Carrs see Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 1, pp 228–9.
- 13 For a detailed study of the document, and its historical and theatrical implications, see Stokes and Wright, ‘Donington Cast List,’ pp 63–95.
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- 17 Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 70, 219.
- 18 Dorothy Owen, ‘The Development of Historical Studies in Lincolnshire,’ *Some Historians of Lincolnshire*, Christopher Sturman (ed), Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 9 (Lincoln, 1992), 8.
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- 24 Powicke and Cheney (eds), *Councils & Synods*, p 273, n 5.
- 25 Bradshaw and Wordsworth (eds), *Statutes*, vol 1, p 172.
- 26 Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 2, p 481.
- 27 Wordsworth, 'Inventories,' pp 41–3.
- 28 Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 56–9.
- 29 LA: L1/1/1/4, ff 4, 47, 152, 178v, 198v, 225, 240v.
- 30 J.E. Swaby, *A History of Louth* (London, 1951), 69–71.
- 31 Lincolnshire Archives Office, 'Records in Other Custody: Goulding,' *Archivists' Report* 19 (1967–8), 63–8.
- 32 Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp 22–3, 48, 71; Kirkus, *Commissioners of Sewers*, pp lxxi–lxxii; and Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 2, p 731.
- 33 Oliver, *Holy Trinity Guild*, pp 50–6.
- 34 For example, see Cragg, 'Holy Trinity Guild,' pp 91–7; and Kahrl (ed), *Collections viii*, pp 85–6.
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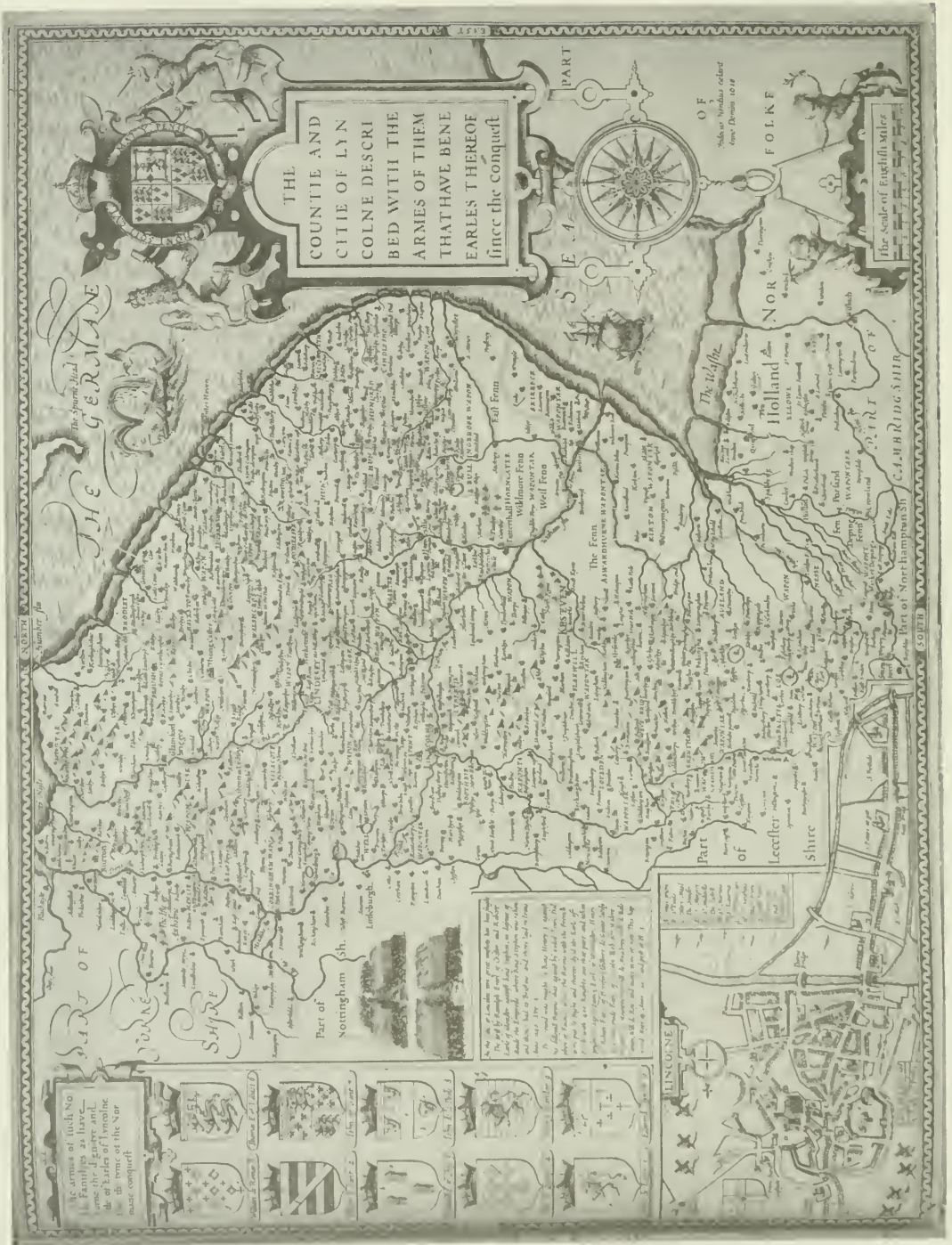
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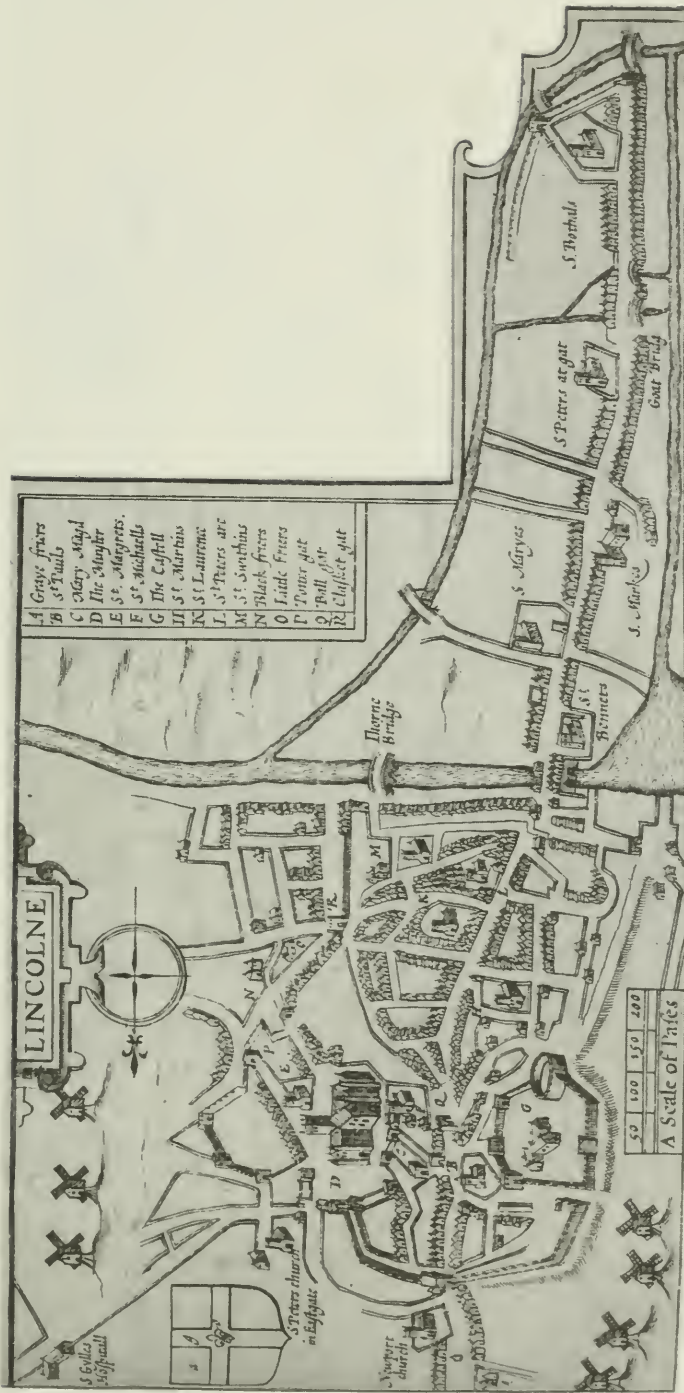
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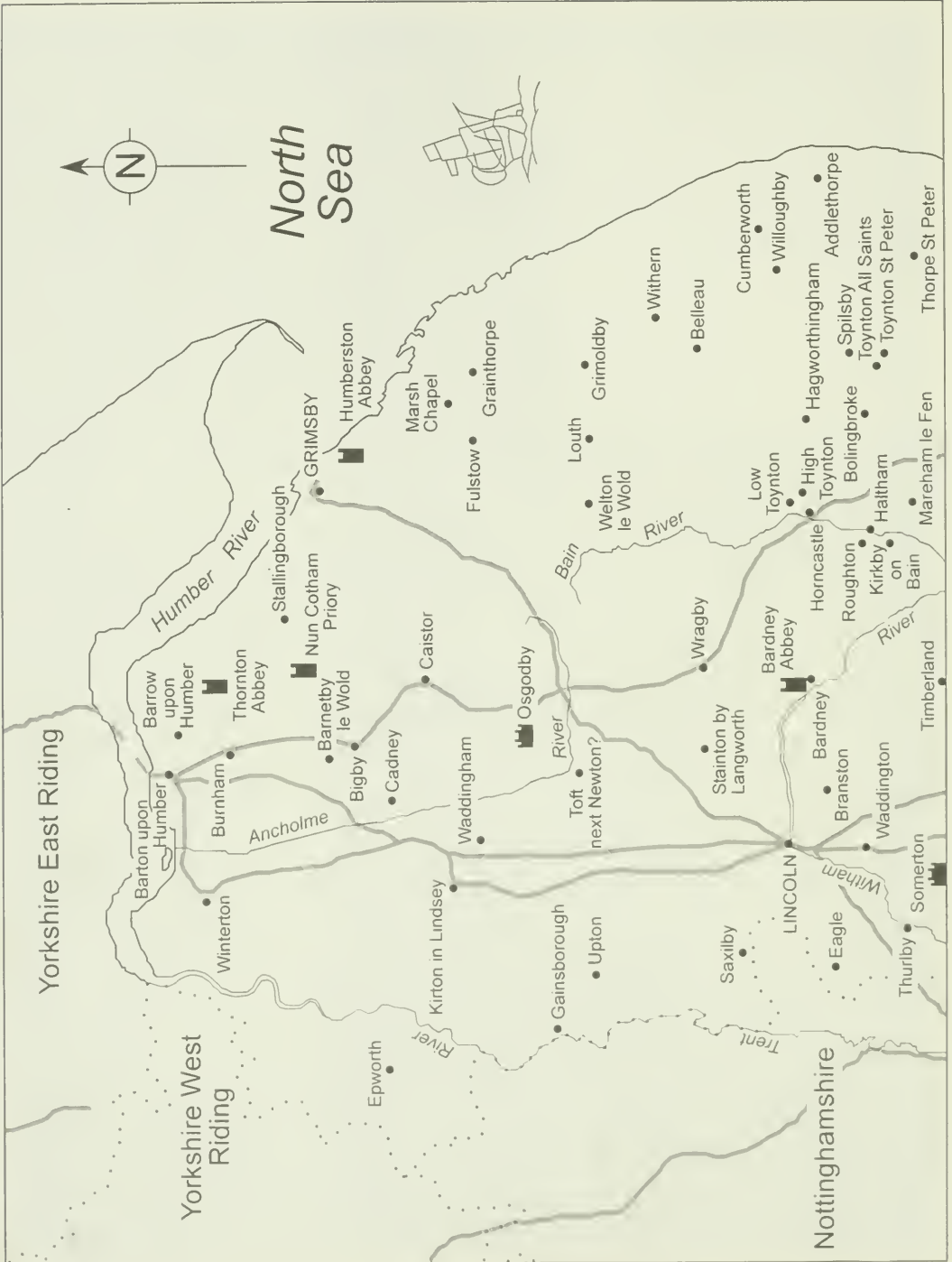
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Lincoln, from John Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611), reproduced by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library



Lincolnshire, with principal late medieval and Renaissance routes

APPENDIXES, TRANSLATIONS, ENDNOTES,
GLOSSARIES, AND INDEX

APPENDIX 1

King John of France at Somerton Castle

On 20 September 1356 John I of France fell into the hands of the English when his army was defeated by the forces of Edward, the Black Prince, at the battle of Poitiers. The king and other French noblemen were transported as hostages to England on 4 May 1357, then taken, in a journey with many stops and stages, to London, where they arrived on 24 May 1357. Among other displays of honour during his enforced stay in London, the king attended a lavish state feast and entertainment including a tourney, mounted at Windsor early in 1358. Fearing a French invasion and rescue attempt, his captors eventually felt it prudent to move the king to a more secure and remote location. In April 1359 John was taken to Hertford Castle, and from there to Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire.

The armed party escorting him left Hertford on Monday, 29 July 1359. They arrived at Huntingdon on Tuesday, 30 July; at Stamford on Thursday, 1 August; at Grantham on Saturday, 3 August; and at Somerton Castle on Sunday, 4 August. He remained there until 21 March 1359/60 when, again under threat of French invasion, the king was returned to London by way of Grantham, Stamford, Woburn Abbey, and St Albans, arriving at the Tower of London on 28 March. Following the signing of a treaty between the French and English in early May 1360, John prepared to leave England. On 30 June he departed the Tower, made his way to Dover, then sailed for France on 7 July. For a full discussion of the king's travels as a captive, see Edward Trollope, 'The Captivity of John, King of France, at Somerton Castle, Lincolnshire,' *Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society* 4.1 (1857–8), 49–68, from which this brief summary was taken.

Somerton Castle, where the king stayed in Lincolnshire, was situated two miles west of the village of Boothby Graffoe, some twelve miles south of Lincoln near the Ermine Street. The castle was built in 1281 on a quadrangular plan and measured 330 feet long and 180 feet wide, with four circular towers at the corners. Part of what remains of the castle, including one of its towers, is now attached to a Jacobean farmhouse. The moat also survives. (See Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, Nicholas Antram (rev), 2nd ed (London, 1989; rpt 1998), 660; Arthur Mee, *Lincolnshire: A County of Infinite Charm* (London, 1949), 48; and Ruddock, *Boothby Graffoe and Somerton Castle*, pp 15–38.)

The king's party during his captivity numbered approximately forty-two attendants, including a person with the title 'le Roy des menestereulx' and another identified as 'Maistre Iehan le

fol.' The king of the minstrels appears to have been an important officer of the king's household whose duties included the making of a clock. The records do not indicate that he was being paid as a performing musician. On senses of the terms 'minstrel' and 'minstrel king' in fourteenth-century England and France, see Abigail Ann Young, 'Minstrels and Minstrelsy: Household Retainers or Instrumentalists?' *REEDN* 20.1 (1995), 11–17. The fool was, however, a performer of some sort, and a much favoured one; the accounts include numerous payments for his clothing, livery, and other particulars, greater in number and cost than for any other individual except the king himself and the king's son Philip. The accounts also include purchases for the king at Lincoln including books (*Tournoiement d'Antecrist*, *Roman de Renart*, and others), as well as musical instruments and other creature comforts, plus wines shipped to Boston from France. For a more detailed description of the accounts and of purchases by the king's household, see Ruddock, *Boothby Graffoe and Somerton Castle*, pp 24–7.

During the entire period of the king's incarceration in England, his chaplain and notary, Denys de Collors, kept a book of meticulously recorded accounts, including receipts and expenditures of the royal household for one entire year from July 1359 through July 1360. Entries related to entertainments and pastimes for the entire period (not just those occurring in Lincolnshire) have been included here to give a complete picture of the king's expenditures for entertainments and diversions while in England. Those from f 24v through f 27v occurred while the king was at Hertford Castle, those from f 36 through f 56 while he was at Somerton Castle, those from f 60 through f 86v while he was at or enroute to London, from f 93 while he was enroute from London to Calais, and from f 94v while he was at Calais. A generally accurate transcription of the accounts, made in the nineteenth century, can be found in L. Douët-D'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France au xv^e siècle* (Paris, 1851), 195–278.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, manuscrit français 11205 (formerly 98-25 Supplement au fonds français); 1359–60; French; paper; ii + 95 + v; 273mm x 215mm; 19th-c. arabic foliation replacing incomplete contemporary roman numbering; ornate headings (names of months) for main sections; perfect condition; grey calf binding, title on spine (but last characters worn away on longest lines): 'IOVRNAL I DE RECETT. . . I ET DEPEN. . . I DY ROY IEAN.' Within the extraordinary expenses section, specific categories of expense are differentiated with marginal notes.

1359

Accounts of the King of France BN: manuscrit français 11205
f 24v (8 July) (*Extraordinary expenses*) (*Household*) (*Hertford Castle*)

...

paye a li

Hannequin lorfeure pour refondre & refaire le henap de
lessay du Roy & le gobelet Maistre Jehan le fol et pour les
dorer & pesoit le dit henap: quant lon li baillay ij mars &
demj moins iiij d. et il la rendu pessant ij mars & demj &
xxxvij d. Et le dit gobelet pesoit vj onces & il la rendu
pesant vj onces xvij d. ob. Ainsin doit on audit Hannequin

5

10

pour le pois iiij s. x d. ob. et pour les dorer & la facon
pour tout *par* compte fait a li *par* le maistre dostel xviiij
escuz valent

lx s.

...

5

f 26 (15 July)

Le dit Iehan pour ix aunes de drap *vert* a faire vne robe *pur*
maistre Iehan le fol du *commandement* du Roy? iiij s. laune.

xxxvj s.

...

10

(18 July)

paye a li

Girardin varlet maistre Iehan le fol pour iij paires de sols
pur le dit Maistre Iehan

xxj d.

15

f 26v (21 July)

...

a C. hanlen
pur li

Le Roy des menestereulx pour deniers paieez par li a
plusieurs personnes pour la facon de lauloge du Roy
Renduz audit Roy des menestereulx .xiiiij. escuz &
x d. valent

xlvij s. vj d.

20

f 27 (22 July) (Clothing)

...

Adam de bury pour xvij ventres de menuvaire pour vne
aumuce pour maistre Iehan le fol 4 d. ventre valent

iiij s. iij d.

25

...

f 27v

...

A li pour vne robe pour maistre Iehan le fol ij forreures
& demie de gros vair l s. Item demie forreure de
Menuvaire de lxvj ventres valent xvj. s. vj d. pour iij
chaperons chascun de xxiiij ventres xviiij s. pour tout

iiij l. iiij s. vj d.

30

...

35

f 38v (24 November) (Gifts) (Somerton Castle)

...

paye a li

Le Roy des menestereulx pour don fait a li par le Roy
pur querir ses neccessitez. iiij escuz valent

xiiij s. iiij d.

...

f 40 (5 December) (Gifts)

paye a leuesque (...) prestre	...		
	^ Leuesque & ¹ Les clers de la parroiche de aueniby qui la voille de Saint nicolas vinrent en lostel du Roy chanter ergo laudes pour don a eulx fait par le Roy a la relacion du Maistre dostel de I escu vault		5 iiij s. iiij d.
	...		

f 41 (14 December) (Clothing)

par tassin paye a li	...		10
	Li pour iiij aunes de blanc pour Maistre Iehan le fol		xiiij s.
	...		

f 41v

	Le dit tassin ... pour la facon du blanchet double pour Maistre Iehan le fol...		15
	...		

f 42

	...		20
	Le dit tassin Pour faire faire vne robe de iiij garnemens pour Maistre Iehan le fol cest assavoir cote seurecot et hosse		iiiiij s.
	Pour estofes		ix d.
	Pour fourrer ycelle Robe		xij d. 25
	...		

f 42v (Household)

par tassin paye a li	...		30
	Le dit tassin. Pour vij aunes & demie de drap achaté par li pour faire cote hardie & mantel pour Maistre Iehan le fol. .iiij. s. laune valent		xxij s. vj d.
	Pour la tonture du dit drap		vj d.
paye a li	Le dit tassin Pour vne petite table pour maistre Iehan le fol pour iiiij chaires ij formes & xj quilles achetees du commandement du Roy		35 viiij s. vij d.
	...		

3l aueniby: *Navenby, Lincolnshire (?)*

11m l tassin: *Tassin de Bruicil, servant of the king's chamber and a tailor*

11 l i: *Thomelin, a Lincoln draper*

16 l Le dit ... fol: *full total for entry, including sets of clothing for the king, is 45s*

f 43 (18 December) (Clothing)

...
 Thomein le drapier de Lincole pour ij aunes de drap *pur*
 faire chaucses pour maistre Jehan le fol et *pur* tonture ix s. ij d.
 ... 5

(Christmas gifts for the household)

Chambre

...
 Magister xvj. escuz 10

f 43v col 2

...
 Forriere
 ... 15
 Le Roy des menestereulx x escuz/
 ...

1359/60

Accounts of the King of France BN: manuscrit français 11205 20
 f 46v (6 January) (Household)

...
 Le Roy des menestereulx sur la facon de lauloge nouuel
 que [le Roy] il fait pour le Roy du *commandement* du
 Roy iij nobles valent xx s. 25
 ...

f 47 (12 January)

...
 Le Roy des Menestereulx. sur la facon de lauloge quil fait 30
 pour le Roy xvij nobles valent c.xiiij s. iiij d.
 Et a promis *que* parmi ceste somme & xx s. *qui* parauant li ont este bailliez.
 le vj de lanuier. Il rendra lauloge tout *parfait*.
 ...

f 50v (7 February)

... 35
 Magister pour la facon dune cote hardie vn mantel I
 chaperon double & iij paires de chaucses pour Maistre
 Jehan le fol iij s. vj d. 40
 ...

10/ Magister: *servant to Master Jehan the fool*

f 53 (13 February)

	...	
paye a li	Iaques de la sausserie, pour I coc achete du <i>commandement</i> de monseigneur philippe a faire Iouster & pour ij annetes pour I malart vif quil auoit pris en riuiere	ij s. viij d. 5
	...	

f 55v (17 March)

	...	
paye a Magister	Robert (<i>blank</i>) le cordoannier de Lincole pour vns estivaux pour maistre Iehan le fol	10 iiij s. ij d.
	Perrin le pelletier pour fourrer vne cote hardie & I mantel pour Maistre Iehan le fol	xij d.
	...	

f 56 (19 March)

	...	
paye a li	Le Roy des Menestereulx pour la perfection du nouuel auloge. du <i>commandement</i> du Roy. Non contrestant la promesse que le dit Roy des menestereulx auoit faicte de parfaire ycelle auloge sanz plus demander des xx nobles quil a eu ci deuant iiij nobles. valent	20 xxvj s. viij d.
	...	

f 60 (21 April) (London)

	...	
paye a li	Le Roy des menestereulx qui du <i>commandement</i> du Roy ala a chicestre veoir certains Instrumens [que] ¹ dont le Roy [v] auoit oy parler pour ce baille a faire sa despense du <i>commandement</i> du Roy iiij nobles valent	25 xxvj s. viij d. 30
	...	

f 60v (21 March–6 April) (Travelling expenses from Somerton to London)

	...	
paye a messire Aymart	Pour le louage de v voictures vne pour la chambre du Roy vne pour la chapelle vne pour la chambre monseigneur philippe vne par maistre Iehan le fol & vne pour la pannetiere & pour la cuisine qui vinrent de Sommertonne a londres par viij lours &	35

41 monseigneur philippe: John's son Philip (1342–1404), later duke of Burgundy
 35–6ml messire Aymart: Aymart Gascoigne, royal chaplain

admenerent [le] partie du hernois du Roy qui lors
sen reuint a londres & furent loees a diuers pris
excepte la chareite pour la chambre monseigneur
philippe de laquelle lon ne compte paie que pur vij
lours pour ce que celi qui lanmena par I. Jour sen
ala sanz paiement du dit Jour pur tout 5
vij l. ix s.

...

f 61 (*Offerings*)

...

Maistre Iehan le fol pour offerande le grant venredy a
la croiz 10
iiij d.

(*Household*)

Le Roy des menesterelx pour vne commission du Roy
dangleterre pour prendre charreites a amener le hernois du
Roy/ que denys & messire Gautier faisoient venir darriere 15
iiij s. iiij d.

...

f 67v (*15 May*) (*London*) 20

paye a messire
aymert

Le Roy des menestereulx pour vne harpe achetee du
commandement du Roy. ij nobles valent 20
xiiij s. iiij d.

...

25

f 68 (*20 May*) (*Gifts*)

...

paye a li

Le Roy des menesterelx pur don a li fait par le Roy pour
querir ses neccessitez. I. noble vault 30
vj s. viij d.

f 68v (*Household*)

...

Magister varlet Maistre Iehan le fol pour vj paire de solers
pour le dit Maistre Iehan 35
iiij s. iiij d.

Et pour I. braier & lasnieres pour le dit maistre Iehan
xij d. le tout 35
iiij s. iiij d.

Li pour xj aunes & I. quartier de toile pour faire vj
paires de robes linges pour le dit Maistre Iehan xiiij d.
launne valent 35
xiiij s. j d. ob.

Li pour la facon des dictes robes linges 40
ij s.

...

f 69 (*Clothing*)

...

Li pour vij aunes dun royé & v aunes dun plain a faire
robe pour Maistre Iehan le fol ij s. vij d. laune valent xxvij s. vij d.

...

5

f 71v (*2 June*) (*Gifts*)

...

paye a tassin

La garde des lions du Roy dangleterre pour don a li fait
par le Roy qui ala veoir les diz lions iij nobles valent xx s. 10

...

f 74v (*10 June*) (*Gifts*)

paye a li

Le Roy des menesterelx pour don a li fait pour querir
aucune de ses neccessitez. 15
vij s. viij d.

...

f 76 (*12 June*) (*Clothing*)

Iames andrieu bourgeois & marchand de draps a londres pour plusieurs draps
achetez de li pour faire la liuree du Roy 20

...

Pour vij aunes dautre drap pour Maistre Iehan le fol xxij [d.] s.

...

25

f 76v

paye a Iehan de
dainuille

Guillaume le cousturier pour la facon de ij robes
[de] pur maistre Iehan le fol a la relacion Iehan
de dainuille 30
x s.

...

(Midsummer gifts for the household)

Chambre 35

...

Magister x escuz

3/ Li: James Dudri, a London draper

29-30m/ Iehan de dainuille: one of the masters of the king's household

f 77 col 2

...

forriere

...

le Roy des menesterelx x escuz

5

...

f 79 (20 June) (Clothing)

...

paye a tassin

Perrin le pelletier pour fourrer I. seurcot chaperon &
mantel pur maistre Iehan le fol

10

ij s.

(Household)

paye a li

Girardin varlet Maistre Iehan le fol qui la mene de londres
a Calais par yaue et dilec a boulongne du commandement
du Roy [ij nobles] pour ses neccessitez durant le voyage ij
nobles valent

15

xij s. iiij d.

f 82 (24 June) (Gifts)

...

20

Neant quar il
nen eurent riens
[page a l. le page
pur porter a
monseigneur de
lagny qui les
leur doit baille][Les Menesterelx du Roy dangleterre du prince de Gales
& du duc de lenclastre qui firent mestier deuant le Roy
le Iour de la Saint Iehan pur don fait a eulx par le Roy
a la relacion de monseigneur de lagny xl nobles. valent

xij l. vj s. viij d.]

...

25

f 83v (26 June)

Vn menesterel qui Ioua dun chien et dun singe deuant
le Roy qui aloit aus champs ce Iour. I escu vault

ijj s. iiij d. 30

...

f 86v (29 June) (Clothing)

...

Pour Maistre Iehan le fol v forreures de bougie ij s. vj d.
piece valent

35

xvij s. vj d.

...

Pour Maistre Iehan le fol ij chaperons de bougie ij s. piece

vj s.

f 93 (7 July) (Gifts) (Between London and Calais)

...

40

Vn home de douure appelle le Rampeur qui rampa

deuant le Roy contremont la roche deuant lermitage
de douure pour don fait a li par le Roy .v. nobles valent

xxxiiij s. iiij d.

f 94v (8 July) (Clothing) (Calais)

...
Nicolas houure pour le drap de la robe de la livree du
Roy baillee a anthoinne la trompete

xxvij s.

APPENDIX 2

The Great Wardrobe Account of Sir John Fortescue

This document is a royal record, a duplicate of the Great Wardrobe account of Sir John Fortescue (1533–23 December 1607), who was keeper of the Great Wardrobe from 22 July 1559 until his death and chancellor of the Exchequer from 1589 to 1603. The account is accompanied by Fortescue's accounts for the funeral of Elizabeth I (LA: BNLW 4/4/2) and for the coronation of James I and Queen Anne of Denmark (LA: BNLW 4/4/3), in which Fortescue is identified as privy councillor. All three are described as duplicate accounts. The account runs from Michaelmas 1593 to Michaelmas 1594. Four accounts in The National Archives also cover Great Wardrobe expenditures for this period, TNA: PRO AO 3/1112, TNA: PRO E 351/3068, TNA: PRO LC 9/84, and TNA: PRO LC 9/85. Differences in wording and layout demonstrate that the account in the Brownlow papers is not an exact copy of the first two, though E 351/3068 is a closer match (the same payments appear in the same account category in much the same layout but with varying degrees of detail). TNA: PRO LC 9/84 covers different dates, but TNA: PRO LC 9/85 matches the Lincolnshire document. Both LC 9/84 and LC 9/85 are calendared in Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, vol 6 (Aldershot, 1992), 60, 63, but none of the four accounts has otherwise been published.

The path by which the account came into Lincolnshire and remained there is unclear. Fortescue was knighted in 1592. His principal seat was at Salden, Buckinghamshire. How and why several of his accounts came into the possession of the Brownlows is unclear. Richard Brownlow (d. 1638) of Kirkby Underwood, Lincolnshire, 'chief Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, purchased the reversion of the manor and estate of Belton' in 1610, completing the purchase and taking possession in 1620, though he lived chiefly in Rippingale, north of Bourne (Turnor, *Grantham*, pp 99–100, 102).

The account provides valuable detail concerning musical performers sponsored by the royal household late in the reign of Elizabeth I. Its survival in a collection of Lincolnshire family papers offers possible evidence (similar to that in the Armine, Bertie, and Holles papers) of the extent to which the county's gentry were aware of the performative world – royal and otherwise – in London and other major urban venues. The account lists payments to twenty-three musicians and one theatrical entrepreneur, Edward Kirkham, who was also associated with the Revels office. The musicians include seventeen trumpeters, two flute players, two drummers, and two sackbut players. All are included in Andrew Ashbee and

David Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, 2 vols (Aldershot, 1998), where details of their lives may be found.

The twenty-three musicians in the account and their dates of court service are as follows:

Mark Anthony Bassano, 1564–99	Thomas King, 1582–99
Robert Benson, 1582–1619	George Langdale, 1577–1603
Francis Bourne, 1573–1609	Nicholas Lanier (here referred to as 'Lancer'), 1561–1612
Benedict Browne, 1573–1613	Henry Martin, 1585–1625
William Elliot, 1579–1603	John Reston, 1560–99
Thomas Fisher, 1585–1603	Thomas Reston, 1565–1602
Ralph Green, 1565–99	Arthur Scarlet, 1537–1604
Peter/Piero Guy, 1541–1606	Gavin Smith, 1576–1603
Francis Hall, 1593–1603	John Smith, 1578–1623
Thomas Jackson, 1588–97	Nicholas Watts, 1587–1603
John Jukes, 1585–1620	John Winckes, 1553–1598
Thomas Kellway, 1593–7	

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, BNLW 4/4/1; 1593–4; Latin; parchment; 6 membranes attached at top + attached short parchment piece as cover; mb 1: 670mm x 460mm, mb 2: 780mm x 460mm, mb 3: 715mm x 460mm, mb 4: 750mm x 460mm, mb 5: 725mm x 460mm, mb 6: 865mm x 460mm, cover strip 235mm x 460mm; writing on dorso starts at foot, excellent condition.

1593–4

Great Wardrobe Account of Sir John Fortescue LA: BNLW 4/4/1
mb 3 (*Payments made on dormant warrants*)

...Et in Denarijs per predictum Computantem infra dictum tempus huius 5
 Computi virtute alterius warranti dormientis dati apud westmonasterium
 xviii^{uo} die Aprilis Anno Regni eiusdem Domine Regine primo solutis Piero
 Guye vni de lez flutes Domine Regine pro liberatura sua eidem annuatim
 ad festum sancti Andree Appostoli durante beneplacito ipsius Domine Regine
 deliberanda prout tam per warrantum predictum remanens in бага de 10
 particulis Computi huius Officij de Anno viii^{uo} Regine predicte quam per
 librum ipsius Computantis super hunc Computum visum et examinatum
 patet attingendo in toto de noua Empeccione xvj li. ij s. vj d. Et in Denarijs
 per dictum Computantem infra predictum tempus huius Computi virtute
 alterius warranti Dati apud Manerium de Grenewich xxx^{mo} Die Aprilis Anno 15
 viii^{uo} eiusdem Domine Regine solutis Nicholao Lancer vni de lez flutes
 Domine Regine pro liberatura sua eidem eidem annuatim ad festum sancti
 Andree Appostoli durante beneplacito ipsius Domine Regine deliberanda prout

tam per warrantum predictum remanens in бага de particulis Computi huius
Officij de Anno viij^{uo} Regine predicte quam per librum ipsius Computantis
super hunc Computum visum et examinatum patet attingendo in toto de
noua Emptione xvj li. ij s. vj d. Et in consimilibus Denarijs per prefatum
Computantem infra tempus huius Computi vigore alterius warranti Dati apud 5
westmonasterium vltimo die Octobris Anno vij^{mo} Regine predicte solutis
Marco Anthonio Bassanie vni de lez Sagbuttes Regine predicte pro liberatura
sua eidem annuatim ad festum sancti Andree Appostoli durante beneplacito
ipsius Domine Regine deliberanda prout tam per warrantum predictum in бага
de particulis Computi huius Officij de anno viij^{uo} Regine predicte remanens 10
quam per librum ipsius Computantis super hunc Computum visum et
examinatum patet in toto de noua Emptione xvj li. ij s. vj d. Et in consimilibus
Denarijs per dictum Computantem infra predictum tempus huius Computi
vigore alterius warranti dormientis dati apud westmonasterium x^{mo} die
Novembris Anno vij^{mo} Regni Regine predicte solutis Radulpho Grene vni de 15
lez Sagbuttes Domine Regine pro liberatura sua eidem annuatim ad festum
sancti Andree Appostoli durante beneplacito ipsius Domine Regine deliberanda
prout tam per warrantum predictum in бага de particulis Computi huius
Officij de Anno viij^{uo} Regine predicte remanens quam per librum ipsius
Computantis super hunc Computum visum et examinatum patet in toto de 20
noua Emptione xvj li. ij s. vj d. Et in Denarijs per prefatum Computantem
infra tempus huius Computi vigore alterius warranti Dati apud Manerium
de Grenewich xxij^o die Maij Anno xvij^{uo} Regine predicte solutis Gawino
Smythe Drumplayer siue Timpaniste Domine Regine pro liberatura sua eidem
annuatim ad festum sancti Andree Appostoli durante beneplacito ipsius Domine 25
Regine deliberanda prout tam per warrantum predictum in бага de particulis
Computi huius Officij de Anno xvij^{uo} Regine predicte remanens quam per
librum ipsius Computantis super hunc Computum visum et examinatum patet
atingendo in toto de noua Emptione xvj li. ij s. vj d. Et in consimilibus
Denarijs per dictum Computantem infra predictum tempus huius Computi 30
vigore alterius warranti dormientis dati apud Manerium de Richmound
vj^{to} die Aprilis Anno xxiiij^{to} Regni Regine predicte solutis Thome Kinge
Drumplayer siue Timpaniste Domine Regine pro liberatura sua eidem annuatim
ad festum sancti Andree Appostoli durante beneplacito ipsius Domine Regine
deliberanda prout tam per warrantum predictum in бага de particulis Computi 35
huius Officij de Anno xxv^{to} Regine remanens quam per librum ipsius
Computantis super hunc Computum visum et examinatum patet attingendo
in toto de noua Emptione xvj li. ij s. vj d....

mb 3d

40

Et in consimilibus Denarijs per dictum Computantem infra predictum
 tempus huius Computi virtute alterius warranti Dormientis Dati apud

Manerium de Grenewich viij^{uo} die Maij Anno iij^{cio} Regni Regine *predicte*
solutis tribus Tubicinarijs viz. Arthuro Skarlett Iohanni Wynkes et Iohanni
 Reston pro liberaturis *suis* eisdem *annuatim* ad *festum* Pentecostes Durante
 beneplacito ipsius *Domine* Regine deliberandis cuilibet eorum iuxta ratam
 iij li. ij s. prout tam per *warrantum* *predictum* in бага de *particulis* *Computi* 5
 huius *Officij* de Anno *supradicto* *domine* Regine remanens quam per *librum*
 ipsius *Computantis* super hunc *Computum* *ostensum* et *examinatum* *patet*
 in toto de noua *Empcione* xij li. vj s. Et in *Denarijs* *consimilibus* per *dictum*
Computantem *infra* *predictum* tempus huius *Computi* vigore alterius *warranti*
dormientis *dati* apud *Castrum* de *Windsore* primo Die *Septembris* Anno 10
 vij^{mo} Regni Regine *predicte* *solutis* Thome Reston vni alii *Tubicinario* pro
 liberatura *sua* eisdem *annuatim* ad *festum* Pentecostes durante beneplacito
Domine Regine deliberanda prout tam per *warrantum* *predictum* in бага de
particulis *Computi* huius *Officij* de Anno viij^{uo} Regine *predicte* remanens
 quam per *librum* ipsius *Computantis* super hunc *Computum* *visum* et 15
examinatum *patet* attingendo in toto de noua *Empcione* iij li. ij s. Et in
Denarijs per eundem *Computantem* *infra* *dictum* tempus huius *Computi* per
warrantum *datum* apud *Honorem* de *Hampton* *Courte* primo die *ffebuarij*
 Anno xvj^{to} Regni Regine *predicte* *solutis* *ffrancisco* Boorne et *Benedicto*
Browne duobus alijs *Tubicinarijs* pro liberaturis *suis* eisdem *annuatim* ad 20
festum Pentecostes durante beneplacito *Domine* Regine deliberandis prout
 tam per *warrantum* *predictum* in бага de *particulis* *Computi* huius *Officij*
 de Anno xvj^{to} Regni Regine *predicte* remanens quam per *librum* ipsius
Computantis de hoc Anno super hunc *Computum* *visum* et *examinatum*
patet attingendo in toto de noua *Empcione* viij li. iij s. Et in *consimilibus* 25
Denarijs per *dictum* *Computantem* *infra* tempus huius *Computi* per aliud
warrantum *datum* apud *Honorem* de *Hampton* *Courte* xxvij^{uo} Die *lanuarij*
 Anno xix^{no} Regni Regine *predicte* *solutis* *Georgio* *Langdale* *Tubicinario*
Domine Regine pro liberatura *sua* eisdem *annuatim* ad *festum* Pentecostes
 durante beneplacito *Domine* Regine deliberanda prout tam per *warrantum* 30
predictum in бага de *particulis* *Computi* huius *Officij* de Anno xxij^{do} Regine
predicte remanens quam per *librum* ipsius *Computantis* super hunc *Computum*
visum et *examinatum* *patet* attingendo in toto de noua *Empcione* iij li.
 ij s.¹ Et in *consimilibus* *Denarijs* per *dictum* *Computantem* *infra* *predictum*
 tempus huius *Computi* vigore alterius *warranti* *Dati* apud *Pallacium* de 35
Westmonasterio xxix^{no} Die *Martij* Anno xxj^{mo} Regni Regine *predicte* *solutis*
 duobus alijs *Tubicinarijs* viz. *Iohanni* *Smythe* et *Willelmo* *Ellyott* pro liberaturis
suis eisdem *annuatim* ad *festum* Pentecostes durante beneplacito ipsius *Domine*
 Regine deliberandis vtrique eorum iuxta ratam iij li. ij s. per *annum* attingendo
 invicem in toto prout tam per *warrantum* *predictum* remanens in *Sacculo* cum 40
warrantis a festo *Michaelis* Anno xxj^{mo} vsque ad *festum* *Michaelis* Anno
 xxij^{do} Regine *predicte* quam per *librum* ipsius *Computantis* de hoc anno

super hunc Computum visum et examinatum patet de noua Empcione viij li. 5
 iiij s. Et in Denarijs per dictum Computantem infra predictum tempus huius
 Computi per aliud warrantum dormiens datum apud Manerium de Richemond
 secundo Die Novembris Anno xxvij^{mo} Regni Regine predictae solutis Henrico
 Marten Iohanni Iuckes et Thome ffisher tribus alijs Tubicinarijs eiusdem
 Domine Regine pro liberaturis suis eisdem annuatim ad festum Pentecostes
 durante beneplacito ipsius Domine Regine deliberandis iuxta ratam iiij li. ij s.
 cuilibet eorum prout tam per warrantum predictum remanens in бага de
 particulis Computi huius Officij de Anno xxvij^{uo} Regni Regine predictae quam
 per librum ipsius Computantis de hoc anno super hunc Computum visum et
 examinatum patet in toto de noua Empcione xij li. vj s. Et in consimilibus
 Denarijs per eundem Computantem infra tempus huius Computi vigore
 warranti Dormientis Dati apud manerium de Grenewich xvij^{uo} Die Maij
 Anno xxvij^{uo} Regine predictae solutis Thome Iackson alteri Tubicinario
 eiusdem Domine Regine tam pro liberatura sua eidem annuatim ad festum
 Pentecostes durante beneplacito Domine Regine deliberanda quam pro vexillo
 suo eidem hoc Anno 1594 ad dictum festum Pentecostes debito prout ad idem
 festum quod erit in anno 1598 et ita deinceps quolibet quarto Anno cum
 fuerit debitum prestandum erit durante vt ante beneplacito dicte Domine
 Regine viz. in liberatura sua hoc Anno pro tribus virgis panni rubri in tunicam
 ad x s. per virgam xxx s. pro duabus virgis velueti nigri in garduram ad xvij s.
 per virgam xxxvj s. pro viij^{to} virgis Cotton in linuram precium cuiusque virge
 xij d. viij s. pro Acupictura dicte tunice iiij s. et pro factura eiusdem iiij s. in
 toto pro liberatura sua predicta iiij li. ij s. Et in vexillo eiusdem hoc Anno
 debito viz. pro vna virga dimidio Damaske purpurei in partem vexilli predicti
 ad xij s. iiij d. per virgam xx s. pro vna virga dimidio Damaske Crymsin in
 eiusdem supplementum ad xij s. iiij d. xx s. pro picturacione et Deauracione
 eiusdem vexilli iiij li. pro iiij^{or} vncijs ffrendge rubri ad ij s. per vnciam viij s.
 pro vj vncijs auri veneti in partem trium laqueorum pro dicto vexillo ad
 viij s. per vnciam xlviij s. pro iiij^{or} vncijs serici eadem de causa ad ij s. per
 vnciam viij s. pro ix fibulis de auro veneto in dictos laqueos viz. cuique laqueo
 iij fibule ad iij s. iiij d. pro quaque fibula xxx s. pro iiij^{or} vncijs dimidio auri
 veneti in Reticula et Lemniscos vulgo vocatos Caules et tasselles ad viij s. per
 vnciam xxxvj s. et pro iiij^{or} vncijs dimidio serici rubri eadem de Causa precium
 cuiusque vncie ij s. ix s. attingendo inter se in toto pro dicto vexillo xij li. 19 s.
 Et in toto pro liberatura et vexillo predictis prout tam per warrantum predictum
 in бага de particulis Computi huius Officij de Anno xxxj^{mo} Regine predictae
 quam per librum ipsius Computantis super hunc Computum visum et
 examinatum patet attingendo in toto de noua Empcione xvij li. xij d. Et in
 Denarijs per dictum Computantem infra predictum tempus huius Computi
 40

vigore *Warranti Dormientis* dati apud *Manerium* de *Grenewich* xviii^{uo} Die
 Augusti Anno xxx^{mo} Regni Regine *predicte* solutis *Nicholao* wattes alteri
Tubicinario Domine Regine pro liberatura *sua* eidem *annuatim* ad *festum*
Pentecostes durante beneplacito *Dicte Domine Regine* deliberanda prout tam
 per *warrantum predictum* remanens in *Sacculo* cum *warrantis* a festo *Michaelis* 5
 Anno xxxj^{mo} vsque ad idem *festum Michaelis* Anno xxxij^{do} Regni Regine
predicte quam per *librum ipsius Computantis* super hunc *Computum visum*
 et *examinatum patet* attingendo in toto de noua *Empcione* iiii li. ij s. Et in
Denarijs per *dictum Computantem* infra tempus huius *Computi* vertute
warranti dormientis Dati apud *Manerium* de *Grenewich* iiii^{to} Die Augustij 10
 Anno xxiii^{to} Regni Regine *predicte* solutis *Roberto Benson* alteri *Tubicinario*
Domine Regine pro liberatura *sua* eidem *annuatim* ad *festum* *Pentecostes*
 durante beneplacito *Domine Regine* deliberanda prout tam per *Warrantum*
predictum in бага de *particulis Computi* huius *Officij* de Anno xxv^{to} Regni
 Regine *predicte* quam per *librum ipsius Computantis* de hoc Anno super hunc 15
Computum visum et *examinatum patet* attingendo in toto de noua *Empcione*
 iiii li. ij s. Et in *Denarijs* per eundem *Computantem* infra tempus huius
Computi virtute *warranti dormientis* Dati apud *Castrum* de *wyndstore* v^{to}
Septembris Anno Regni eiusdem *Domine Regine* xxxv^{to} solutis *Thome*
Kellawaye et *ffrancisco Hall* *Tubicinarijs Domine Regine* pro liberaturis *suis* 20
 eisdem *annuatim* ad *festum Pentecostes* durante beneplacito *Domine Regine*
 deliberandis iuxta *ratam* iiii li. ij s. vtrique eorum prout tam per *warrantum*
predictum remanens in *Sacculo* cum *warrantis* huius *Officij* a festo *Michaelis*
 Anno xxxiiii^{to} vsque ad idem *festum Michaelis* Anno xxxv^{to} Regni Regine
predicte quam per *librum ipsius Computantis* super hunc *Computum visum* 25
 et *examinatum patet* de noua *Empcione* viij li. iiii s.... Et in *Denarijs* per
dictum Computantem infra *predictum* tempus huius *Computi* virtute
consimilium litterarum patencium datarum xviii^{uo} die *Aprilis* Anno xxviii^{uo}
 Regni Regine *predicte* solutis *Edwardo Kirkeham* valletto et *Custodi omnium*
 et *singulorum* *lez Masques* et *disguysinges Domine Regine* pro liberatura *sua* 30
 eidem *annuatim* ad *festum omnium Sanctorum* durante *vita sua* deliberanda
 prout per easdem *litteras patentes* penes eundem *Edwardum* remanentes quam
 per *librum ipsius Computantis* super hunc *Computum visum* et *examinatum*
patet in toto de noua *Empcione* xxvj s. viij d....

APPENDIX 3

Musicians Named in Other Records

There are additional references to named musicians in Lincolnshire in parish registers and other records not typically included in REED collections. This list supplements the names of the many musicians included in the performance records of volume 1, who are also indexed by name and profession in the Index. For comprehensive lists of musicians, certain and probable, including more post-1642 references, please consult Stokes, 'Waits of Lincolnshire,' pp 75–111, as well as 'Musicians and Performance in Lincolnshire,' *The Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* 24 (2002), 121–51.

Bradley, John (piper, Louth)

Son d. 1584; daughter d. 1585; son d. 1591; wife d. 1592: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, pp 283, 286, 290, 313, 318, 339

Bradley, Thomas (musician, Horncastle)

Daughter baptized 1608; son d. 1610; son Thomas baptized 1613; son or father Thomas d. 1613: LA: HORNCASTLE PAR/1/1, pp 80, 87, 95

Centrell, Christopher (minstrel, Grantham (?))

Mentioned in a post-mortem account of the estate of Thomas Russell of Grantham, 1599: LA: Ad. Ac. 5/346–55, f 351

Cheales, John (musician, Louth)

d. 1614: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, p 387

Clarke, John (musician/wait, Louth)

d. 1622; daughter d. 1604; daughter d. 1606: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, pp 363, 367, 409

Clator, Gregory (piper, Louth)

d. 1578: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, p 272

Colling, Gamaliel (musician, Horncastle)

Son baptized 1601; daughter baptized 1602; son baptized 1608; son baptized and buried 1610: LA: HORNCASTLE PAR/1/1, pp 58, 61, 79, 87

Grescroft, John (minstrel, Louth)

d. 1572: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, p 261

Harpour, Robert le (harper, Lincoln)

Received payment for quitclaim of rent for tenements in cathedral close with gratuity (?) and arrearages, 1324–5: LA: Bj/2/5, f 77v

Knowles, Leonard (minstrel, Louth)

Wife and son d. 1570: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, p 287

Lockington, John (piper, Cadney)

d. 1594: LA: LCC WILLS 1594ii, f 3; LA: LCC INV 85/203

Mackender, Thomas (musician, Mareham le Fen)

Musician/labourer formerly of Mareham le Fen, 1634: LA: LQS A/6/184, items 184–5, 191

Mitchell, George (musician, Horncastle)

Son baptized 1604: LA: HORNCASTLE PAR/1/1, p 67

Mitchell, Robert (musician, Stamford)

Admitted 1647: STH: 2A/1/1, f 423

Newton, William (musician, Toft next Newton)

d. 18 March 1624/5: LA: LCC INV 128/396, LCC WILLS 1624, f 63

Pell, ... (piper, Fulstow)

Cited for being drunk on the Sabbath, 1609: LA: Diocesan Vij/12, f 237v

Pell, Richard (piper, Louth)

d. 1592: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, p 321

Plaister, Thomas (fiddler, Gainsborough)

Son d. 1648: LA: GAINSBOROUGH PAR/1/1/2

Ralf (musician, Benington)

d. 1588: LA: BENINGTON IN HOLLAND PAR/7/1, single sheet

Shiels, Richard (musician, Louth)

d. 1608: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, p 373

Skipwith, Patrick (minstrel, Louth)

d. 1575: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, p 265

Tennye, Nicholas (musician, Louth)

d. 1607; daughter d. 1601: LA: LOUTH PAR/1/2, pp 348, 371

Woods, Thomas (musician, Spalding)

Two sons, daughter, wife all d. 1590–2: LA: SPALDING PAR/1/1, ff [53v, 54v, 55v, 64v]

APPENDIX 4

The Stamford Bull-Running

Every local history of Stamford discusses an ancient local custom called the Stamford bull-running, held annually six weeks before Christmas. All those descriptions derive from Richard Butcher's *Survey and Antiquitie of the Towne of Stamford* (1646) or from Francis Peck's *History of the Stamford Bull-Runnings* (c 1723), or his *Antiquarian Annals of Stamford* (1727), which reprints Butcher's *Survey*. Though Butcher's work was published in 1646, he claims that the bull-running dates from the late twelfth century, and most subsequent authors repeat his claim. The description by Francis Peck dates from the early eighteenth century. He is quoting the words of his grandmother, whose chain of reported remembrances pushes her recollection back well into the early sixteenth century, if not before. For a biographical sketch of the Stamford antiquarian Francis Peck (1692–1743), including a survey of his many historical works about Stamford and other parts of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Rutland, see John Drakard, *The History of Stamford* (Stamford, 1822), 470–6.

The bull-running continued until 1837, when opponents brought suit at the Lincoln assizes against organizers and supporters of the running who, they claimed, had attacked them and instigated a riot in defence of that year's running. A printed summary of statements by witnesses in the case of 1837 gives unique details about the tradition (*Stamford Bull-Running. Report of a Criminal Prosecution. (Rex v. Richardson and Others.) Trial at Lincoln Summer Assizes, July 18, 1837. Offered to the Public By one – not an advocate for cruelty to animals – but who detests hypocrisy, cant, and exclusive persecutions* (Stamford, 1837)). The event was held every year in November, on which day 'the streets were blockaded up with waggons and carts' so no one could get through, and then a large crowd of people – men, women, and children – would spend much of the day pursuing and tormenting the bull through the streets, with great risk of personal injury (p 2). Two days before the running in 1837, on 12 November, fifty to sixty men calling themselves 'bullards' gathered at an inn, 'The Carpenter's Arms in St Leonard's Street, where they each contributed a sum to defray costs for the bull and drank from the horn of the bull that had been hunted the previous year, while offering toasts of 'success to the bull.' On the morning of the running, about 10 AM, men and boys prepared the blockade; at 10:45 AM a church bell called the 'bull bell' began to toll, then the bull was released and people began taunting it. Two men, it was reported, used 'the effigy of a man, stuffed

and red,' to enrage the bull (pp 4–5). Others in the crowd had painted their faces (p 7). Through the course of the day the bull became increasingly bloodied and exhausted, and people in the crowd taunted or grabbed at it or led it through the streets. At one point they unleashed bull-dogs onto it. At another point the bull was in a pond and men were throwing stones at it. Eventually it was killed (pp 6–8). On the evening of that day some of the participants held a 'bull dinner' at the public house The Boat (p 9). After 1837, and the legal case that the ancient 'game' had generated, the bull-running ceased in Stamford.

Concerning the bullards, dressed 'more nastily than so many Witches on a Plow Monday' and making speeches, Christina Hole writes that in Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire young men (variously called 'Bullocks' and other names in other parts of England), who ritualistically dragged a decorated plough on Plough Monday, were called 'Plough Witches' and 'wore fanciful costumes' (*British Folk Customs* (London, 1976), 157–8). John Wasson notes the payment for gloves for a witch in Bungay who, he argues, was 'connected with the festivities of Plough Monday' (David Galloway and John Wasson (eds), *Collections xi* (Oxford, 1980/1), 146). The antics and dress of the bullards in Stamford and the ritual qualities of the bull-running there resonate curiously with some of the Plough Monday practices recorded in those two counties and elsewhere in the east of England from Suffolk to Lincolnshire.

Peck's narrative claims that other, private, bull-runnings also occurred in the town. The returns of 1389 for St Martin's guild of St Martin's parish say that the statutes of the guild required members of the guild to kill and sell a bull each year on the feast of their patron saint, the proceeds going to the guild (see Records, p 316). Whether that particular parish included a bull-running in its custom is unclear from the guild certificate. See the Introduction (pp 456–7) for discussion of animal 'sports' in Lincolnshire. For further analysis of the bull-running in Stamford, see Martin W. Walsh, 'November Bull-Running in Stamford, Lincolnshire,' *Journal of Popular Culture* 30 (1996), 233–47.

Richard Butcher, *The Survey and Antiquitie of the Towne of Stamford*

THE | Survey and Antiquitie | OF THE TOWNE | OF | STAMFORD | In the County of | LINCOLNE. | With its ancient Foundation, Grants, Priviledges, | and severall Donations thereunto belonging. | Also a List of the ALDERMENS names, and the | time when they were chosen. | With the Names of 10 Lord Majors (of the Hon: City | of London) borne in the foresaid County of Lincoln. | Written | By RICHARD BUTCHER Gent. | Sometimes *Towne-Clarke* of the same | Towne. | [rule] | *Caput & membra sunt una persona.* | Thom. Aquinas. | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by THO: FORCET, dwelling in *Old-Fishstreet* | in *Heydon-Court.* 1646. Wing: B6261.

Francis Peck, *The History of the Stamford Bull-Runnings*

THE | HISTORY | OF THE | Stamford BULL-Runnings: | CONTAINING | *The ORIGINAL. and PROGRESS* | OF THAT | *Elegant Diversion.* | WHEREIN | Justice is done to the Memory of | the Founder, and the whole | Town made acquainted to | whom it is oblig'd for this un- | common Benefaction. | [rule] | *Spectatum admissi, Risum teneatis Amici?* | Hor. Ars Poet. | [rule] | STAMFORD: | Printed by *T. Baily* and *W. Thompson.* [nd, c 1723].

1646

Richard Butcher, The Survey and Antiquitie of the Towne of Stamford

Wing: B6261

pp 39–40

5

CHAP. X.

The ancient and publike sports of Stamford.

AS touching the ancient and publike Sports used at this Town they are not many; in all but two and to many by one. The one a sport favouring of Manhood and Gentry, and of a concourse of Noblemen and Gentlemen meeting together in mirth, peace, and amity, for the exercise of their swift running Horses every Thusday in March. The prize they run for is a silver and gilt Cup with a cover, to the value of seaven or eight pounds, provided by the care of the Alderman for the time being, but the Money is rayseed out of the interest of a stock formerly made up by the Nobility and Gentry which are neighbours or well-wishers to the Town.

The second sport though more ancient then the former yet more Beast-like then any: It is their Bull-running a sport of no pleasure except to such as take a pleasure in beastlinesse and mischief. It is performed just the day six weekes before Christmas. The Butchers of the Town at their own charge against the time: provide the wildest Bull they can get, this Bull over night is had in to some Stable or Barne belonging to the Alderman the next morning proclamation is made by the common Bell-man of the Town, round about the same, that each one shut up their shops-doores and gates, and that none upon payne of Imprisonment offer to doe any violence to Strangers, for the preventing whereof (the Town being a great thorough-fare and then being in Term-time) a Gard is appointed for the passing of Travellers through the same (without hurt.) That none have any Iron upon their Bull-clubs or other staffe which they pursue the Bull with. Which proclamation made and the Gates all shut up, the Bull is turned out of the Aldermans house, and then hivie, skivie tag and rag, Men, Women and children of all sorts and sizes, with all the Dogs in the Town promiscuously running after him with their Bull-clubs spattering dirt in each others faces, that one would think them to be so many Furies started out of Hell for the punishment of Cerberus, as when Theseus and Perillus conquered the place (as Ovid describes it.) |

A ragged troupe of Boyes and Girles
doe pellow him with stones;
With Clubs, with whips, and many nips,
they part his skin from bones.

40

9/ AS: *ornamented and enlarged initial letter*
15, 23/ Alderman: *in display script*

31/ Aldermans: *in display script*
36/ Perillus: *possible error for Pirithous (?)*

And (which is the greater shame) I have seen both *Senatores majoram gentium* & *matrone de eodem gradu*, following this Bulling busines.

I can say no more of it but only to set forth the Antiquity thereof, (as the tradition goes) William Earle Warren, the first Lord of this Town in the time of K. Iohn, standing upon his Castle walls in Stamford, viewing the faire prospect of the River and Medowes under the same, saw two Bulls fighting for one Cow, a Butcher of the Town the owner of one of these Bulls with a great mastiffe Dog accidentally comming by, set his Dog upon his owne Bull, who forced the same Bull up into the Towne, which no sooner was come within the same but all the Butchers Dogs both great and small followed in the pursuit of the Bull, which by this time made starke mad with the noise of the people and the fiercenesse of the Dogs, ran over Man, woman and child that stood in his way, this caused all the Butchers and others in the Town to rise up as it were in a tumult, making such an hideous noise that the sound therof came into the Castle into the eares of Earle Warren, who presently thereupon mounted on Horseback, rid into the Town to see the businesse, which then appearing (to his humour) very delightfull, he gave all those Medowes in which the two Bulls were at the first found fighting (which we now call the Castle Medowes) perpetually as a Common to the Butchers of the Town (after the first grasse is eaten) to keepe their Cattle in till the time of slaughter: Upon this Condition, that as upon that Day on which this sport first began, which was (as I said before) that day Sixe weekes before Christmas) the Butchers of the town should from time to time yearly for ever, find a mad Bull for the continuance of that sport.

An ominous thing to the Town, for some of the Lords of the same of his succession (though not of his Descent) have since upon their hornes of greatnesse, tossed the best of the Burgesses out of their gownes, and why? Because the Burgesses were not Foxes, otherwise they would not have suffered themselves to have been so abused by such Bulls, whose eares were longer then their hornes.

And so much for the sports of Stamford.

c 1723

Francis Peck, *The History of the Stamford Bull-Runnings* Peck: *History* pp 4–5 (*Chapter 1: The original of bull-runnings at Stamford*)

...

...I remember I heard my Grandfather say, that he heard his Father's Man

1–2/ *Senatores majoram gentium* & *matrone de eodem gradu*: 'the elders of greater nations and matrons of the same rank'

1/ *majoram*: for *majorum*

5/ Stamford: in display script

22/ Christmas): no opening parenthesis

say, that he heard his Master say, that he heard his Grandfather say, That the Stamford Bull-Runnings were first instituted in the Reign of King John.

...

William Earl Warren, Lord of this Town, (who liv'd formerly upon the Hill over against St. Peter's Church, in that very Place where Justin Philpet's Cabages now grow, and several other useful and ornamental Decorations of his Porridge Pot) William Earl Warren (I say) standing upon his Castle Walls saw two Bulls (a red one and a black one) Fighting for a Cow in the adjoining Meadow;

With Rage of Love the jealous Rivals burn,
And Push for Push, and Wound for Wound return. |

The Butchers endeavouring to part them with their Dogs, pursu'd both in to the Town; the red one bobbd them at the Corner of Trinity Church, and ran back again to solace himself with his Mistress: Whilst the poor black Bull was driven into the Town, with a great Mobb after him, who diverted themselves extreamly with his Sufferings...

...

p 6 (*Chapter 2: How Earl Warren appointed a yearly bull-running*)

ALL the while this poor Creature was tormented Earl Warren was glutting himself with the pleasing Sight of their Inhumanity; he was mounted on a Milk-white Courser and rode after the wretched Brute with a wonderful Satisfaction.

He observ'd with what Passion the poor Creature tore the Ground under him, how he foam'd, how he roar'd and bled; he saw all this with Pleasure, and to perpetuate the Diversion, and his Approbation of it, he gave all those Commons (called the Castle Meadows) where the first Bull-Duel began, to the Butchers of the Town (after the first Grass was eaten) for ever, conditionally that they should find a Mad Bull the Day Six Weeks before Christmas, for the Continuation of that Sport to Posterity. Hence came the Proverb,

As Mad as the Baiting Bull of Stamford.

pp 8–15 (*Chapter 3: Of the town bull-running*)

...

The Day Six Weeks before Christmas, old Boxesauce goes about the Town, acquainting every Body with Bell, Bellows, and Tipt-Staff, That It is the Will and Pleasure of the Worshipful Mr. Mayor that old Customs shall be kept; | and therefore every Body are required and commanded at their Peril to keep

within Doors; for old Roger Twangdillo will be let out at Ten of the Clock:
And so —

God Save the Queen.

Wherefore every Body shuts up Shop, according to Boxsauce's Direction for 5
that Purpose had and obtain'd. Immediately Watch is set to guard Travellers
through the Town, and the Bullards make their Appearance, habited Ten
Thousand Times more nastily than so many Witches on a Plow Monday. The
Streets are filled with Heroes who bandy the Dirt about their own Dublets,
and take care that every Body who appears with a clean Face shall not want 10
a dirty one; for

He that gets no Bull-Dirt, gets no Christmas Pye.

The Steeples are filled with Children, who are sent to observe the Proceedings 15
of their Seniors, in this manner they are initiated and train'd up to be compleat
Masters themselves in time, whilst the Bull spends himself with Running from
their Persecutions, and at Night is knock'd on the Head for his Pains. |

When they put the Brute to Death, they gather his Ordure and present the
Pomatum to those clean Faces that venture abroad in the Dusk of the Evening. 20

The Body is shared by the Heroes, and in old Time, he who first rode upon
the Bull's Back, had the Head and all the other Appurtenances thereunto
belonging. |

CHAP. IV.

25

The Speech of a notable Bullard about Forty Moons ago.

HE stepp'd up to a certain high Place, and spoke the following Oration with
no common Air of Assurance. 30

Potentates and Powers, at length the happy Day is once more return'd, the
Day of Joy and Gladness, the Day of Mirth and Pastime. On this Day there
is no King in Stamford; we are every one of us High and Mighty Lords of the
united Parishes in a General Bull-running.

On this Day my dear Companions, we are every one of us a Lord Paramount, 35
a Lord of Rule and Misrule, a King in Stamford, and a Heroe every where else;
We are punishable for no Crime but Murder, and that only of our own, and
no other Species;

If you will suffer me to direct your Excellencies during this short
Administration, I most humbly advise: 40

3/ God Save the Queen: *enlarged*

29/ HE: *enlarged initial letter*

1. That all Passangers be safely guarded and conducted thro' the Town and that they Pay well for it.
2. That we become Tasters of the Liquors brewed in the Publick Houses of this Town.
3. That the general Assessment be one Quart a House, greater and lesser, and that no Man Prosume to pay for it. | 5
4. Those Houses which sell Wine to compound for a Gallon of Ale, and likewise those which sell Brandy to do the same.
5. That there be a due and impartial Distribution of the said forfeited Liquors to the whole Society. 10
6. That no Man act this Day as a common Subject of any Power or Potentate whatsoever; Foreign or Domestick.
7. That there be a friendly Participation of the Flesh and Puddings of the deceased Beast, and that the Great Gut or Pudding, commonly known by the Name of Tom Hodge, be given the most Worthy Adventurer. 15
8. That a Wheel-barrow be provided for St. Andrew to ride in, and meet the Bull.
9. That He be well guarded thither; and that great Care be taken that he may not be left (as the Church was) when he is most in Danger.
10. That all those English Monsters, called Occasional Conformists, be from henceforth excluded and banished from our Society. 20
11. That no Church Walls nor Windows be either broken, or daubed.
12. That the old Bullards of the Hospitals in Stamford be excused, if they please, from paying any further Attendance.
13. That after every Body have had their share of the Bull, the remainder be presented to the Duke of M— with Thanks for his Conduct in the War; and that your Bounty be like- l wise farther extended to the M—y of S—ry, for his Care of the Church in the worst of Times. 25
14. That the Bull be immediately let out; and when he is dead, that every one depart Home without Grumbling because he has no larger Distribution than an equal Share. 30

Gentlemen,

You have heard my best Advice, all which I most humbly sumbmit to your Censure, either to receive or reject.

Now although I have detain'd you thus long from the Pleasures of the Day, nevertheless I cannot conclude without congratulating you once more upon the Return of this happy Morn wherein your Mirth wants no Addition, because you acknowledge no Power greater than your own. 35

He was answer'd with a general Applause, and immediately the whole Company broke up and divided, some to fetch St. Andrew, and others to let out the Bull, who soon clear'd the Streets of them, and ran directly towards the Barn, that he might salute the Whore of Babylon, and take his Leave of her, by jurring his Horns against her Sides. | 40

CHAP. V.

Of the private Bull-Runnings.

THEse are perform'd in one single Street, as the other was all over the Town. 5
 The Bull is let out about One a Clock, and if he ben't very brisk, St. Andrew
 is let down with a Rope about his Neck in order to divert him.

St. Andrew is a Machine compos'd by the unluckly Mobb, representing the
 Form of that Saint upon a Piece of Timber; indeed the Tailors say that it
 is Crispin, but the Shoemakers are very well satisfy'd that it is St. Andrew's 10
 n'own self.

When the Machine is compleated, the Rope-ends are handed to two
 opposite Windows, and the Saint turns Bravo to bully old Roger, who is
 resolv'd to swinge him, and let the Mobb see what he would do to them in
 the like Case; but St. Andrew, by the Help of good Neighbours, is clearly too 15
 cunning for him: He whips into the Air, whilst poor Roger is fit to break
 his Neck, because he is not able to stop his Career.

Sometimes they brod him with Needles, sometimes they pepper him,
 sometimes they shoot at him, till the poor Brute is fit l to sink under his
 Sufferings; when they perceive he is quite spent, they put him to Death, and 20
 dispose of him as aforesaid.

My Grandmother says the private Bull-Runnings begun in the Reign of
 Queen Mary, in Imitation of the Protestants who were hem'd in with Faggots
 and burnt to Death; I cannot as yet give my Reader a perfect Account of
 this Particular, because I have written to my learned Friend Bentivolio, to 25
 consult some Manuscripts about it, and also to send me his own Thoughts,
 whether there was any Thing of the like Nature observable in the Amphi-
 Theatres of the antient Greeks and Romans.

The Diversion of a Cat baited in an Oyster-Barrel, having something
 Synonymous in the Ceremony, I was inclined to make an Appendix to 30
 illustrate that Particular; but I am just sent for to attend my Grandmother's
 Funeral, and therefore must intreat my gentle Reader's Pardon.

APPENDIX 5

Tournaments in Lincolnshire

Tournaments are the oldest form of theatrically informed public spectacle to appear in the Lincolnshire records in the mid-twelfth century. Thereafter, references to tournaments occur intermittently through the early sixteenth century. Later, during the reigns of Elizabeth 1, James 1, and Charles 1, long after local tournaments had disappeared from the records, Lincolnshire gentry were taking part in tilts and jousting at Court (see, for example, the Bertie family papers, p 362).

Tournaments in Lincolnshire resonate with several historical patterns about which scholars generally agree: that tournaments in their earliest form were training for war involving bloody battles; that tournaments originally involved *mêlées* or conflicts between two charging groups (rather than between single individuals), and gradually took on the trappings of chivalric ceremonies and rituals; that knights or squires conducted the tournaments, but that the audience could include anyone; and that by the fourteenth century the tournament had evolved from actual battles into (still dangerous) contests that were entertainments containing elements of allegorical drama, staging, and ritualized enactments. There is evidence that this evolution began much earlier. Mock tournaments with 'blunted weapons and light armour' are recorded in 1216 in England. (For discussions of the historical development of tournaments, with reference to the evidence from Lincolnshire, and early mock tournaments, see Noël Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century,' *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, and R.W. Southern (eds) (Oxford, 1948), 240–68; and Juliet R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100–1400* (Woodbridge, Suff, 1986), 4–83.)

Glynne Wickham argues that the tournament, as a form, had several features similar to drama, and that its influence may be seen in several later popular forms. Among a tournament's inherent dramatic qualities are its focus on conflict; its association with festive occasions and ceremonial; its increasing personalization; its staging in countryside, street, and square; its use of mock attacks; its use (particularly in its later form) of allegory, music, and dance; its use of masks and disguise; and its use (by the middle of the fifteenth century) of scenic devices as symbols presented 'in the open air to a formally organized audience.' In Wickham's view mid-fifteenth-century tournaments 'are essentially dramatic entertainments,' which he calls a species of 'mimed heroic drama' that 'affected the imagination of all ranks of mediaeval society' as it 'transferred from battle school to festival' (Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300 to*

1660, *Vol 1 1300 to 1576*, 2nd ed (London, 1980), 14–19, 38–40, 49–50, 85, 90). Wickham notes the influence of the tournament on mummings, disguisings, and civic pageants, but one might also note its influence on the parish processions, mock musters, and battles mounted as part of inter-parish May Games, particularly well documented in the West Country (see James Stokes with Robert J. Alexander (eds), *Somerset including Bath*, vol 1, REED (Toronto, 1996), 189–200, 411–13). One can see similar evidence of the historical progression of the tournament as a form in the records of Lincolnshire.

The earliest records, from 1140 and 1141, report a likely tournament in or near Lincoln and an attempted joust that occurred as part of the siege of Lincoln Castle. In December 1140, while the royalist garrison of the castle was ‘elsewhere engaged in martial sports’ (which sounds like a tournament), a small rebel force used deception to seize control of the castle (Marjorie Chibnall (ed and trans), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol 6 (Oxford, 1978), 539). When some days later the king’s forces re-took the castle, the rebel leaders fled, raised an army, and returned forty days later, in early 1141, winning the subsequent battle for the castle and capturing the king. In that battle the king’s mounted forces prepared to join the fight in a curiously chivalric way, by trying ‘*proludium pugne facere. quod iustam uocant? quia tali periti erant arte*’ (see p 603). That is, the king’s forces appear to have assumed that they would be engaging in a chivalric battle against mounted opponents (more about capturing and ransoming than about killing the enemy), so they used a ritualized and symbolic action (a joust) as the first stage in an actual fight, which they lost to their more literal-minded opponents. The episodes appear to confirm the presence of tournaments in Lincolnshire at that date; they support the notion that early tournaments were inseparably connected with war itself, but that even at this early date, they might also have had a few proto-mimetic features (Barker, *Tournament in England*, p 8; and Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suff, 1989), 18–19). For a detailed analysis of the siege of Lincoln and its chivalric components, see John Beeler, *Warfare in England 1066–1189* (Ithaca, NY, 1966), 108–19. Beeler is quoting several chronicle sources, including *Orderici Vitalis Angligenae, Coenobii Uticensis Monachi, Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Augustus le Prevost (ed), vol 5 (Paris, 1855), 125–30; and William of Malmesbury, *The Historia Novella*, K.R. Potter (ed) (London, 1955), 48–9.

The next references to tournaments in Lincolnshire concern Stamford in 1194 and 1215 (though there is dispute as to whether the Stamford mentioned in the record of 1194 is in Lincolnshire or in Suffolk). On 22 August 1194, Richard I ordered a writ approving the holding of tournaments for the first time since the reign of King Stephen, in five locations, one of them being between ‘Stanforde & Warineford.’ Denholm-Young flatly declares that the Stamford of the 1194 writ was the one in Suffolk (‘Tournament in the Thirteenth Century,’ p 244). Barker is uncertain (*Tournament in England*, p 11). While scholars disagree as to whether the royal writ of 1194 was referring to the Stamford in Lincolnshire or Suffolk, there certainly were tournaments in Lincolnshire during that decade; the pipe roll of 1198 records the payment of 100 marks in Lincolnshire by Geoffrey FitzPeter ‘de torneamentis’ though the precise location of those tournaments within the county is not given (Doris M. Stenton (ed), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King Richard the First, Michaelmas 1198* (Pipe

Roll 44), ns, vol 9 (London, 1932), 64). In 1215 barons who were at odds with King John organized a tournament at Stamford (certainly Lincolnshire), one of the chief promoters being William d'Aubigné (William de Albini) of Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire and Uffington in Rutland, some sixteen miles and two miles respectively from Stamford. For external political reasons, they changed the date of the tournament from 6 July, the Monday following the feast of Sts Peter and Paul, to 13 July and moved the tournament, for security, to the heath between Staines and Hounslow, Middlesex. Notably the victor in the tournament was to receive the award of a bear, which a certain lady would 'send thither.'

Tournaments were part of the culture of Lincolnshire and its gentry in their travels during the thirteenth century. In 1238 the 'earls of Gloucester and Lincoln led an impressive company of ten knights to a tournament at Compiègne' (Barker, *Tournament in England*, p 133, citing A. Behault de Doron, 'La Noblesse Hennuyère au Tournoi de Compiègne de 1238,' *Annales du Cercle Archeologique de Mons* 22 (1890), 87). In Stamford in 1270 earls, barons, and knights planned a tournament, which the king ordered not to be held. In Boston in 1288 marauders used the cover of a tournament to inflict mayhem, robbery, murder, and fire on the town in an incident that came to be known as the Chamberlain Riot. According to the chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, at the time of the fair two groups of squires, one disguised as monks, the other as regular canons, staged a hastilude or behourd next to St Botolph's Church in the market square. They then set fires in three or four places destroying much of the market area, robbed and killed merchants, and carried their booty through the streets and across the bridge to ships lying ready in the quay, where they made their escape. The leader was eventually captured and executed but never revealed the names of his co-conspirators.

As described in the chronicle the tournament at the core of this event has many features common to thirteenth-century tournaments. It was still essentially indistinguishable from battle; it employed the *mêlée* or group charge, rather than individual jousting; it involved only squires (not knights), as was typical of behourds; and it could be used as a diversion to hide political or other dangerous activities. But as a form it had already begun to evolve into an entertainment that could be integrated into civic festivals and fairs with an audience of the general public. The records express no surprise that the fair in this important Lincolnshire town would include a tourney, with participants dressed as characters, only that it would include the sacking of the town. (See Lambert and Walker, *Boston, Tattershall & Croyland*, p 36; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp 148–65; Barker, *Tournament*, pp 19–22, 43, 51–3 (the *mêlée* as a form), 148–9 (behourds), 71–2 (behourds and fairs).)

Apparently tournaments were already a normal part of the landscape of secular entertainments in late thirteenth-century Lincolnshire. Local historian Edward Trollope says that both 'the Templars and the Hospitallers were accustomed to hold Tournaments at Temple Bruer, until this practice was forbidden by a writ of Edward II. in consequence of the disturbances that had been occasioned by them' (Trollope, *Sleaford*, pp 314–16). Trollope does not identify his source for the tournaments in Temple Bruer, six miles north of Sleaford near the road to Lincoln, but he is probably referring to the king's writ of 1312 which banned all tournaments to prevent rebellious gatherings by disaffected earls (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls ... Edward II. A.D. 1307–1313*, vol 1 (London, 1894), 520–1). Temple Bruer had become a major

preceptory of the Knights Templars during the reign of Henry II, and a commandery of the Knights Hospitallers from 1324 to 1535; it would have been reasonable for both groups of knights to sponsor tournaments. Henry VIII awarded the estate to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in 1541. That same year, on 9 August, he visited Temple Bruer with his queen, Katherine Howard. (See Arthur Mee, *Lincolnshire: A County of Infinite Charm* (London, 1949), 384–6; and Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, Nicholas Antram (rev), 2nd ed (London, 1989; rpt 1998), 751–2.) No evidence of tournaments in Temple Bruer is recorded in either patent or close rolls between 1216 and 1312; the source of Trollope's claim that tournaments were held there remains unclear.

The king's orders prohibiting tourneys, joustings, and tiltings in 1306, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1318, and 1326 included Lincolnshire; in 1309 a royal injunction specifically prohibited a planned tournament in Stamford. (See *Calendar of the Close Rolls ... Edward I. Vol. V. A.D. 1302–1307* (London, 1908), 433; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls ... Edward II. A.D. 1307–1313*, vol 1 (London, 1894), 99; *Calendar of the Close Rolls ... Edward II. A.D. 1307–1313*, vol 1 (London, 1892; Kraus rpt 1971), 158, 257, 314; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls ... Edward II. Vol. III. A.D. 1317–1321* (London, 1903), 67; and *Calendar of the Close Rolls ... Edward II. A.D. 1323–1327*, vol 4 (London, 1898), 658.) In 1343/4 and 1344/5 Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby, received a royal licence to hold annual 'hastiludia siue iustas' at Lincoln (see pp 607–9). The king appointed Derby as captain for life of this annual tournament; his knights were given the right to select his successor. The appointment of Derby as captain of the tournament for life, and his knights as heirs with the right to appoint his successor, identifies the group as a jousting or tourneying society similar to those in Germany and elsewhere on the continent. According to the patents, knights were now allowed to convene at Lincoln annually for the jousts, in times of both peace and war. The patent of 1343/4 ordered that the jousts be held on the Monday following 24 June, the feast of St John Baptist; the patent of 1344/5 changed that date to Monday during Whitsun week. According to the *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker*, however, in 1348 the tournament in Lincoln occurred at Easter. Wording in the two patents implies that the king was re-establishing an ancient, interrupted custom in Lincoln, but the reason for changing dates is unclear. Lincoln held its civic shows on the feast of the Assumption, 15 August. (See Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p 31. Concerning the tournament of 1348, see *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, Edward Maunde Thompson (ed) (Oxford, 1889), 97.)

The patents do not say where the tournaments in Lincoln were staged, but in 1274 a hundred roll had described a two-acre site known as the Battleplace, a croft immediately west of the castle, which seems a likely spot for the tournament since it belonged to the earl of Derby (see p 103). The site continued to be identified in maps and surveys of Lincoln through the mid-nineteenth century, one source describing it as a common pasture called the Battleplace. As its name indicates the Battleplace had originally been used for trials by combat, but by 1274 it had become a place 'where the people of Lincoln are accustomed to sport/play, friars to preach and have other easements' ('ubi homines de lincolnia solebant ludere fratres predicare & alia aisiamenta habere'). Bishop John Buckingham's register mentions shows being held on the commons outside the city in 1393–4, but does not indicate that the commons

in question is the Battleplace (see p 109). Lincoln had a second large open-air playing space, a piece of ground known as Broadgate in the lower city, where the city staged large (nine- or ten-station) standing plays in July 1564; the records do not indicate that when the play was again staged at Whitsuntide in 1566 it was mounted in Broadgate, but that it was seems likely (see pp 187, 191). The dates of these two plays correspond roughly with the time of year, in earlier centuries, when tournaments (according to the patents) were staged, and cathedral records confirm that the city staged history, saint, and Pater Noster plays from the mid-fourteenth through the late fifteenth centuries, the decades during which tournaments were being held. Perhaps at some point in Lincoln's history, tournaments and plays occurred during the same festivals, though one cannot say precisely where. (See Sir Francis Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1965), 99 fn 3, 179, 262, 359.) For surveys identifying the Battleplace, see D.R. Mills and R.C. Wheeler (eds), *Historic Town Plans of Lincoln 1610–1920*, Lincoln Record Society 92 (Woodbridge, Suff, 2004), 26–9 (William Marrat Survey, 1817), and 38–41 (revision of Marrat, 1848).

Literature from the period also suggests that tournaments were prominent in the culture of fourteenth-century Lincolnshire. In his *Handlyng Synne*, Robert Mannyng of Bourne ascribes the dangers of all seven deadly sins to tournaments, in the process giving glimpses of the tournament world that his Lincolnshire audience would have recognized. He describes knights going in 'ryche atyr,' 'Prekyng here hors wyþ olypraunce,' and competing 'yn wrdes or yn dedes.' He affirms the conventional view of the time that 'Ofte are tournamentes made for hate,' as a way of extracting vengeance on a personal or political enemy. There are some, he avers, who love the tournament 'more þan god or messe,' and spend vast amounts upon it. And he affirms that 'Many tymes for wymmen sake/ Knyghtes tournamentes make' as the woman's vassal. He even compares 'tourneours' to 'tourmentours' in an image that cannot help but recall some morality drama. He equally condemns jousting (individual combat by knights or clerks of rank) and behourds (combat between groups of squires). In all these activities 'wymmen are partyners of here synne.' Immediately following his condemnation of tournaments – which he lumps together with miracles, behourds, and jousting as occasions of sin for a 'clerk of order' – he further condemns any clerk who loans horses, harness, or vestments for use in any of these activities. His blanket condemnation inadvertently describes a fourteenth-century local culture in which tournaments of one kind or another seem to have been as plentiful, and as popular, as plays, and to have shared many of their mimetic qualities. (See Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, Idelle Sullens (ed) (Binghamton, NY, 1983), 115–18, ll.4575–684.)

The fenlands market town of Spalding had an open-air playing place that was similar to Lincoln's Battleplace. It may originally have been the site of trials by combat because in 1397 a coram rege roll records that several men of Spalding took a felon and beheaded him there, thinking that it was legally permissible to do so. The coram rege roll refers to the site as the 'Pleyngplace,' but it was also called 'The Gore.' According to Spalding historian E.H. Gooch it was 'a triangular piece of ground' that 'extended from the priory walls to the River Westlode and westward to St. Thomas's Road,' while the 'Great Gate of the priory (at the entry to the Crescent, opposite to the Sessions House) was the centre or rallying point.' One local historian claims that it was originally used for tournaments by knights of the area, another claims that

it had been 'the Tilting-ground and place for atheletic sports, being an open lawn between the entrance to the Abbey and the river Westlode, then navigable.' (See E.H. Gooch, *A History of Spalding* (Spalding, 1940), 96–7, 128; and 'St. Mary & St. Nicolas Church, Spalding,' *The South Holland Magazine* 1 (1869), 53.) An early eighteenth-century summary by Maurice Johnson, the distinguished founder of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, says that churchwarden accounts now lost recorded an extraordinary play and tournament as being held in the Gore c 1541–6. It was, he says, 'a representacion of the battle between *Saint* Michael & the Devill & was a Tournement with Some Fire Workes & Machines' (see p 304). No other record of that tournament has yet come to light, though the date given by Johnson corresponds roughly with the visit of Henry VIII to Lincolnshire following the abortive Lincolnshire uprising.

William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*

London, British Library, Royal ms 13.D.ii; 12th c.; Latin; parchment; 174 leaves; 382mm x 265mm, written in 2 columns, each on average 268mm x 100mm; early 15th-c. pencil foliation over gatherings of 8 leaves, numbered at the end; plain initials in red, blue, and drab; later worn, brown leather binding over boards, initials on front cover: 'M.B.,' on spine in gilt lettering: 'WILLIELMUS | MALMESBURIENSIS | GESTIS REGUM | ANGLORUM. | EJUSDEM NOVELLA HISTORIA. | (<...>FREDI ARTURI | MONEMUTENSIS | HISTORIA BRITONU(<...>) | MUS. BRIT. | LIBL. REG. | 13 D.11.'

Francis Peck, *Antiquarian Annals of Stamford*

Peck's text is annotated with references to his sources, usually identified by author only, or occasionally with a short title. Most of them are identifiable, but many of the works had appeared in multiple editions by the date at which he wrote, making it impossible to verify the page references given. The earliest editions are (in the order found in the excerpts below) James Tyrrell, *The General History of England* (London, 1696; Wing: T3585); White Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities Attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and Other Adjacent Parts in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks* (Oxford, 1965; Wing: K302); Raphael Holinshed, *The Third volume of Chronicles ...* (London, 1587; *STC*: 13569) (the section dealing specifically with England); and *Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia sive Chronica*, Thomas Hearne (ed), 3 vols (Oxford, 1719). 'Baron' could not be identified.

Academia tertia Anglicana; | OR, THE | ANTIQUARIAN ANNALS | OF | STANFORD | IN | Lincoln, Rutland, and Northampton Shires. | ... | In XIV. BOOKS. | [rule] | Compiled by FRANCIS PECK, Rector of Godeby by Melton in Leicestershire. | [rule] | Ex fumo dare lucem. *Horace* | [rule] | [device] | London: Printed for the AUTHOR by JAMES BETTENHAM | in the Year M,DCC,XXVII (*ESTC*: T097520).

Patent Rolls

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 66/88; 5 November 1269–20 October 1270; Latin; parchment; 28 membranes, serially attached; 635mm x 330mm (570mm x 330mm); numbered; written on both sides; now wrapped in waxed linen.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 66/211; 26 January–25 June 1344; Latin; parchment; 48 membranes, serially attached; 670mm x 340mm; writing on dorse begins at end of roll.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 66/212; 10 June 1344–18 January 1344/5; Latin; parchment; 49 membranes, serially attached; 710mm x 330mm; writing on dorse begins at end of roll.

Hundred Roll

See p 502 for a description of TNA: PRO SC 5/LINCS/TOWER/17A.

Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough

This chronicle was written and produced in the monastery at Guisborough during the early fourteenth century (Harry Rothwell (ed), *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, Previously Edited as The Chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*, Camden Society, 3rd ser, vol 89 (London, 1957), xi). All or part of the chronicle survives in seventeen manuscripts and five transcripts, none of them apparently the exemplar (pp xii–xv). The manuscript from which this extract is taken ends with events of 1307. The supposed author of the chronicle, now commonly called ‘Walter of Guisborough,’ may have been one Walter of Hemingburgh, subprior of Guisborough, though the identity of the author is far from certain (pp xxiv–xxv). His principal source was another chronicle, the ‘*Historia Rerum Anglicarum*’ by William of Newburgh, of a religious house near Guisborough, as well as some other chronicles (p xxv). Walter of Guisborough began to write no earlier than 1270, but probably did not begin before the last decade of century. He finished by 1305 though work on the chronicle continued until 1312 (pp xxx–xxxii).

London, British Library, Lansdowne ms 239; 1130–1359; Latin; parchment; iii + 150 + ii; 210mm x 305mm (text area 155mm x 225mm), 2 columns per page; later foliation (neither contemporary nor modern), 1–150; sections begin with red-letter titles and larger, red ink capitals, with elaborations extending along left margins from the capitals; some water damage but highly readable; bound in modern cover by BL, title on spine: ‘75 | WALTER | DE | HEMINGBURGH | DE GESTIS | ANGLORUM, | ETC. | BRIT. MUS. | LANSDOWNE | 239 | c. 13.’

Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker

Geoffrey le Baker was a clerk who lived in the village of Swinbrook, Oxfordshire. The particulars of Baker’s position – whether he was a canon of Osney or a tenant of Sir Thomas de la More, of Northmoor – are now lost to history. Baker composed his work between 1341 and 1358. He died between 1358 and 1360 not having undertaken the revision that he intended (*Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, Edward Maunde Thompson (ed) (Oxford, 1889), v, viii–xi, xvi–xvii).

The volume contains sixteen documents ranging from legal exempla to poems; the *Chronicon* is on ff 99–148. For a detailed list of contents see Thompson's *Chronicon*, pp xii–xv.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. 761; c 1358; Latin; paper; 48 leaves; 305mm x 200mm (229mm x 195mm); foliated 97–145 in a 16th-c. hand. Bound with 15 other 14th-c. documents in a composite ms of 200 leaves in a wood cover with remains of original clasp, now lost, antiquarian leather spine, title in a 2nd early 16th-c. hand on base of spine: 'MS BODL 761.'

Coram Rege Roll

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, KB 27/544; 1397; Latin; parchment; 101 membranes attached at one end; average 800mm x 240mm (average 800mm x 240mm); roll divided into 4 sections: civil pleas numbered 1–72, fines 1 unnumbered membrane, pleas of the Crown numbered 1–27, attorneys 1 unnumbered membrane; writing continues on the dorse of each membrane; rough parchment cover.

1141

William of Malmesbury, Historia Novella BL: Royal MS 13.D.ii
f 118v col 1

...

De pugna comitis Gloecestre & captione regis.

5

...

... *Tantus* erat comiti ardor *finem imponere*. ut *mallet ultima experiri*? *quam regni calamitatem ulterius protendi*. Nam & rex *cum comitibus quamplurimus* & *non inerti militum copia*. bello se animose. *intermissa obsidione optulerat*. *Temptauere primo regii pro ludium pugne facere*. quod *iustam uocant*? quia 10
tali *periti erant arte*. At *ubi uiderunt* quod *consulares ut ita dictum sit non lanceis eminus set gladiis cominus rem gerent*. & *infestis uiribus uexillisque* *aciem regalem perrumperent*? *fuga sibi omnes ad unum comites consulere*. Sex enim *cum rege comites bellum inierant*. Plures barones *predicande fidei* & *fortitudinis*. qui *regem nec in hac necessitate deserendum ducerent*. capti... 15

1194

AC *Francis Peck, Antiquarian Annals of Stamford Book 6* ESTC: T097520
pp 13–14

...

XII. Next of the justs & torneaments at Stanford. ^d 'Tho' torneaments had been already forbidden by three general councils, & that the bodies of those that were killed in such unlawful rencounters, should be deprived of Christian burial; & tho' there had not been torneaments here since the reign of King

20

5/ De ... regis.: *in red*

13/ fuga: *for fuge* (?)

21/ ^d: *Peck adds footnote d Tyrrel, p. 543.*

Stephen, yet the king now order'd that there should be torneaments, that is tiltings (or feats of arms) performed in England. ^e The occasion of them was pretended to make English subjects more expert in arms, & that they might not be insulted by the French, who, in these feats, did much excell them. One more ingenuous reason was no doubt to advance the kyngs revenue. For in the chart that grants them, rates were impos'd for license of tilting. ^f The charter of the said graunte was delyvered by the king unto William earl of Salisbury, to have the keeping thereof: but Huberte Walter archbishop of Caunterbury & lorde chiefe justice, made his brother Theobald Walter collector of the money. The tenor of the charter was, ^g Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy & Aquitain, earl of Anjou. Know l ye that we have granted that there be torneaments in England in five places; between Sarum and Wilton; between Warewicke & Kenelingwrthe; between Stanforde & Warineford; between Brackelye & Mixebr; between Blie and Tykehill. So that the peace of our land be not broken; nor shall the justitiary power be diminished; nor any damage done to our forests. And an earl who will torney there, shall give us twenty marcs; & a a baron, ten marcs; & a knight who hath lands, four marcs; & a knight who hath no lands, two marcs. Moreover no stranger shall torney there. Wherefore to you we command that at the day of tourneying ye have there two clercs & two knights of your own to take the oaths of the earls & barons that they shall pay us the aforesaid mony before the torneament begins, & cause to be entred how much, & of whom, they have received. And ye shall take ten marcs for this charter to our use; whereof the earl of Sarum, & the earl of Clare, & the earl of Warenn, are pledges. Witness my self at Ville l'Evesche, the 22. of August.'...

1215

AC *Francis Peck, Antiquarian Annals of Stamford Book 7* ESTC: T097520
pp 19–20

...

XX. ^aOn the 15. of June, ^b when the king met the rebellious barons at Runnimeade, William earl Warenn [aforesaid, lord of Stanford] was one who most inclined to him, & by whose advice magna carta [& the carta de foresta] were granted.' On the other hand, ^c 'William de Albini [who built Newsted]

2l c: Peck adds footnote e Bishop Kennets parochial antiquities p. 153.

6l f: Peck adds footnote f Holinshed, Vol. 2 p. 523.

10l g: Peck adds footnote g Ex Cl. Hearnii ad Gulielmi Neubrigenis historiam præfationis, p. 49, &c.

31l a: Peck adds footnote a Holinshed p 590.

31l b: Peck adds footnote b Baron. ut supra.

32l [aforesaid ... Stanford]: square brackets in original enclose Peck's additions or comments

33l magna carta: *in italics*

33l carta de foresta: *in italics*

33l [& ... foresta]: square brackets in original enclose Peck's additions or comments

34l c: Peck adds footnote c Baron. Vol. I. p. 113. b.

34l [who ... Newsted]: square brackets in original enclose Peck's additions or comments

was one of those twenty five barons, who swore to the observation of magna carta & the carta de foresta, sealed by the king at Runnimeade in the 17. year of his reign; & who obliged themselves by oath to compel the king [to observe them] in case he should recede. ^d Moreover there were eight & thirty other that were sworn to be obedient & as it were assistant unto those twenty five peers in such things as they should appoynt.' William earl Warenn [lord of Stanford] was one of those thirty-eight; but what is somewhat remarkable 'he was sworne by his attorney,' whereas all the rest took the oath in their own persons: their names may be seen in my author^d. . . .

XXI. Matters being thus agreed between the king & his barons, all men rejoiced, & hoped there had been now an end of all their disputes: but it fell out quite otherwise. For the barons, mistrusting the king, kept the tower of London yet in their hands; whereupon, & being told by some Flemish soldiers about him, that he had nothing now left him but the name of a king (the barons having assumed all the power into their hands) the king grew very melancholy, often walking alone, & giving other signs of inward rage & discontent. At length he went to Windsor, then to Winchester, & thence to the isle of Wight; whence he sent privately to the pope to absolve him from the oath he had taken at Runnimeade, & for more foreign soldiers to come to his assistance. And indeed many of the northern barons were very provoking; some of them still plundering the country, some fortifying their castles, some building new ones, & others seising & abusing the kings officers, who went into those parts about the business of his exchequer. Mean time some of the barons^a 'thinking the danger over, appointed to meet at a torneament or tryal of feats at arms at Stanford: whereupon Robert Fitz-walter & other great men wrote to William de Albin [the third, who afterwards built Newsted, & who, it should seem, was the chief promoter of this intended appearance at Stanford; his castel of Belvoir being within sixteen, & his manor of Offington, where also he had a fair mansion, within two miles of that place] 'what great conveniency it was for them all to keep within the city of London, which was their receptacle; & what disgrace & damage it would be to them, if by their negligence it should be lost; & therefore, by common advice, they deferred the justs which were to be at Stanford on the monday after the feast of SS. Peter & Paul, to the monday after the octaves of that feast; and that they should be holden upon the heath between Staines and Hounslow. And this they did for the security of

1–2/ magna carta: *in italics*

2/ carta de foresta: *in italics*

3–4/ [to ... them]: *square brackets in original* *enclose Peck's additions or comments*

4/ ^d: *Peck adds footnote d* *Holinsbed ut supra.*

6–7/ [lord of Stanford]: *square brackets in original* *enclose Peck's additions or comments*

9/ ^d: *another reference to Peck's footnote d, see above*

24/ ^a: *Peck adds footnote a* *Tyrrel, p. 780.*

26–9/ [the ... place]: *square brackets in original* *enclose Peck's additions or comments*

themselves & the city. And therefore they sent to & required them diligently, that they should come so well provided with horse & arms to the tilting, as they might receive honor; & he that behaved himself best should have a bear which a certain lady should send thither, which it seems was the prize (tho' a very homely one) they were then to contend for. Thus they pleased themselves with these idle sports, being ignorant of the snares preparing for them.' 5

...

1270

Patent Roll TNA: PRO C 66/88

mb 6 (10 August)

10

...

De Inhibicione
torneamenti

¶ Rex dilectis & fidelibus suis. Comitibus Baronibus Militibus & quibus aliis apud Stampford Conuenturis ad torniandum ibidem ad instans festum sancti Bartholomei salutem. Mandamus vobis in fide homagio & dileccione quibus nobis tenemini & sub pena amissionis omnium terrarum & tenementorum vestrorum que in regno nostro tenetis/ districte prohibentes ne ibi uel alibi dicto die seu aliis diebus torniare iustare uel alio modo ad arma ire presumatis/ sine licencia nostra speciali. In cuius &c. Testibus ut supra. 15

¶ Et mandatum est Abbati de Burgo sancti Petri quod usque Staumford personaliter accedat ad diem predictum & eis predictas litteras nostras patentes eis inde directas porrigat & firmiter iniungat ex parte nostra ne ibi uel alibi dicto die seu aliis diebus torniare iustare seu alio modo ad arma ire presumant/ sine licencia nostra speciali. Et hoc ibidem publice proclamari faciat. In cuius &c Testibus ut supra 20 25

...

1274

Hundred Roll TNA: PRO SC 5/LINCS/TOWER/17A

See Lincoln 1274

30

1288

Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough BL: Lansdowne MS 239

f 78 cols 1-2

35

...

Nundine sanct botulfi combusti sunt dolo.

...

15/ homagio: obscured by stain on membrane

37/ Nundine ... dolo: in red

37/ combusti: for combuste

ANno domini Millesimo CC. lxxx. viij. condixerunt adinuicem quidam armigeri vt in habitu religiosorum quodam hastiludium quod burdyces dicitur. iuxta sanctum botolphum durantibus nundines celebrarent & tenerent. Ita quod vna pars in habitu canonicali. Et preconizatum fuit quod monachi teneret 5
 contra canonicos regulares. Celebrato tandem hastiludio conspirauerunt eorum quidam vt & nundinas spoliarent. Die autem quodam quasi in vesperis vt preordinauerunt appositus est ignis in tribus locis vel quatuor in paruis tentorijs & logijs. Accenso itaque igne & ascendente in altum per loca uaria axierunt qui poterant marcatores asportantes secum preciosora sua. At illi falsi religiosi qui exitus viarum. & pontem aque preocupauerunt rapientes bona eorum & plurimos trucidantes onerauerunt naues suas que ibi parate fuerant & in obscuro abierunt. Ignisque Sic accensus deuorauit maiorem partem nundinarum: & ecclesiam predicatorum etiam vorax flamma consumpsit. Huius sceleris quasi auctor extitit quidam Robertus Chamberlayn. armiger strenuissimus qui conuictus & confessus: cum ad Suspensionis mortem duceretur. ab ipsis 10
 marcatoribus eiulando veniam postulauit. Noluit cum indicare complices suos: Sed in domibus Suis quas pulcras habebat in eadem villa Sancti botolphi inuenerunt plurima & preciosora abscondita Sub terre. 15

...

1343/4

Patent Roll TNA: PRO C 66/211

mb 44 (10 February) (Issued at Westminster)

...

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. salutem Oblata nobis quorundam dilectorum & fidelium nostrorum Comitatus Lincolnie peticio continebat. vt ad solacium virorum Militarium & vsum armorum melius optinendum velimus eis graciose concedere quod singulis annis in perpetuum die Lune proximo post festum Natiuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste conuenire possit apud Lincolniam certus numerus Militum ad hoc electorum qui tunc ibidem teneant hastiludia siue iustas & quod consanguineus & fidelis noster carissimus henricus de Lancastria Comes Derby qui in actibus militaribus delectatur fiat capitaneus eorumdem Nos itaque recensitis gestis antiquorum attendentes quantum extulit nomen 25 30

1/ ANno: A is red illuminated

3/ nundines: for nundinas

3/ celebrarent: otiose contraction sign over n

4/ in habitu canonicali: for in habitu monachali veniret et altera in habitu canonicali (?)

4/ teneret: for tenerent

8/ axierunt: for exierunt (?)

9, 18/ preciosora: for preciosiora

10/ exitus: otiose abbreviation mark over x

18/ terre: for terra

& *gloriam hominum militarium vsus & amor armorum quantumque per numerositatem hominum expertorum in armis regale solium roboretur necnon confusionum pericula que pluries ex ocio prouenerunt & proinde volentes annuere graciosius petitioni predictae concessimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris quod certus numerus Militum ad hoc electorum amabiliter & pacifice conuenire possit apud Lincolniam singulis annis die Lune proximo post festum Natiuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste & tunc ibidem ciuili modo sine oppressione populi dictarum parcium vel Conuenticulis illicitis faciendis hastiludia siue iustas tam pacis quam guerre temporibus cum omnibus illuc tunc pacifice venire volentibus ad exercitacionem armorum facere & tenere & quod dictus consanguineus noster Comes Derbie ad totam vitam suam sit capitaneus eorumdem et quod post mortem eius Milites sic electi alium capitaneum idoneum eligere valeant & sic deinceps post mortem cuiuslibet capitanei imperpetuum. Nolentes quod dicti Capitaneus Milites. seu alii quicumque ex hac causa ibidem tunc venientes per nos vel heredes nostros Iusticiarios vicecomites aut alios Balliuos seu Ministros nostros quoscumque inde occasionentur impetiantur in aliquo seu grauentur. In cuius &c...*

1344/5

Patent Roll TNA: PRO C 66/212

mb 4 (18 January) (Issued at Westminster)

...

De licentia
iustas apud
Lincolniam
faciendi

¶ Rex omnibus ad quos &c salutem Sciatis quod cum nonnulli Milites de Comitatu Lincolnie nobis supplicauerint vt eis concedere velimus quod si ipsi singulis annis die Lune in septimana Pentecostes iustas facere possint apud Ciuitatem. nostram Lincolnie/ ijdemque Milites dilectum consanguineum & fidelem nostrum Henricum de Lancastria Comitem Derbie in Capitaneum suum elegerint in hac parte Nos de gracia nostra speciali & ad requisicionem ipsius consanguinei nostri concessimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris quod dictus consanguineus noster ad terminum vite sue & post mortem suam alij capitanei quos ad hoc per Milites eiusdem Comitatus qui pro tempore fuerint eligi contigerit vna cum eisdem Militibus & aliis de eorum assensu vsque ad certum terminum per dictum Capitaneum. ordinandum iustas facere possint quolibet anno. dicto die in Ciuitate predicta tam tempore guerre & defensionis armorum pacis infra regnum nostrum Anglie quam alio tempore et quod omnes Milites qui eodem die ibidem venire & iustas facere voluerint: libere eas facere possint absque impedimento vel occasione nostri vel heredum nostrorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quorumcumque imperpetuum Prouiso semper quod si contingat nos alicubi infra dictum regnum nostrum congregacionem Militum in dicto festo pretextu tabule rotunde vel iustarum aut alterius facti armorum habere: quod tunc dicte iuste de Lincolnia dictis

anno & die nullatenus fiant set *quod* Capitaneus earundem iustarum qui *pro* tempore fuerit alium diem *pro* eisdem iustis faciendis qualem sibi placuerit infra mensem post *dictum* festum *proximum* sequentem assignare poterit & tenere Nolentes *quod* huiusmodi Capitaneus & Milites qui nunc sunt vel qui *pro* tempore erunt *ratione* premissorum *per* nos vel heredes nostros aut Ministros nostros vel heredum nostrorum quoscumque occasionentur molestentur in aliquo seu grauentur In cuius etc...

...

1347–8

Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker Bodl.: ms. 761

f 126*

...

Eodem anno *post* Pascha. fuerunt apud *Lincolniam* per Comitem *Lancastrie*. *postea* ducem hastiludia solempnia celebrata, *quibus* interfuit plurima *dominarum* comitiua...

...

1397

Coram Rege Roll TNA: PRO KB 271544

mb [75]* (9 May–4 June)

Lincolnie

Iuratores diuersorum wappentakiorum Comitatus *predicti* alias scilicet termino Pasche anno *regni regis* nunc decimo nono coram domino Rege apud *Lincolniam* presentauerunt *quod* *Willelmus* Pyke *Iohannes* de *Repyng hale* *Barker* *Alexander* ffysshher de *Spaldyng* *Simon* Englissh *Willelmus* Pirre et *Willelmus* Speke de *Spaldyng* die *dominica* *proxima* post festum *sancti* *Bartholomei* apostoli anno *regni regis Ricardi secundi* *quintodecimo* apud *Spaldyng* ceperunt & arestauerunt quendam *Simonem* *Geldere* *indictatus* & *vtlagatum* de *felonia* in *Comitatu* *Lincolnie* & *ipsum* *Simonem* *Geldere* duxerunt ad quendam locum *vocatum* *Pleyingplace* in eadem villa credentes *licitum* esse in lege decapitare & interficere quemquam *vtlagatum* de *felonia* *predictus* *Willelmus* *Pyke* die anno & loco *predictis* *per* *assensum* & *abbettamentum* et *procuramentum* *predictorum* *Iohannis* *Alexandri* *Simonis* *Willelmi* & *Willelmi* *Speke* *predictum* *Simonem* *felonem* decapitauit *Per* *quod* *preceptum* fuit *vicecomiti* *quod* non omittat &c *quin* *caperet* *eos* *si* &c...

...

23–41 termino ... nono: 19 April–15 May 1396

27–8/ die dominica ... quintodecimo: 27 August 1391

29/ indictatus: for indictatum

APPENDIX 6

Saints' Days and Festivals

The following table lists the dates of all the fixed holy days and festivals referred to in the documents. All days are entered under their official names, with unofficial names used in the records included in parentheses and, if necessary for clarity, repeated in their alphabetical places in the list. Usually only the feast days themselves are listed; if the night or eve of a feast or its tide or season (likely the feast day itself with its octave) is referred to, its date may be inferred from that of the feast. The exact dates of moveable feasts are given in textual footnotes to the Records. See also C.R. Cheney (ed) and Michael Jones (rev), *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History* (Cambridge, 2000), 63–93.

All Saints (All Hallows)	1 November
Annunciation	<i>see</i> St Mary, Annunciation to
Ascension Day (Holy Thursday)	Thursday after Rogation Sunday, ie, forty days after Easter
Ash Wednesday	first day of Lent, the forty weekdays preceding Easter
Assumption	<i>see</i> St Mary, Assumption of
Candlemas	<i>see</i> St Mary, Purification of
Carling (Careing) Sunday	fifth Sunday in Lent
Childermas	<i>see</i> Holy Innocents
Christmas	25 December
Circumcision (Feast of Fools, New Years)	1 January
Corpus Christi	Thursday following Trinity Sunday, the eighth Sunday after Easter
Easter (Resurrection)	Sunday after the full moon on or next following 21 March
Easter Monday	first Monday after Easter
Epiphany (Twelfth Day)	6 January
Fastens	Shrove Tuesday, the day before Ash Wednesday
Feast of Fools	<i>see</i> Circumcision

Good Friday	Friday next before Easter
Holy Cross, Exaltation of	14 September
Holy Innocents (Childermas)	28 December
Holy Spirit	<i>see</i> Pentecost
Holy Thursday	<i>see</i> Ascension Day
Lady Day	<i>see</i> St Mary, Annunciation to <i>and</i> Assumption of
May Day	1 May
Michaelmas	<i>see</i> St Michael
Midlent Sunday	fourth Sunday in Lent
Midsummer	<i>see</i> St John the Baptist, Nativity of
New Years	<i>see</i> Circumcision
O Sapientia	16 December
Pentecost (Holy Spirit, Whit Sunday)	the Sunday fifty days after Easter
Plough Day, Plough Monday	Monday after 6 January
Resurrection	<i>see</i> Easter
Rogation Days	Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday before Ascension Day
St Andrew	30 November
St Anne	26 July
St Bartholomew	24 August
St Hugh, Translation of	6 <i>or</i> 7 October
St James	25 July
St John the Baptist, Nativity of	24 June
St John the Evangelist	27 December
St Laurence	10 August
St Luke	18 October
St Martin	11 November
St Mary, Annunciation to (Lady Day)	25 March
Assumption of (Lady Day)	15 August
Purification of (Candlemas)	2 February
St Mary Magdalene	22 July
St Matthew	21 September
St Matthias	24 February
St Michael (Michaelmas)	29 September
St Oswald	5 August
St Peter	1 August
Sts Peter and Paul	29 June
Sts Philip and James (Jacob)	1 May
St Stephen	26 December
St Swithun, Translation of	15 July
St Thomas the Apostle	21 December

Sunday in Carniprivium

Trinity Sunday

Twelfth Day

Whitsun Monday

Whitsun, Whit Sunday

Quinquagesima Sunday, the Sunday
before Ash Wednesday

Sunday next after Pentecost

see Epiphany

Monday following Pentecost

see Pentecost

Translations

ABIGAIL ANN YOUNG

Documents have been translated as literally as possible. The order of records in the Translations parallels that of records in the original. Place-names and given names have been modernized. Family names have been normalized according to the principles laid out in the Index headnote. Capitalization and punctuation are in accordance with modern practice.

As in the Records text, diamond brackets indicate obliterations and square brackets cancellations. Round brackets enclose words supplied editorially, most often because they are needed for grammatical sense in English or to offer an alternative translation of a difficult or ambiguous phrase.

Three groups of documents offered particular problems in translation: the letters and statutes of Bishop Grosseteste, the early Lincoln Cathedral records, and the Tattershall College accounts. Despite all efforts to the contrary, some awkwardness in rendering remains. Not all the Latin in the Records has been translated here. Latin tags or other short sections in largely English documents are either translated in footnotes or not at all. The translation of the Old French accounts in Appendix 1 was done originally by the late Graham Runnalls. William Edwards assisted in checking and conforming that translation to REED's translations guidelines. The word '(English)' indicates a section in English that does not appear in the Translations. All Latin vocabulary not found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* is found in the Latin Glossary.

DIOCESE OF LINCOLN

c 1235–53

Bishop Robert Grosseteste's Letters and Mandates

Letter 107*

Against scotales

Robert, by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln, to his beloved son in Christ, the archdeacon, N., (wishes for) salvation, grace, and blessing. We have heard from a trustworthy account that very many priests from your archdeaconry, not fearing God nor revering men, do not say the canonical hours or say them improperly, and what they do say, they say without any devotion or any sign of devotion, nay rather with the clear demonstration of an impious heart. Nor do they in saying (their hours) observe a time which is more suitable for their

parishioners to hear divine service but that which accords more with their wanton indolence. Moreover they have their own firesides (*or* concubines), which (fact), even though it be hidden from us and ours when we cause enquiry to be made upon this point by those by whom the enquiries are being made, who do nor fear (to commit) acts of perjury, nevertheless should not be hidden in this way from you, who are bound to keep watch face to face uninterruptedly upon them as much in your own person as through your (rural) deans and beadles. Also, as we have heard, clerics are putting on pastimes which they call 'wondrous deeds' (*or* miracles) and other pastimes which they call 'bringing in May' or '(bringing in) Autumn,' and laypeople (are putting on) scotales, which (facts) could not be hidden from you by any means if your foresight would diligently enquire about these things. Moreover there are some rectors and vicars and priests who not only loathe to hear the preaching of friars from either order (*ie*, Dominicans or Franciscans), but as they are able, maliciously hinder the people from hearing them preach or making confession to them. They also admit, as it is said, pardoners as preachers to preach, those who only preach such things as better extract money (for them) although we nevertheless license no pardoner to preach but only allow that their business be explained simply by parish priests. Therefore since you are Judas Maccabee, obliged to cleanse the Lord's temple from every impurity, acting not feebly but manfully and bravely in imitation of him in these matters and such things, we moreover take in our turn the part of the old man, Mattathias, giving a charge to his son about zeal to obey the laws of his ancestors and about fighting bravely against the opponents of God's laws. We admonish, exhort, and firmly enjoin upon you in the Lord that to cleanse these aforesaid (stains) and similar ones you shall gird yourself like a man, fighting the Lord's fight bravely, reducing to order both the aforesaid disorderliness and things like them, by compelling priests duly to carry out divine worship, to cast aside their hearths (*or* concubines), efficaciously to lead their people to hear the preaching of friars of either order devoutly (and) attentively, and to make confession to them humbly, not to admit pardoners to preach. You also shall entirely wipe out the above named 'wondrous deeds' (*or* miracles) and pastimes and scotales – which is easily within your ability – and insofar as it possible for you, you shall take care to hinder the dwelling together of Christians with Jews. Farewell, etc.

1236

Bishop Robert Grosseteste's Letters and Mandates

Letter 22*

Robert, by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln, to his beloved sons in Christ,

all the archdeacons established throughout the bishopric of Lincoln: salvation, grace, and blessing.

Since it is incumbent on the office of a pastor to share the sufferings of those who are ignorant and err and to keep watch over the flock entrusted to him as one who will give an accounting for the souls of (his) flock and to feed that flock, as was written in Jeremiah, with knowledge and teaching, we, being mindful of these things and wishing to the best of our ability to heal those who are ignorant and err among the flock entrusted to us, although unworthy, by the Lord's direction, have thought that some of their pernicious errors, leading down to hell by a dark and slippery false trail, should be put down in this letter, some should be announced and opposed by your clergy throughout your archdeaconries to the ignorant and erring people, but some should be forbidden and opposed by canonical censure.

And because one struggles in vain to subdue other vices who has not suppressed gluttony and drunkenness, we first of all firmly enjoin and order that you forbid the drinkings which are commonly called 'scotales,' both in synods and in your chapters, and that you cause them to be forbidden many times each year throughout every church of your archdeaconries and that you check with ecclesiastical censure those presuming to attend contrary to the prohibitions canonically given above, discouraging the same (persons) with canonical punishment. For as it is written, wine, that is, all that intoxicates, causes much drinking, irritation, anger, and many downfalls, bitterness of spirit and shameless offence, diminishing virtue and making wounds. Moreover it deforms the image of God in a human being by stealing away the use of reason, it inhibits natural actions, it induces the worst diseases, it shortens life, it is the starting point of apostasy and begets innumerable other ills. Therefore we ought not to be remiss in pulling up this root of such great ills, we who have been appointed to tear up and destroy and disperse and dissipate such things.

In addition we order that according to the form written above you should, by checking and punishing those who show contempt for the prohibition, forbid and cause to be forbidden the raising up of quintains upon posts and wheels and other similar sports in which there is a contest for a prize, since both the participants and the onlookers at such games – as Isidore plainly shows – make sacrifice to demons, the inventors and authors of such games, and since games like this also often offer occasions for anger, hatred, brawling, and murder.

Moreover (we order that) you shall discourage by healthful preaching other pastimes, that have not usually offered kindling for discord, held on festival days, because, as St Augustine bears witness, on solemn feast days women spin and weave and men plough and do other tasks that are useful and necessary to sustain this life with far less sin than (when) they engage in idle and pleasurable things of this kind. For holy days ought to be entirely for

divine worship and holy works which directly progress towards the salvation of souls. Things that are related to idleness and 'pleasure are immeasurably more distant from these (holy works) than things that are related to necessity and usefulness (are).

Also (we order that) you shall cause warning to be given by frequent preaching that those who gather at night watches on the eves of saints' (days) at their churches or shrines or at the obsequies of the dead shall occupy themselves there in divine worship and prayers alone, lest, intent on scurrilities or pastimes or perhaps worse things, as has usually happened, they call down upon themselves the wrath of the saints whose prayers they have come to obtain, and lest during the obsequies of the dead they make a house of laughter and jesting for the multiplication of sins – eternal sorrow for which and dark forgetfulness will occupy their last hours, as wisdom or knowledge or reason will illustrate – out of a house of mourning and remembrance of the departed for the prevention of sins.

Moreover (we order that) you shall keep all pastimes of this kind away from churches and churchyards with ecclesiastical censure by means of the aforementioned warning, because holy places have been removed from human use – and the more from human jests – and turned to divine use and those who presume otherwise make a den of thieves from the house and place of prayer.

Also (we order that) you shall warn, in every church by frequent preaching, that mothers and nurses not put their small children next to them in their beds, lest by chance they carelessly smother them, as frequently happens, and in the same act that is thought to be bringing about the cherishing of tender life they become the occasion of death for the same children.

Also (we order that) you shall strictly forbid secret marriages by frequent preaching and clearly and carefully expound the dangers that arise from them so that, by recognizing in advance the danger of an evil to come, its start may be more boldly and more cautiously avoided.

Besides (we order that) you shall cause a strict prohibition to be made in every church that at the processions during the annual visitation and veneration of the mother church (*ie*, of the diocese (?)) no parish shall compete with its banners to go before another parish, since not only quarrels but cruel bloodsheds now usually result from this. But you shall hereafter punish those presuming otherwise with canonical censure, because such contenders violate and dishonour the mother church in the way in which they ought to have sanctified and honoured it. Nor should they be to any extent exempted from punishment who dishonour their spiritual mother, since those who dishonour their physical mother are cursed and punished with death by the divine law.

Moreover we have found in some churches that this corrupt practice has

become customary, that on Easter Day the offerings of the parishioners are not received except after the celebration of mass, when they come to the most sacred sacrament of the Lord's body and blood. You shall hereafter cause this corrupt practice to be forbidden more strictly under a serious penalty since grave scandal and a sign of shameful greed arise for the prelates of the church thereby and the devotion of people approaching so great a sacrament is severely shackled. Besides, because we have found elsewhere that it is contrary to the statute of both the general and the provincial council to deny the sacraments of the church on account of money that has not been paid and especially the sacrament of the Eucharist on Easter Day, lest anyone be able to pretend any kind of an excuse on this point as if by ignorance, (we order that) you shall see to it that what has been ordered in this regard in the councils is frequently repeated not only in synods but even at chapter meetings, punishing those who presume otherwise with canonical strictures.

c 1239

Bishop Robert Grosseteste's Diocesan Statutes

Chapter 23*

We also urge and order that they (*ie*, the parish clergy) not attend to performers, jugglers, or entertainers nor play at dice or knuckle-bones or accompany those who play (such games) because, although they seem light matters to some, nevertheless according to the teaching of the holy fathers those who do such things offer sacrifices to demons.

Chapter 35*

We utterly forbid, by the special authority of a papal rescript, the execrable custom, which has usually been observed in some churches, of keeping the feast of fools, lest a house of mockery be made from a house of prayer and the sharpness of the circumcision of the Lord Jesus Christ be mocked with jokes and pleasures.

Chapters 39–40

We also order that in every church a solemn warning should be made that no one should raise quintains on wheels or set up other games in which there is a contest for a prize, nor should anyone take part in such games. In like manner we forbid the drinkings which are commonly called 'scotales.' All pastimes and secular pleadings should be entirely kept away from sacred places.

BARDNEY

1638

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/21
f 4v* (September)

Presentments made during the visitation of Lincoln, Longoboby, and Graffoe deaneries by Morgan Wynnterly and others

...

°Let it stay (here)°

William Boulton and Ralph Colledge of Bardney (*English*).

°See later (proceedings against them) at Bardney. Let (this) stay in this place.°

...

Timberland
aforesaid
Bardney (parish)
in Wraggoc
(deanery)

BASTON

1388/9

Certificate of the Guild of St John Baptist TNA: PRO C 47/39/76
single sheet*

Certificate of the brotherhood of the guild of St John the Baptist in the church of the same saint of Baston in the county of Lincolnshire John Cranemere and others of his neighbours of the town of Baston, about the fortieth year of the lord Edward, late king of England, grandfather of the present king, did in honour of our lord Jesus Christ, Blessed Mary, St John the Baptist, and all the saints, and for the increase of divine worship and the harmony of human devotion, undertake to provide from their goods and chattels a light of twenty-six wax candles each year before the altar of St John the Baptist in the aforesaid church. They made that very light at that time and from then on it has continued in the same place through the help of the neighbours of the said brotherhood. And they have further agreed to the growth of greater devotion and holiness that if the resources of the said brotherhood bestowed to perform the said divine worship should increase to such a degree that they could maintain a chaplain, then they should find a chaplain there, and so they maintained a chaplain there for the last year past. And for the governance of the said guild it was decided among the brothers and sisters of the said guild that they should all come on St John the Baptist's Eve to bear the light to the church at the first bell of vespers, and that no one should be absent without permission from the said brotherhood unless s/he had a legitimate reason to be excused under penalty of one pound of wax, and that all the brothers and sisters of the said brotherhood should come to church on St John the Baptist's Day together to mass, and that no

one should fail (to do so) unless s/he has the said brotherhood's permission or a legitimate reason to be excused under pain of one pound of wax. And if any of them is rebellious to the brotherhood, s/he will be warned once, twice, and three times and, if s/he does not wish to be corrected or if such (a brother or sister) be a thief or if a sister of the said brotherhood should be sexually immoral, (then) s/he shall be expelled from the brotherhood. Likewise if any of them shall have any portion of the chattels of the said brotherhood in his/her hands and (...) to buy and sell to the increase of the said chattels but shall permit those (chattels) to remain idle, the remedy thereof will be at the will of the said brotherhood. Likewise if any of them shall hold office by the appointment of the brotherhood and shall not want to do it, s/he shall pay one pound of wax to the said guild. Likewise (it was decided) that all the sisters of the said brotherhood, or someone in their name, shall come on St John the Baptist's Day to dance with their sisters under pain of one measure of barley. Likewise if it happens that if any of them shall die, then all the brothers and sisters will come with the light and a candle frame to the dirige around the body and, on the day of the burial, to the mass, and none of them will be absent unless s/he has the said brotherhood's permission or s/he has a legitimate reason to be excused, on pain of one pound of wax. Likewise (it was decided) that each one shall give a halfpenny to the poor as alms for their souls. Likewise (it was decided) that all the sisters of the afore-said guild shall be present at vespers and at matins on St John the Baptist's Eve carrying the light in their hands and also dancing on (St John the Baptist's) Day, unless they are so old or in ill health or on pilgrimage or have been excused by the brotherhood for business of some kind, on pain of one measure of barley. And the said brotherhood has usually had a warden of the said brotherhood who was called the alderman, but in the last year past they decided that they would not have such (a warden) any longer but that everything touching the said brotherhood would be ruled by the same together, honourably and devoutly. And they have no common box nor do they take any oaths nor do they have meetings or assemblies or banquets other than has been ordered above, except that on the said St John the Baptist's Day they meet in honour of the saint and eat and drink and provide for the salary of the said chaplain and (the cost) of the light and other things to the honour of the saint without livery, confederacy, maintenance, or riot in hindrance of the law. And they have no privileges, statutes, ordinances, uses, or customs other than has been said above. And they have no lands, tenements, rents, or possessions, whether in mortmain or not in mortmain, neither in their own hands nor others' (hands), nor any other goods, chattels, or money for the use of the said brotherhood except twenty-eight quarters of malt, price six marks. And they have no charters or letters patent of the gift of the lord king or of his predecessors touching or concerning the said guild in any way.

BENINGTON

1609

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/12
p 465* (28 July)

He is dismissed Thomas Statherne, churchwarden, (*English*). °(He was) cited on 28 July at Lincoln, etc. He appeared and, after the article was charged (against him), he confessed. Therefore he has to acknowledge his crime and to certify by the next (court-day).° On 20 September 1609 he certified (his compliance) and is dismissed.

...

BIGBY

1567

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/3
f 143* (11 April)

Presentments made during the visitation of Yarburgh deanery held in the parish church at Market Rasen by John Twidall, MA, official

...

He is dismissed They held a common banquet in the church called 'the play feast' and the Bible was torn. (The churchwardens) were cited on 20 November 1567 at Lincoln. One has appeared and confesses. He has to reform in future as to the banquet and as to the Bible he has to repair (it) and to certify (his compliance) before next Christmas. On 21 January 1567/8 at Lincoln, the summoner certified (the churchwarden's compliance) and so (he is dismissed).

BOSTON

1514–15

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886
f 5v* (8 June–31 May) (*Bailiff's account*)

...

Costs for Noah's little ship And on various costs of repair for Noah's little ship, called 'Noah's Ship' this year, as on the price of one piece of string bought last year, 4d; of three pieces of this kind of string bought this year, 8d; of the making of one wheel by the hands of John Hond, carpenter, 6d inclusive according to (our) agreement; for two people working on the rigging of the said little ship for two days, 8d; on a reward for eight people working on the carrying of the said little ship, 5s 4d, namely, on Pentecost and Corpus Christi, each one taking 8d for the

said two days; on the price of fresh stone powder (*ie*, brimstone (?)) bought for the said occasions, 20d; and on refection for the same eight persons, 8d: 9s 10d.

...

f 16 (*Chamberlains' account*) (*Wax and wax-working expenses*)

...

And on bread, ale, meat, and other foodstuffs of whatever sort, with fires, the carriage of wax, and other necessities bought at the time of the working of the said wax worked this year, together with expenses of this kind incurred on the Sunday in Shrovetide in the common hall for the recreation of the alderman and other brothers within the town of Boston by the hands of the said accounting chamberlains, with gloves given to bearers of crosses and rewards given to bearers of lights, entertainers, performers, and others, reckoned together item by item in the quires of the accounting (chamberlains) and rendered this year

£4 16s 10¼d

(*Corpus Christi expenses*)

...

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman, chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also of the brothers and sisters gathering, both at time of refection and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton, veal, goose, chicken, and foodstuffs of this kind, together with 26s 8d for the cook's fee and rewards given to other servants, bearers of banners, crosses, torches, (and) thurible/s, entertainers, performers, and others, by the hands of the accounting chamberlains this year, appearing more clearly item by item in their quires

£21 14s 5½d

...

f 24 (*Alderman's account*) (*Rewards*)

...

And in like sums of money paid in reward ... to performers on the feast of Corpus Christi, 3s...

...

1515–16

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886
 f 32v (31 May–15 May) (Bailiff's account)

Costs for Noah's
 little ship

...
 And in sums of money paid by the said accounting (bailiff) to ten people working on the carrying of a little ship called 'Noah's ship' around the town of Boston this year, 3s 4d, each one taking 4d for their labour, and for the price of two pounds of brimstone bought for the same occasion, 8d, as appears by a quire shown before the auditor, examined and approved, and now remaining among the memoranda for this year: 4s.

...
 f 42v (Chamberlains' account) (Wax and wax-working expenses)

...
 ...And on bread, ale, meat, and other foodstuffs of whatever sort, with fires and other necessaries bought at the time of the working of the said wax worked this year, together with expenses of this kind incurred on the Sunday in Shrovetide in the common hall for the recreation of the alderman and other brothers within the town of Boston by the hands of the said accounting chamberlains, with gloves given to bearers of crosses and rewards given to bearers of lights, entertainers, (and) performers, reckoned together item by item in the quires of the accounting (chamberlains) and rendered this year

70s 9d

...
 f 43 (Corpus Christi expenses)

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman, chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also of the brothers and sisters gathering, both at time of refection and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton, veal, goose, chicken, and foodstuffs of this kind, together with 26s 8d for the cook's fee and rewards given to other servants, bearers of banners, crosses, torches, (and) thurible/s, entertainers, performers, and others, by the hands of the accounting chamberlains this year, appearing more clearly item by item in their quires

£24 6s 9d

...

f 51 (*Alderman's account*)

...

And on like rewards given to performers, 5d...

...

1516–17

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886

f 61 (15 May 1516–4 June 1517) (*Bailiff's account*)

Costs for Noah's
little ship

And on sums of money paid for Noah's little ship together with the wages of eight people working on the carrying of the same, according to the accounting (bailiff's) quire of repairs, 7s 2d.

...

f 72v (*Chamberlains' account*) (*Wax and wax-working expenses*)

...

And on bread, ale, meat, and other foodstuffs of whatever sort, with fires and other necessaries bought at the time of the working of the said wax worked this year, together with expenses incurred on the Sunday in Shrovetide in the common hall for the recreation of the alderman and other brothers within the town of Boston by the hands of the said accounting chamberlains, with gloves given to bearers of crosses and rewards given to bearers of lights, entertainers, performers, and others, reckoned together item by item in the quires of the accounting (chamberlains) and rendered this year, with 52s 7¼d (of the total spent) by Thomas Fade and 39s 3¼d (of it spent) by Athelard Hoberd

£4 11s 10½d

...

(*Corpus Christi expenses*)

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman, chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also of the brothers and sisters gathering, both at time of refection and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton, veal, goose, chicken, and foodstuffs of this kind, together with 26s 8d for the cook's fee and rewards given to other servants, bearers of banners, crosses, torches, (and) thurible/s, entertainers, performers, and others, by

the hands of the accounting chamberlains this year, appearing
more clearly item by item in their quires £24 11s 1½d

...

f 82v (*Alderman's account*) (*Rewards*)

...

...to performers of the St Catherine's guild, 3s 4d, to other performers on
the feast of Corpus Christi, 7s...

...

1517–18

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886

f 88v (*4 June–27 May*) (*Bailiff's account*)

...

Costs for Noah's
little ship

And on sums of money paid to nine people carrying Noah's little ship, 5s 2d,
at a rate of 7d a time; on the mending of the said little ship, 2s; on the
mending of the banner shaft, 3d; and on the price of one part of the new
wheels for the same (little ship), 5s 3d, as appears reciprocally more fully in
the quire of repairs: 12s 10d

...

f 97 (*Chamberlain's account*) (*Corpus Christi expenses*)

...

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common
hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman,
chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also
of the brothers, sisters, and others, outsiders, gathering both at time of
refection and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton,
veal, goose, chicken, and foodstuffs of this kind, with other rewards given to
other servants, bearers of banners, crosses, torches, (and) thurible/s, and 13s 4d
for half the cook's fee, together with other rewards for entertainers, performers,
and others, by the hands of the accounting (chamberlain) beyond the residue
(paid) by the other chamberlain, his fellow, (as) is made clear more fully by
his quire and in other preceding accounts: £12 53s 6d

...

f 99v

...

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common
hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman,
chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also of
the brothers, sisters, and others, outsiders, gathering both at time of refectio

and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton, veal, goose, chicken, fowl, swan, crane, and the like, with other various expenses and rewards to performers and servants and bearers of banners and entertainers and others, (given) by the hands of the accounting (chamberlain) for his part beyond the residue (paid) by the other chamberlain, his fellow, (as) appears more clearly item by item by his quire: £12 4s 6½d

...

1518–19

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts LA: Misc. Don. 169

f 7v (27 May–16 June) (*Bailiff's account*)

...

Costs of Noah's
little ship

And on sums of money paid to eight people carrying Noah's little ship on Pentecost and Corpus Christi Days, hired for 5s 9d inclusive; for one pound of gunpowder, 12d; on the purchase (of) cart clouts, 3d, and stubs, 1d, with other things provided for the same little ship, (as) appears more fully, etc, by the aforesaid quire: 7s 1d

...

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886

f 117 (27 May–16 June) (*Chamberlain's account*) (*Corpus Christi expenses*)

...

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman, chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also of the brothers, sisters, and others, outsiders, gathering both at time of refection and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton, veal, goose, chicken, and foodstuffs of this kind, with other rewards given to other servants, bearers of banners, crosses, torches, (and) thurible/s, and 13s 4d for half the cook's fee, together with other rewards for entertainers, performers, and others, by the hands of the accounting (chamberlain) beyond the residue (paid) by the other chamberlain, his fellow, (as) is made clear more fully by his quire and in other preceding accounts: £12 5s 10d

...

f 119

...

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman, chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also of the brothers, sisters, and others, outsiders, gathering both at time of refection and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton, veal,

goose, chicken, fowl, swan, crane, and the like, with other various expenses and rewards to performers and servants and bearers of banners and entertainers and others, (given) by the hands of the accounting (chamberlain) for his part beyond the residue (paid) by the other chamberlain, the fellow of the same accounting (chamberlain), as appears more fully, etc, in the four folios of paper rendered upon this account: £12 5s 10d

...

1519–20

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886
f 135 (16 June–31 May) (*Bailiff's account*)

Costs of Noah's
little ship

And on sums of money paid to seven people carrying Noah's little ship on Pentecost and Corpus Christi Days, each one taking 7d for their labour, 4s 1d; for two pounds (of) gunpowder bought, 2s; for fourteen ells (of) canvas bought at 4½d for each ell, etc, 5s 3d; and also for various other necessities bought for the same little ship, 23d, by the accounting (bailiff's) quire rendered and examined and remaining among the memoranda: 13s 3d

...

f 142 (*Chamberlain's account*) (*Corpus Christi expenses*)

...

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman, chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also of the brothers, sisters, and others, outsiders, gathering both at time of refection and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton, veal, goose, chicken, and foodstuffs of this kind, with other rewards given to other servants, bearers of banners, crosses, torches, (and) thurible/s, and 13s 4d for half the cook's fee, together with other rewards for entertainers, performers, and others, by the hands of the accounting (chamberlain) beyond the residue (paid) by the other chamberlain, the fellow of the same (accounting chamberlain), (as) is made clear more fully by his quire and in other preceding accounts: £11 15s 4d

...

f 152v (*Alderman's account*) (*Rewards*)

...

...and on like rewards to some servants, performers otherwise (called) 'trumpeters,' at the feast of Corpus Christi there, making melody with their instruments, etc, 3s 4d...

...

1520-1

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886
f 162v (31 May-23 May) (Final adjustments to bailiff's account)

...

...9s for the carrying of Noah's little ship around the town there on Pentecost and Corpus Christi Days and for a scouring ball (*or* soap), with other things bought for the same little ship likewise after the close of the same (account), etc

f 169 (*Chamberlain's account*) (*Corpus Christi expenses*)

...

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman, chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also of the brothers, sisters, and others, outsiders, gathering both at time of refection and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton, veal, goose, chicken, fowl, swan, crane, and the like, with various other expenses and rewards for performers and servants and bearers of banners, and entertainers, and others, by the hands of the accounting (chamberlain) for his part, beyond the residue (paid) by the other chamberlain, the fellow of the same accounting (chamberlain), (as) appears more fully and item by item by his quire: £11 10s 2½d

...

f 179 (*Alderman's account*) (*Livery and clothing*)

...

...And in sums of money of this kind paid on the purchase of woollen cloth for the minstrels with 2s for the making of their same gowns, 27s according to the small quire of the accounting (alderman) remaining with him; and paid for half a quarter (of) velvet for the badges of the said gowns, etc, 18d; and one ounce of Venice gold, 2s 8d; and the embroidering and making of the said badges, 2s, as on the back of the same quire remaining with the accounting (alderman), etc: 6s 2d

...

1521-2

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886
f 186v (23 May 1521-12 June 1522) (*Bailiff's account*)

...

Costs of Noah's
little ship

And paid by the accounting (bailiff) in the last year preceding after the close of the account, namely, for the carrying of Noah's little ship around the town of Boston on Pentecost and Corpus Christi Days and for the purchase of a scouring ball (*or* soap), and of other things bought for the same little ship

likewise after the close of the same (account), containing nevertheless the notice of the accounting (bailiff), etc: 9s

...

f 204v (*Alderman's account*)

...

The waits'
livery garb

And paid for woollen cloth bought for performers, otherwise (called) 'waits,' this year, namely, for their livery as is contained more fully in the often-mentioned quire, for two years finished at the close of this account, etc: 48s 8d

...

1522-3

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886

f 234 (*12 June-28 May*) (*Alderman's account*) (*Rewards*)

...

...as a reward for the lord king's performers, otherwise (called) 'minstrels,' 20s...

f 238 (*Necessary expenses*)

...

...to Nicholas Allen embroiderer for the making of crowns to put on the coats of performers called 'the waits' and for the sewing silk, 12d; for half a quarter of velvet for the same (crowns), for half an ounce of Venice gold for the same (crowns), 16d...

...

f 238v*

...for expenses (at) the playing of the interlude on Good Friday and Easter Day, 5s 2d...

...

(*Necessary purchases and payments*)

...(paid) to Richard Hickes, 16d on the price of two ells of canvas bought for the Goliath (*or* for the giant) at the procession on Corpus Christi Day...

f 239

...for another cord/rope for the Noah ship, 4d ... for the grease for the Noah ship, 1d...

...

1523-4

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886
f 263 (28 May-19 May) (Alderman's account) (Rewards)

(English)

...

...as a reward (to) the waits of London with wine expended for the same,
13s 4d...

...

1524-5

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts BL: Egerton MS 2886
f 296* (19 May 1524-8 June 1525) (Alderman's account) (Rewards)

...

...in reward to the undersheriff in his coming to Boston with the king's
suit for the queen's gold, 2s; to a harper of the lord king on the feast of
Corpus Christi, 3s 4d; (to) the king's minstrels in the octave of the same
feast, 10s; (to) the trumpeters of the earl of Arundel, 2s 4d...

...

f 296v

...(to) the minstrels of the lord king, 10s...

...

(*Guild officers' expenses in entertaining visitors*)

...for expenses (for) the minstrels of the lord king, 20s...

f 297v (*Necessary payments*)

...to eleven people for the carriage of the Noah ship at two occasions, with
4d for their refection, 7s 8d ... to Richard Allen for the making of the crowns
and the stuff for the same (crowns) for the minstrels of Boston, 4s...

f 298*

...to Master Thomlynson for as much money as was paid by him to performers
on the feast of Corpus Christi and not allowed him in his account when he
was chamberlain, 13s 4d...

1525-6

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts LA: BB 4/C/1/1

f 14v (8 June-24 May) (*Chamberlains' account*) (*Corpus Christi expenses*)

...

And on expenses incurred at the feast of Corpus Christi in the common hall called 'St Mary House,' at the time of the meeting of the alderman, chamberlains, chaplains, clerics, and other ministers of this guild and also of the brothers, sisters, and others, outsiders, gathering both at time of refection and at breakfast and dinner, as on bread, wine, ale, beer, beef, mutton, veal, goose, chicken, and foodstuffs of this kind, with other rewards given to other servants, bearers of banners, crosses, torches, (and) thurible/s, with 13s 4d for half the fee of William Pynell, cook, together with other rewards for entertainers, performers, and others, by the hands of the accounting (chamberlain) beyond the residue (paid) by the other chamberlain (as) is made clear more fully by his quire and in other preceding accounts, etc: £8 8s 1¾d

...

f 24v* (*Alderman's account*) (*Rewards given*)

...

...(to) the trumpeters, the earl of Arundel's servants at the octave of Corpus Christi, 3s 4d; to the friars limiter of Boston on the same occasion, 8d; to a harper (*or* a fiddler) on the same occasion, 3s 4d ... (*English*) ...

f 25*

...to John English and his fellows, the lord king's players, 40s...

...

f 26 (*Necessary expenses*)

...

...to Richard Allen for the embroidering of crowns for the waits with velvet and the Venice silk, 4s...

f 28v*

...

...to Nicholas Feild for wine expended at the time his daughter was queen at Boston, 2s 8d...

...

1538–9

Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary Accounts LA: BB 4/C/1/2
f 11* (13 June–29 May) (*Purchases*)

...

...on costs of the mending of Noah's ship and (of) the petty Judas, 14d...

...

1606–7

Episcopal Court Book LA: Diocesan Cj/16
f 154 (19 February 1606/7)

...

The same (office) against James Leeman, cleric, curate of Wrangle, (*English*). The said Leeman appeared in person on 19 February 1606/7 before Master Edward Clark, surrogate judge, etc. And he submitted himself (to the court) and he acknowledged that the article (was true) and the lord (judge) dismissed him for cause with a warning.

2s 6d
12d for
searching

...

1609–10

Bailiff's Account LA: BB 4/B/1/1A
mb 3d (29 September–29 September) (*Officers' livery*)

...

...and (he seeks allowance of) £4 18s 3d paid to John Ampleford for six liveries of musicians, in English, 'the waits,' (made) of woollen cloth called 'broad blue,' as appears by the bill of particulars...

...

BRANSTON

1618

Episcopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/24
f 69v*

Presentments made during the visitation of Lincoln, Longoboby, and Graffoe deaneries held in Lincoln Cathedral

...

Potterhanworth
Branston
Payment is made
for his fee
through the
summoner the
same day

He is dismissed.

Francis Bett (*English*). (He was) cited on 10 October 1618, etc. He appeared and, after the article was charged (against him), he confesses (*English*) and submits himself (to the court), etc. Therefore he is dismissed with a warning.

...

BRANT BROUGHTON

1618

Episcopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/24

f 55v* (24 or 29 July)

Presentments made during the visitations of Loveden deanery, held in the parish church of Sleaford, and Grantham deanery, held in the parish church of Grantham, by Christopher Wyvell, LL.D., vicar general and official principal of the bishop of Lincoln, and Thomas Raymond, STB, commissary, in the presence of John Pregon, registrar, and John Buffeild, notary public and deputy registrar

...

He is dismissed.

Henry Sills (*English*). °(He was) sought, etc, on 8 October 1618 (to appear) by ways (and means) on the next (court-day). Afterwards Robert Needham appeared on behalf of the said Sills. At his petition, the lord (judge) postponed (his decision about) the said Sills until the next (court-day). In the meantime a schedule shall be set for acknowledging, etc, and certifying by the next (court-day). Afterwards, at the said Robert's petition, the lord (judge) dismissed the said Sills.°

...

BURNHAM

1638

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/21

f 57v* (12 November)

Presentments made during the visitation of Yarburgh deanery held in the parish church at Grimsby before Thomas Hirst, cleric, surrogate judge, in the presence of John Milward, notary public

...

Horkstow

She is dismissed

A poor person

Bridget, wife of Thomas Tripp, (*English*). (She was) sought by ways (and means) on 11 December 1638 (to appear) on the next (court-day). On 18 January 1638/9, after being (cited) by a ways and means order (and) called, she did not appear (and she was) excommunicated. °On the last day of February 1638/9 (she was proceeded against) as (for the proceedings) against her husband below, etc, and (she has to) certify twice. She did not certify, wherefore (she was) excommunicated. °On 22 January 1639/40 (it was ordered that) the certificate be answered at the next visitation. °After being excommunicated, she certified and is dismissed.°

He is dismissed

A poor person

Thomas Tripp (*English*).

(He was) likewise sought by ways (and means) (to appear) on the next (court-day). On 18 January 1638/9, after being cited by a ways and means order (and called, he did not appear (and he was) excommunicated. °On the last day of February 1638/9, the apparitor appeared, etc, and sought a ⟨...⟩. Wherefore after an oath had been sworn without, etc, (he confessed (?)) and he has to acknowledge (his fault), and certify twice. He did not certify, wherefore (he was) excommunicated. °On 22 January 1639/40 (it was ordered that) the certificate be answered at the next visitation. °After being excommunicated, he certified and is dismissed. °

Barton

George Ellis (*English*). The apparitor appeared on 11 December 1638. He confesses, wherefore he has to acknowledge (his fault) and certify twice. °On 29 May 1638 (he was cited) by a ways and means order (to appear) on the next (court-day). °On 22 June 1639, after being cited by a ways and means order and called, he did not appear (and he was) excommunicated. °On 19 July 1639 the apparitor appeared. °

CONINGSBY

1601

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/10
f 64v* (1 April)

Presentments made during the visitation of Horncastle, Hill, and Gartree deaneries, held in the church at Horncastle by Thomas Randes, MA, the archdeacon of Lincoln's official

...

He is dismissed.

Alexander Butterworth (*English*). On 9 May 1601 the said Butterworth, having been cited, did not appear and his punishment (was) reserved until the next fortnight. On 22 May 1601 Bartholomew Salmon appeared. At his petition the lord (judge) dismissed that Butterworth.

...

DONINGTON IN HOLLAND

1600

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/9
f 46 (3 June)

Presentments made during the visitation of North Holland deanery held in the church at Donington by Thomas Randes, the archdeacon of Lincoln's official

...

She is dismissed

Elizabeth Lecke

She is dismissed

Agnes Harrington

(*English*). Having been cited, they appeared on 16 January 1600/1 and, after the article was charged (against them), they submitted themselves to the court, wherefore the lord (judge) dismissed them.

EPWORTH

1623

Archdeaconry of Stow Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Viiij/1
pp 30–1* (27 September)

Detections during the archdeacon of Stow's visitation held at Gainsborough before John Farmery, LL.D, in the presence of Thomas Harrys, notary public

Mr Thomas Lawton (*English*). The said Lawton was cited (to appear) and, after he was called, he did not appear on the last day of January AD 1623/4 before Dr Farmery, etc, in the cathedral church of St Mary at Lincoln in the consistory there, (and he was) suspended. °The aforesaid suspension was published on 8 February AD 1623/4 by David Wierdale. °

He is dismissed.

John Whitacres (*English*). After he was cited and called, he did not appear on the last day of January 1623/4 (and he was) suspended. On 2 October 1624 he did appear and, having been sworn, he is absolved. And after the article was charged (against him) he confesses and he submitted himself (to the court), wherefore he has to acknowledge, etc, and to certify by the next (court-day). Afterwards the lord (judge) dismissed him with a warning.

He went away

Thomas Byrd (*English*). After he was cited and called, he did not appear on the last day of January 1623/4 (and he was) suspended.

He is released
(or It is settled)

John Kelley (*English*). After he was cited and called, he did not appear on the last day of January 1623/4 (and he was) suspended.

He is dismissed.

The fees have
been paid

John Starkie (*English*). After he was sought and called, he did not appear on 14 February 1623/4 (and was cited) by ways (and means to appear) on the next (court-day). After he was cited and called, he did not appear on 24 February 1623/4 at Lincoln (and he was) suspended. °On 20 January 1624/5, before Master Thomas Holden, cleric, MA, surrogate judge, etc, in the presence of me, John Buffield, notary public, etc, the said Starkie appeared in person and sought that the benefit of absolution be given him. Then the

lord (judge), at the petition of the said Starkie, absolved him after the same Starkie had earlier been sworn to obey the law and abide by the church's commands and he restored, etc. Then, after the article was charged (against him), (Starkie) confesses that the same (article) is true and he submitted himself (to the court), etc. Wherefore the lord (judge), accepting this his confession, enjoined him to acknowledge (his fault) just as, etc, and to certify by the next (court-day). Afterward the lord (judge), at the humble petition of the said Starkie, dismissed him with a warning that hereafter he should behave himself more carefully, etc.°

Robert Hawkin (*English*). After he was sought and called, he did not appear on 14 February 1623/4 (and was cited) by ways (and means to appear) on the next (court-day). After he was cited and called, he did not appear on 24 February 1623/4 (and he was) suspended. On 9 November 1624 he appeared before Master George Parker, cleric, surrogate judge, etc, and, having been sworn, he is absolved. And, after the article was charged (against him), he says (*English*). Wherefore the lord (judge) dismissed him with a warning.

He lives at
London

Edward Farr (*English*). After he was cited and called, he did not appear on 14 February (1623/4) (but his) punishment, etc (*ie*, his punishment is reserved), until the next (court-day). After he was called, he did not appear on 24 February 1623/4 (and he was) suspended.

Edward Coggan (*English*). After he was cited and called, he did not appear on 14 February (1623/4) (but his) punishment, etc (*ie*, his punishment is reserved), until the next (court-day). After he was called, he did not appear on 24 February 1623/4 (and he was) suspended.

(He is) in
Ireland

John Hallifax the younger (*English*). After he was cited and called, he did not appear on 14 February (1623/4) (but his) punishment, etc (*ie*, his punishment is reserved), until the next (court-day). After he was called, he did not appear on 24 February 1623/4 (and he was) suspended.

EWERBY

1615

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/15
f 73*

...

He is dismissed

Laurence Kighley (*English*). °(He was) cited on 8 November 1615 and (his case) is postponed until the next (court-day).° °On 22 November 1615 Richard Kighley, his son, claimed (*English*). Wherefore, after he had sworn an oath about the truth of the foregoing (claims), (his father) is dismissed.°

...

FOSDYKE

1569

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/4
f 62 (26 May)

Presentments made during the visitation of North Holland deanery held in the parish church of Boston by Robert King, official

Fosdyke
Wigtoft

Excommunication.

William Loppingtoun is commonly reputed (to be) a drunkard and a defamer (of his neighbours), (...) of suspect religion, and he is an entertainer and he uses intolerable language. After being sought on 17 September 1569 at Lincoln, (he did) not (appear); therefore (he was cited) by ways and means. After being cited on 6 April 1570 at Boston, (he did) not (appear); therefore (he was excommunicated).

...

GRAINTHORPE

1609

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/12
pp 237–8 (5 May)

Presentments made during the visitation of Louthesk and Ludborough deaneries held in the parish church at Louth, by Otwell Hill, LLD

...

He is dismissed Robert Hagge (*English*). °On 7 May 1609 he appeared before Master Robert Houghton and (*blank*) and after the article was charged (against him) he confesses and is dismissed with a warning. ° |

He is dismissed Mr Hagge (*English*). °On 7 May 1609 (his case was dealt with) as above. °

...

GRANTHAM

1608

Constables' Presentment LA: Grantham Borough QS 7/2/3/15
f [1] (17 December)

...

On 17 December 1608

°He has appeared; (the bond) is discharged°

Thomas Mills
£5
Arthur Tilson
£5

It is void

They have made pledges on behalf of Edward Chapman of Harston in the county of Leicester, piper, and the aforesaid Edward has made a pledge on his own behalf of £10, namely, that the aforesaid Edward will appear before the said lord king's justices at Grantham aforesaid at the next general sessions of the peace, and in the meantime he will keep the said lord king's peace toward all his people but especially toward the constables and other officers of the town of Grantham, but if the aforesaid Edward should fail in the foregoing, that then, etc. Taken on the abovewritten day, etc, in the abovewritten year, before John Hasberd, gentleman, alderman of the town and his aforesaid fellows.

...

1618

Episcopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/24
f 57v* (24 or 29 July)

Presentments made during the visitations of Loveden deanery, held in the parish church of Sleaford, and Grantham deanery, held in the parish church of Grantham, by Christopher Wyvell, LLD, vicar general and official principal of the bishop of Lincoln, and Thomas Raymond, STB, commissary, in the presence of John Pregon, registrar, and John Buffield, notary public and deputy registrar

...

See Sedgebrook

Anthony Wetherill of Sedgebrook (*English*). °On 8 October 1618, after he was cited, etc, he did not appear; (his punishment) is reserved until the next (court-day). °On 22 October, after he was called, etc, he did not appear; he is suspended e'.

...

GREAT HALE

1608

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/11
f 28v* (17 February 1607/8 or 22 April)

Presentments made during the visitations of Aveland deanery held in the parish church of Ancaster by George Eland, cleric, BA, canon residentiary of Lincoln Cathedral and surrogate judge of Thomas Randes, MA, commissary and official of the archdeacon of Lincoln, and of Lafford deanery held in the parish church of Sleaford by William Dalby, MA, cleric and surrogate judge of Thomas Randes

...

George Allen

George Tebbatt

(*English*). °On 22 March 1607/8 they appeared and, after the article was

charged (against them), Tebbatt denied (*English*), wherefore he has to make presentment of the wrong-doers, etc, and so he is dismissed. Allen appeared likewise and confessed that (*English*), wherefore the lord (judge) warned him to make presentment of these wrong-doers, etc, and to acknowledge his fault before the minister and six or more residents there and to certify (his compliance) by the next (court-day). (He was also) warned, etc. ° ° On 29 October Allen appeared after being cited but he did not certify, wherefore the lord (judge) held over his certificate until the next (court-day). °

GRIMSBY

1396-7

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/5/1
mb 1*

...

...and on cloth for the clothing of Walter Wayte, 4s 10d; and on the same Walter's shoes (*or* leggings), 2s...

...

1424-5

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/12
single mb dorse (9 October-9 October)

...

Likewise paid for the gown of Walter Wayte, town entertainer 6s 4d

...

1430-1

Borough Court Roll NELA: 1/101/5/10
single sheet* (3 September)

...

A court held there on Monday, 3 September, in the tenth year of the reign of King Henry vi

The plaintiff
(is) in mercy of
12¼d for the
inquest

John de Rasyn brings suit against Hans Speryng on a plea of trespass. His pledge for proceeding (is) Walter Wayte. He has brought suit and each party is prepared (to proceed (?)) because when it was agreed between them that he would deliver to him (*ie*, that Hans would deliver to John) certain instruments of an entertainment called 'Jolly Wat and Malkyng' on the previous day, and the said defendant absented himself on the said day and the next day, to the loss of 8d (*ie*, to the plaintiff), and the defendant denies that he committed any trespass against him just as, etc. And he (*ie*, Hans (?)) asks that an inquest be held.

...

1441–2

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/13mb 1* (9 October–9 October) (*Wages and fees*)

...

Likewise, for 11s 5d paid for the clothing of the same Henry and of Walter Wayte, by the consent of the commonalty...

...

1468–9

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/16mb 1d* (25 October–15 September) (*Payments and expenses*)

...

...and (they seek allowance) of 8d paid to the mayor for Lord Stanley's minstrels; and of 20d paid to the mayor for various other minstrels...

...

1499–1500

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/19

mb 1d* (8 October–8 October)

...

Of 40d given to minstrels of the prince, the duke of Buckingham, and the earl of Northumberland; likewise to various minstrels on St Bartholomew the Apostle's Day, 4d ... of 8d given to a certain bearward; of 5½d given to people of (...)itney who ride with their play...

...

1507–8

Mayor's Court Book NELA: 1/102/2

f 3v* (13 January)

...

Ordinance

It was ordered at the same court, by the mayor and the whole commonalty of burgesses in the common hall there, that the mariners of Grimsby should make a ship standing in St Mary's Church belonging to the plough light, and that all the burgesses of the same town should pay 20s to the aforementioned mariners to make the aforesaid ship within the space of one year.

...

1514–15

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/21

single mb* (10 October–10 October)

...

...and (they seek allowance) of 12d paid to the minstrels of Hull by order of

the mayor; and of 3s paid to the minstrels of Lord Darcy ... and of 16d paid to Edward Lytster, bearward, in reward by order of the mayor ... and of 20d paid (to) the Grimoldby play by order of the mayor; and of (...) paid by order of the said mayor to the Stallingborough play

...

1515–16

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/22

mb 1* (9 October–9 October) (*Payments and expenses*)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 40d paid (to) the minstrels of Lord Darcy by order of the mayor ... and of 2s paid (to) the players of Marsh Chapel by order of the mayor...

...

1560–1

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/33/1

single sheet (29 September–29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 4s paid to a bearward, called 'a bearward' ... of 4s 4d paid to the queen's players called 'the queen's players'...

...

1562–3

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/34

mb 3* (29 September–29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 10s paid to bearward/s ... of 7s 4d paid to players ... of 12s paid to Lord Fit(...)s players; of 7s 4d paid to players in the marsh ... of 6s 8d paid to Lord Warwick's player/s; of 6s 8d paid to bearward/s on St Bartholomew's Day; of 3s 4d paid to two bearwards after the aforesaid day ... of 3s 4d paid to bearward/s in the marsh...

...

1563–4

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/34

mb 2 (29 September–29 September)

...

...likewise (they seek allowance of) 2s 2d paid to players ... likewise (of) 4s 3d paid to players; likewise (of) 4s 2d paid to other players; likewise (of) 8s paid to other players ... likewise (of) 8d for expenses about the play ... likewise (of) 4s 4d paid to the queen's players

...

1565-6

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/35
single mb dorse (29 September-29 September)

...

...⟨...⟩ (they seek allowance of) 6s paid to bearward/s ... of 4d paid to Martin Fotherbie for coin paid by him to players in the mayor's absence...

...

1566-7

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/37
single sheet (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 25s 10d paid to players...

1568-9

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/38
single mb dorse (29 September-29 September)

...

...⟨...⟩ to bearward/s...

...

1569-70

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/39
single sheet verso (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 13s paid to players...

...

1570-1

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/30/3
single mb dorse (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of ⟨...⟩s 4d paid to players just as appears ⟨...⟩...

...

1572-3

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/41
f 1v (29 September-29 September)

...(they seek allowance) of 17s 8d paid to bearward/s; of 7s 4d paid to players...

...

1573-4

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/42

single sheet (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 15s 2d paid to bearward/s and players...

...

1574-5

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/44

single mb dorse (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 9s paid to players; of <...> to players

...

1575-6

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/36

single mb dorse* (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 5s paid to Lord Stafford's players; of 3s paid to players of John Constable, knight ... of 3s 8d paid to the earl of Worcester's players...

...

1576-7

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/43

single sheet dorse* (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 3s 4d paid to Wath and his fellows, players ... of 12d paid to players on 27 May ... of 6s 8d paid to players of Boston...

...

1577-8

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/32

single mb*

...And (they seek allowance of) 4d paid to players ... (of) 6s 8d paid to players ... of 20d paid to Master St Poll's players...

...

1579-80

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/45

single mb (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 16s 9d paid to various players and bearwards...

...

1580-1

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/46

single mb (29 September-29 September)

...

(they seek allowance) of 15s paid to various players and bearwards...

...

1582-3

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/47

single mb (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 32s 4d paid to various players...

...

1584-5

Chamberlains' Accounts NELA: 1/600/48

single mb* (29 September-29 September)

...

...(they seek allowance) of 3s 4d paid to Lord Willoughby's players by the mayor's command...

...

HOLBEACH

1601

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/10

f 116v* (2 April)

Presentments made during the visitation of South Holland deanery held in the church at Boston by Thomas Randes, the archdeacon of Lincoln's official

...

He is dismissed.

Edward Freman (*English*). On 26 February 1601/2 the said Freman appeared at Lincoln after being cited and, when the article was charged against him, he submitted himself (to the court) and promised that he would reform

himself hereafter in the aforesaid matters. Wherefore the lord (judge) dismissed him with a warning.

...

HOUGHAM

1638

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/21
p 194

Presentments made at the visitation of Grantham and Loveden deaneries

...

- He is dismissed Thomas Barson (*English*). °On 1 March 1638/9, after he had been cited, he was called (but) he did not appear. He is excommunicated. °On 4 July 1639
- °He appeared° he appeared and is absolved after he took an oath. Wherefore the lord (judge) dismissed him with a warning before Master John Crispe, cleric, surrogate judge, etc – thus Samuel Hoxcroft, notary public, testifies. °
- He is dismissed William Swetterall for the like (offence). °On 1 March 1638/9, after he had been cited, he was called (but) he did not appear. He is excommunicated. °On 4 July 1639 (his case was dealt with) in like manner as against Barson. He is dismissed. °
- He is dismissed Gervais Orson for the like (offence). °On 1 March 1638/9, after he had been cited, he was called (but) he did not appear. He is excommunicated. °
- °He appeared° °On 4 July AD 1639 he is dismissed as above. ° He is dismissed.
- He is dismissed Edward Light for the like (offence). °On 1 March 1638/9, after he had been cited, he was called (but) he did not appear. He is excommunicated. °
- °On 19 July 1639 Master Nelson appeared. At his petition the lord (judge) dismissed the said Light because he is a boy. °
- He is dismissed Edward Ellis for the like (offence). °On 1 March 1638/9, after he had been cited, he was called (but) he did not appear. He is excommunicated. °On 4 July AD 1639 he appeared and is absolved, after he took an oath. Wherefore the lord (judge) dismissed him with a warning. ° He is dismissed.

KIRKBY ON BAIN

1638

Archiepiscopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/30
ff 118–18v

Presentments made during the visitation of Horncastle deanery

...

- Horncastle Ralph Collin (*English*). °On 2 May 1638 he was sought by ways (and means) for the next (court-day). °On the last day of May 1638, after he had been cited by ways (and means), he was called (but) did not appear. He is excommunicated. °
- He is dismissed.
- Kirkby Thomas Gibson and his wife (*English*). °On 2 May 1638 he (*ie*, Thomas Gibson) appeared and confessed. Wherefore he has to acknowledge (his fault) and certify on two (occasions). He did not certify, wherefore he is excommunicated. ° He is dismissed. |
- In the form for
a poor person
- Kirkby He is dismissed.
- °(Ordered) to
acknowledge
(his fault) before
Mr J. Gan.
(signed) T.H.”
A poor person
- William Humberstone presented as above. °On 2 May 1638 he was sought, etc, by ways (and means) for the next (court-day). °On the last day of May 1638, after he had been cited, he was called (but) did not appear. He is excommunicated. ° °On 6 February 1638/9 he appeared and is absolved after he took an oath and he confessed. Wherefore he has to acknowledge (his fault) and certify on two (occasions). Thereafter certification was carried out and he is dismissed. °
- Tumby Brandon Lobley presented as above. °On 2 May 1638 the summoner appeared and confessed (on his behalf). Wherefore he has to acknowledge (his fault) and certify on two occasions. He did not certify, wherefore he is excommunicated. °

...

LINCOLN

c 1236

Bishop Robert Grosseteste's Letters and Mandates

Letter 32*

Robert, by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln, to his beloved sons in Christ, William, the dean, and the chapter of Lincoln, (wishes) salvation, grace, and blessing. Since the house of God, as both the prophet and the Son of God bear witness, should be a house of prayer, it is a horrible thing to turn it into a house of jesting, scurrility, and nonsense and to curse the place dedicated to God with devilish inventions. And since the circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ was his first, no less harsh, passion, (and since) it is also a sign of the spiritual circumcision by which the foreskins of (our) hearts are taken away and all carnal lusts and sensual desires are cut off, it is execrable to profane the worshipful solemnity of the Lord's Circumcision with the trash of libidinous pleasures. Wherefore we order you, firmly enjoining by virtue

of your obedience, that you no longer permit the feast of fools to take place hereafter in the church of Lincoln on the day of the worshipful solemnity of the Lord's Circumcision, since it is full of emptiness and filthy with lusts, hateful to God and lovable by demons.

1274

Hundred Roll TNA: PRO SC 5/LINCS/TOWER/17A

mb 4*

...Likewise we say that Walter Beck, constable of Lincoln Castle, appropriates for the aforesaid castle by the authority of Sir Henry de Lacy, for the space of eight years, one piece of land containing two acres and more that is called the Battleplace, where the people of Lincoln are accustomed to sport/play, friars to preach and have other easements, and where people from the countryside are accustomed to have a right of way to the city with their carts and herd animals, to the great prejudice of the king and a loss to the city of 2s a year and more. By what warrant (he does so) we do not know. And it is worth 3s a year....

...

Late 13th century

Liber Niger LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/1

ff 7–7v

...

On Christmas Day at vespers for the deacon's procession.

(One) deacon who holds a benefice ought to have a candle of one pound (of wax); the rest of the deacons with benefices, a candle of half a pound. The rest of the deacons who are canons (should have) candles; four (of them), candles of one pound (of wax); the eight remaining deacons, (candles) of half a pound and they will have candles of this kind both at vespers and at the last responsory at matins on the feast of St Stephen. (One) priest who holds a benefice, and other beneficed persons of the church, and canons, and vicars, and other priests, will have similar candles (*ie*, one will have a candle of a pound and the rest will have half-pound candles (?)), both at vespers and at matins on the feast of St John (the Apostle). The boy bishop on the feast of the Holy Innocents ought to have a candle of a half-pound weight; the rest of the boys will have small candles at the sacrist's will.

...

1308–9

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/4

f 45v* (15 September 1308–21 September 1309) (*Gratuities and payments*)

...Likewise on gloves and shoes bought for Sir William le Venur in the play

made in the church on Monday in Easter week, 8d....

...

1313–14

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/4

f 96v* (16 September–15 September) (*Church and house costs*)

...

...Likewise on the mending of a pastoral staff for the boy bishop, 12d....

1317–18

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/4

f 132 (18 September–17 September) (*Gratuities*)

...Likewise to the vicars of Lincoln church for the solemnity made by them on Epiphany about the play of the three kings, 18s 2d....

...

1321–2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/5

f 47v (20 September–19 September) (*Expenses noted*)

...Likewise in expenses incurred at Easter time on the play of St Thomas the twin (*or* of St Thomas Didymus), 9s 9d; on one woollen head for a king's head on the feast of the Epiphany, 8d.

...

Liber Niger LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/1

ff 26v–7 (19 January) (*Distributions to cathedral clergy*)

...

...Payments shall be made each year on the same feast of the Translation (*ie*, the feast of the Translation of St Hugh) from the offerings for St Hugh: to each canon who has accomplished the great residence in the said church during the year preceding the feast of the Translation of the same St Hugh, and was present on the same feast, and to the warden of St Peter's altar, 6s 8d; but to those intending to accomplish residence in the subsequent year and present on that feast, 3s 4d; in like manner, to the vicars who are present at the service on the same day, to distribute among themselves, 13s 4d; to the poor clerics present in the same way, 22d; to the boys, 18d; to those present (and) wearing the habit (but) not vicars, 1d each; to the sacrist, 5s, because he works more than the rest; to his clerk, 2d; to the clerk of the common fund, 1 12d; to the clerk of the chapter, 6d; to the master of the grammar school, 5s; to the master of the song school, 12d; to the succentor, 6d; to the cleric bringing (*or* carrying) the dove on the feast of Pentecost, 12d; to

the (acolyte) lighting the candles, 6d; to the two (clerics) rousing (*or* exhorting) the people, 12d; to two servants preceding the (cleric) censuring, 12d....

1323-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/5
f 66 (18 September-16 September) (Expenses noted)

...

...In expenses incurred at Easter time on the play of St Thomas the twin (*or* of St Thomas Didymus), 5s 8d....

1326-7

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/5
f 93v* (21 September-20 September) (Expenses noted)

...

...In expenses incurred on the Monday in Easter week for the play of St Thomas the Apostle in the nave of the church, namely, on bread, wine, and ale, 6s 6d....

...

c 1330-3

John de Schalby's Book LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/3
ff 30v-1* (Distributions to cathedral clergy)

...

Moreover in the Pentecost distribution each canon, being resident and being in town on the day of the distribution, will receive 4s 6d and 2s for wine. Likewise the warden of St Peter's altar, the provost, the sacrist, and the clerk of the church will have each one in like manner 4s 6d from the whole sum offered and 2s of commons. Likewise | the clerk of the chapter, 2s. Likewise the two wardens of the high altar, 4s in like manner, (that is) each one (will receive) 2s. Likewise the sacrist's clerk, 6d. The cleric bringing (*or* carrying) the dove, 6d. The porter, 6d....

...

1332-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/5
f 137v (20 September-19 September) (Expenses noted)

...

...On bread bought for the play of St Thomas the Apostle on the Monday in Easter week, 12d; on wine, 5s; on ale, 2d....

1368–9

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/6
f 6v (17 September–16 September)

Play of St
Thomas

...
Likewise he accounts for having paid 6d on bread, 2s 6d on ale, (and) 2s 6d on wine.

Total: 5s 6d

...

1383–4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/7
f 119v* (20 September–18 September)

Expenses about
the play on
Epiphany Day
and (about the
play) of the
Resurrection

...
First to Sir John Louth for the making of a star, 10s 9d; likewise to William Sadiler for the making of three crowns for the kings, 2s 11d. Likewise on wine bought, namely, four gallons for the Resurrection play, 2s 8d; likewise, on ale, 6d; likewise on bread, 6d.

Total: 17s 4d

1384–5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/3b
f 15v* (18 September–17 September)

Expenses about
the Epiphany
play
Expenses about
the Resurrection
play

(blank)

(blank)

...

1386–7

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/7
f 181 (16 September–15 September)

Expenses about
the play on
Epiphany Day
and (about) the
Resurrection
(play)

...
First on the mending of the kings' crowns (and) of the star, and on the hiring of trimmed (*or* lined) garments for the kings, and on other necessary expenses, 19s 6d; on wine, ale, and bread bought for the Resurrection play, 3s 3½d.

Total: 22s 9½d.

...

1389

Certificate of Minstrels' and Entertainers' Guild TNA: PRO C 47/41/156
single sheet

The certificate of the minstrels' and entertainers' fraternity within the city of Lincoln appears in accordance with these words:

First it is ordered and decided among the brothers and sisters of the aforesaid fraternity that they ought to meet once a year at Lincoln in a certain, suitable, and proper place, and there they ought to set up a great candle and they ought to carry the aforesaid candle to the mother church, St Mary's of Lincoln, with the greatest procession, joy, and honour, and (they ought to do) this on the Wednesday in Whitsun week (...) and there each of them ought to offer one penny. They should not hold assemblies (and) meetings except once a year and (they ought to do) this because of a drinking and the arrangement of the abovesaid candle. They should not make any oath among them except to support and find the aforesaid light. They should not hold any lands or tenements, in mortmain or not in mortmain, nor any chattels to the use of the abovesaid fraternity.

Certificate of Cordwainers' Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary

TNA: PRO C 47/41/152
single sheet*

...

...And (that) any person who is working in the town of that craft who is outside the brotherhood will pay sixpence during the year to the play or to the candle.... The twelfth order is that the graceman, brothers, and sisters of the aforesaid guild will go in procession to the monastery with those appointed (to be) Mary, Joseph, St Blaise, and two angels...

1389–90

Injunctions at the Archbishop of Canterbury's Sede Vacante Visitation

LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/7
f 38v (12 May) (Given at Croydon Manor)

- 11 ...And because in our same visitation an accusation was made before us, by some persons worthy of belief, that the vicars and clerics of this very church on Circumcision Day, dressed in laic clothing, are hindering the divine office in a variety of ways (*or* repeatedly) and customarily by their uproar, tricks, chattering, and games which they commonly and appropriately name 'the feast of fools,' by the tenor of the present (letter) we prohibit those vicars who are (serving) now or will (serve) in future to presume to engage in such (practices) hereafter. Nor shall the same vicars or any other ministers of the church, contrary to its honour, put on public drinkings or other insolent activities in any way in the church which is a house of prayer....

1390-1

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/8

f 31v (18 September-17 September)

...

Expenses incurred for the (angelic) salutation on Christmas Day and the play in Easter week

First to Sir John Louth for the expenses reckoned by him about the star and the dove, 2s 6d; likewise on expenses incurred by the sacrist at the same time for the (angelic) salutation, 6s 2½d; likewise for expenses incurred about the play in Easter week, 3s 11d.

Total: 12s 7½d

...

1393-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/8f 74v (21 September-20 September) (*Expenses noted*)

...Likewise on 3 pairs of gloves bought for Mary, Elizabeth, and the angel on Christmas Day at dawn at matins, 3d....

Bishop John Buckingham's Register LA: Bishop's Register 12f 477v* (19 June) (*Detections and comperts against the dean and chapter*)

Visitation proceedings held before Bishop John Buckingham in the chapter house in the presence of the dean and chapter

...

...Likewise it is said that the dean has gone out to common wrestling matches and public shows in the city and outside. And (it is said) that he held some public wrestling matches in the church close of Lincoln and in the (bishop's) palace and by St Giles Hospital, at which he was personally present and was the reward-giver or umpire of the game, giving his gift, that is, 'cat of the mountains,' to the better wrestler.... Likewise the dean caused indulgent expenses to be incurred out of the common fund and fabric fund of the church for dances in the bell-tower and paintings and entertainers and other superfluities also to a total of 100 marks....

...

1394-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/8f 96v (20 September-19 September) (*Expenses noted*)

...

...Likewise on three pairs of gloves bought for Mary, the Angel, and Elizabeth on Christmas Day at dawn, 4d....

1395-6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/8

f 119* (19 September-17 September) (*Expenses noted*)

...Likewise on three pairs of gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and Elizabeth on Christmas Day at dawn, 4d....

f 119v*

...Likewise paid to J. Tetford for the repair of cords and other necessary things for the dove and the angel on the feast of Pentecost, 12d....

1396-7

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/8

f 144 (17 September-16 September) (*Expenses noted*)

...Likewise on gloves bought for Mary and the angel on Christmas Day, 2d; likewise on two pairs of gloves bought for two prophets on the same day, 4d....

1397-8

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1
mb 4*

...

In the twenty- first year	{	John Toreley, mayor	{	John Hoghton	} bailiffs
		John Severby was elected		Nicholas Huddylston	
		to the office of mayor		Richard Staynfeld	

°Pater Noster play this year°

...

1399-1400

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/10

f 11 (21 September-19 September) (*Expenses noted*)

...And on gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and the prophets at dawn on Christmas, 6d....

1401-2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/10

f 59 (18 September-17 September) (*Expenses noted*)

...And in gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and two prophets at dawn on Christmas, 6d....

1402-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/10
f 81 (17 September-16 September) (Expenses noted)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas,
6d....

1403-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/9/10
f [1v]* (16 September 1403-21 September 1404) (Expenses noted)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel and prophets at dawn on
Christmas, 6d....

1404-5 or 1405-6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/10
f 111v* (Expenses noted)

...And on gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and two prophets at dawn on
Christmas, 6d....

1406-7

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/10
f 127v* (19 September-18 September) (Expenses noted)

...And in gloves bought for Mary and the angel and two prophets at dawn
on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

1408-9

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/10
f 147 (16 September-15 September) (Expenses noted)

...And on gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and two prophets at dawn on
Christmas, 6d....

1410-11

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll I
mb 5

...

In the twelfth year William Kirkeby, mayor { Henry Dradshewe } sheriffs
°Pater Noster play° { Henry Thorwurth }

...

1426-7

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/10/3a
f [2]* (15 September 1426-21 September 1427) (Expenses noted)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel, 6d....

...

1431-2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/9/12
f [6]* (16 September 1431-21 September 1432) (Expenses noted)

...And on gloves for Mary and the angel, 6d....

1433-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/9/13
f [7]* (20 September-19 September) (Expenses noted)

...And on gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and prophets for Christmas,
6d....

1434-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/10/3c
f [2]* (19 September-18 September) (Expenses noted)

...

...And on gloves for Mary and the angel, 6d....

1440-1

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/12
f 10v* (18 September-17 September) (Expenses noted)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel and prophets at dawn on
Christmas, 6d....

...

1441-2

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1
mb 6

...

In the twentieth year John Hedon, mayor { Richard Papulwyk } sheriffs
°Play of St Laurence° { Robert Burgh }

...

1442-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/13f 30 (16 September-15 September) (*Expenses noted with customary payments*)

...

And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn

on Christmas

6d

...

1443-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/13f 63v* (15 September 1443-20 September 1444) (*Expenses noted*)

...

And in gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn

on Christmas according to the church's custom

6d

...

1445-6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/14

f [14v] (19 September-18 September)

...

And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn

on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

1446-7

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/14f [36] (18 September-17 September) (*Customary payments*)

...

And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn

on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

1447-8

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1

mb 6

...

In the twenty-
sixth yearJohn Carberton, mayor
°Play of St Susanna°

{	Robert Buckley	}	sheriffs
{	Robert Skupholme	}	

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/14
f [63] (17 September–15 September)

...

⟨...⟩ (for) Mary ⟨...⟩ at dawn on Christmas according
to custom

6d

...

1448–9

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/15
f [13]* (15 September 1448–21 September 1449) (Customary payments)

...

And in gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn
on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

1449–50

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/15
f [39v] (21 September–20 September) (Customary payments)

...

And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn
on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

1450–1

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/15
f [65v]* (20 September–19 September) (Customary payments)

...

And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn
on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

1452–3

A ***List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs*** LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1
mb 6

...

In the thirty- first year	Robert Buckley, mayor	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding: 0 5px;">Richard Wake William Chapman</td> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding: 0 5px;">sheriffs</td> </tr> </table>	}	Richard Wake William Chapman	}	sheriffs
}	Richard Wake William Chapman	}	sheriffs			
	°King Henry was at Lincoln a second time And the play of King Robert of Sicily°					

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
f 14 (17 September–16 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom this year, 6d....

...

1453–4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
f 44v (16 September–15 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom this year, 6d....

...

1454–5

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1
mb 6

...

In the thirty-	William Haltham, mayor	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{John Parker} \\ \text{William Smythe} \end{array} \right\}$	sheriffs
third year	°Battle at St Albans on 2 May Play of St James°		

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
f 79 (15 September 1454–21 September 1455) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1455–6

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1
mb 6

...

In the thirty-	John Huddylston, mayor	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{John Wodeman} \\ \text{Ralph Fo} \end{array} \right\}$	sheriffs
fourth year	°Play of St Clare°		

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
ff 106v-7 (21 September-19 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1456-7

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1
mb 6

...

In the thirty- fifth year	William Horn, mayor	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">Robert Crabden</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td rowspan="2" style="padding-left: 10px;">sheriffs</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">John Taylor</td> </tr> </table>	{	Robert Crabden	}	sheriffs		John Taylor
{	Robert Crabden	}	sheriffs					
	John Taylor							
	°An earthquake on the eve of St Thomas the Apostle at about 9 o'clock. And the Pater Noster play.°							

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
f 136 (19 September-18 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1457-8

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
f 170v (18 September-17 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1458-9

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1
mb 6

...

In the thirty- seventh year	John Wylliamson, mayor	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">Thomas Martin</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td rowspan="2" style="padding-left: 10px;">sheriffs</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">William Bukenell</td> </tr> </table>	{	Thomas Martin	}	sheriffs		William Bukenell
{	Thomas Martin	}	sheriffs					
	William Bukenell							
	°Pater Noster play Battle at Ludlow°							

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
f 202v (17 September–16 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 207 (Allowances)

...

...And in reward given to John Hanson for his labours carried out about the 'Ascension' that took place in the cathedral last year, 26s 8d. And on a like reward given to Stephen Bony, vicar, for his labours carried out about the spectacle (*or* display) that took place in the choir on Christmas Day, 6s 8d. And to William Muskham, vicar, for his labours about the dove and the banner in the choir and the clock last year, 3s 4d....

1459–60

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
f 233 (16 September 1459–21 September 1460) (Customary payments)

...

And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 238 (Allowances)

...

...And in a reward given to John Hanson, chaplain, for his labours and his care about the 'Assumption' and the spectacles (*or* displays) that took place in the church on the feast of St Anne, 12s 4d....

...

1460–1

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
f 262v (21 September–20 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1461–2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16
f 288v (20 September–19 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas

according to custom, 6d....

...

f 293 (*Allowances*)

...

...And on like allowance made to John Hanson for business carried out about the 'Assumption' this year, (*blank*); and to John Bradley for costs incurred by him at dawn on Christmas for the star and cords for the same (star) as appears by his bill, (*blank*)....

1462-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16

f 314 (*19 September-18 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 318 (*Allowances*)

...

...And allowance is made to him for expenses and a reward given to John Hanson, chaplain, for his labour carried out about the 'Ascension,' 10s....

...

1463-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16

f 338v (*18 September-16 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

f 343 (*Allowances*)

...And in allowance made to Sir John Hanson for his labour carried out about the 'Ascension' this year, 10s....

...

1464-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16

f 361 (*16 September-15 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 364v (*Allowances*)

...

...And in allowance made to John Hanson for his labour carried out in the church about the 'Ascension' in the nave of the church by the favour and courtesy of the lord (canons) this year, 10s....

...

1465–6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/2/16

f 382 (15 September 1465–21 September 1466) (*Customary payments*)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1467–8

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/6(2)

f [9] (20 September–18 September) (*Customary payments*)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1468–9

Dean and Chapter Act Book LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/36

f 35 (29 July)

...

Decree for expenses on St Anne's Day around the 'Assumption of the Lady Mary'

On the Saturday for chapter, that is, on 29 July AD 1469, Master Robert Fleming, dean, Hugh Tapton, chancellor, Robert Aiscogh, subdean, (and) Robert Wymbyssh, Thomas Alford, and John Graveley, residentiary canons, (all) of Lincoln Cathedral, having met in the chapter house of the same chapter, as they have said, decided with unanimous consent (...) that the costs and expenses lately incurred by Sir John Hanson, chaplain, about the spectacle (*or* display) of the 'Assumption of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne last past in the nave of the said church, together with that Sir John's reward, be met in this regard out of the whole of the money coming in from the opening of the great altar for Midsummer term last past, to take place before the canons there on the next (day for chapter).

1470–1

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/6(3)

f [4v] (16 September–15 September) (*Customary payments*)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas

according to custom, 6d....

...

1472-3

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1
mb 6

...

In the twelfth year John Elston, esquire, mayor { John Holway } sheriffs
°Corpus Christi play° { Thomas Bryde }

...

1473-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/7
f [48] (19 September-18 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas
according to custom, 6d....

...

f [51v] (Allowances)

...

...And allowance is made to the accountant as for as much money as was
paid by him at the hands of John Slak for the canons' breakfast on the feast
of Corpus Christi as appears from a list of details thereof, 18s 1½d....

...

1474-5

A *List of Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs* LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1
mb 6*

...

In the four- Oliver Franke, mayor { John Sparowe } sheriffs
teenth year °This year Bishop Bridge was built { Edward Browne }
(English) and the Corpus Christi play (took (English)
place)°

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/7
f [70]* (18 September-17 September) (Customary payments)

...And in gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas
according to custom, 6d....

...

f [70v]* (*Gratuities*)

...

...[And on a reward given to those playing the Corpus Christi play this year, nil.] ... And on the lord canons' dinner on the feast of Corpus Christi while they were watching the play this year, 16s 2d.

...

1475–6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/7

f [13] (*17 September–15 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

...And in gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f [13v] (*Gratuities*)

...

...And on the lord canons' dinner on the feast of Corpus Christi while they were watching the play this year, 18s 6d.

...

1477–8

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/7

f [29]* (*21 September–20 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel according to custom at dawn on Christmas, 6d....

...

f [29v]* (*Gratuities*)

...

...And on the banquet for the canons being in John Sharpe's room within the close to see the Corpus Christi play [beyond (*blank*) allowed to the clerk of the common fund in the clerk of the fabric fund's office as well as in his own office in the previous year] °17s 3½d°....

...

1478–9

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/1

f 8 (*20 September–19 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas

according to custom, 6d....

...

f 8v (*Gratuities*)

...And on the banquet for the canons being in John Sharpe's room within the close to see the Corpus Christi play, 17s 11d....

1480-1

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2

f 10 (*17 September-16 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 10v (*Gratuities*)

...

...And on the banquet for the canons being in John Sharpe's room within the close to see the Corpus Christi play, nil this year....

...

1481-2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2

f 33v (*16 September-15 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1482-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2

f 56v (*15 September 1482-21 September 1483*) (*Customary payments*)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 60* (*Allowances*)

...And paid to Sir Henry Botery for the making (*ie*, the completion (?)) of the half-done 'Coronation of St Mary' in the cathedral church of St Mary of

Lincoln for the feast of St Anne, 47s; and paid for the breakfast for the lord (canons) being at the play called 'Pater Noster play,' along with 15d paid for the same lord (canons') expenses on the second day of the same play, 17s....

...

Chapter Act Book LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/37
f 17* (7 June)

...

On the Saturday for chapter, that is, on 7 July AD 1483, in the high choir of the cathedral church of St Mary of Lincoln after that day's compline was finished, the lord dean with his brethren, that is, the precentor, the chancellor, the treasurer, and Alford, standing together before the west door of the choir next to their accustomed (places) and discussing the procession of St Anne that was to be made by the citizens of Lincoln on her next feast coming, decided together that they wanted to have that show (*or* entertainment) or rite of the 'Assumption' or 'Crowning of St Mary' repaired and prepared anew and put on and shown in the aforesaid procession, as had been customary in the nave of the said church. And the question also came up among them at whose expense this work should take place. They said that (it should be) at the expense of those who wished to contribute or give something to it, and in the event that such a contribution or donation would not complete such costs, that then all that remained thereof should be borne equally by the common fund and the fabric fund. And they then ordered there that the lord treasurer and Master Thomas Alford should be master supervisors of the said work, since the lord subdean, then the provost of the said church, was away on his tourn for the provost's office.

...

1483-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 78v (21 September-19 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1484-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 99v (19 September-18 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1485–6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 120v (18 September–17 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 123v (*Allowances*)

...And paid to Henry Botery, chaplain, by the lord provost's command, for the showing of the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne, 5s....

...

1486–7

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 141v (17 September–16 September) (Customary payments)

...

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 144v (*Allowances*)

And paid for expenses of the lord residentiary canons being at the Corpus Christi play, 28s 3d....

...

1487–8

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 161v (16 September 1487–21 September 1488) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 164v (*Allowances*)

...And on the expenses of all the lord resident canons being at the Corpus Christi play, 22s 3½d....

...

1488

Chapter Act Book LA: Dean and Chapter A/3/1
f 58v* (13 September)

The advowson
of one chantry
of Burton

...
And on the same day the same canons granted to the lord treasurer (the right) to present and name to that chantry in Burton, which Sir Robert Clark holds at present, any suitable chaplain whatever, whenever that chantry next happens to be vacant, and (granted to the lord treasurer the right) to keep that Sir Robert with him, because he is so clever in the showing and entertainment called 'the Ascension' that is usual each year on the feast of St Anne, etc.

...

1488-9

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 182v (21 September-20 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1489-90

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 203v (20 September-19 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 204 (*Gratuities*)

...And on expenses incurred on breakfast for the canons seeing the Pater Noster play, 20s 1d.

...

f 206v (*Allowances*)

...And allowed to him for money paid to Robert Clark, chaplain, for his labours about the 'Coronation of St Mary' in the nave of the church on the feast of St Anne, 2s.

...

1490-1

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 224v (19 September-18 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 227v (*Allowances*)

...And on money paid to Sir Robert Clark for his labour on the feast of St Anne about the 'Coronation of St Mary,' 2s....

...

1491-2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 247v (18 September-16 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1492-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 268v (16 September-15 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1493-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 289v (15 September 1493-21 September 1494) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

(*Gratuities*)

...And paid to Sir Robert Browne labouring about the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne in the year last past, because it was not allowed earlier, 2s; and to the same for this year, 2s....

...

1494-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 310v (21 September-20 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1495-6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/2
f 331v (20 September-18 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

(Gratuities)

...And on the expenses of the lord canons being at the Corpus Christi play together with others, many noble persons being with them at breakfast and supper, 54s 9½d.

...

1501-2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 9v (19 September-18 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 10v (Allowances)

...And allowance is made to him as of money paid to John Barns, by order of the chapter, for his labour about the 'Assumption' on the feast of St Anne, 2s....

...

1502-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 31v (18 September-17 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 34v (*Allowances*)

...And allowance is made to him as of money paid to John Barns, by order of the chapter, for his labours about the 'Assumption of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne, 2s....

...

1503-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3

f 51v (17 September-15 September) (*Customary payments*)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 54v (*Allowances*)

...And allowance is made to the same (clerk) as of money paid to John Barns, by order of the lord dean and lord members of the chapter, for his labours about the 'Assumption' made on the feast of St Anne in the nave of the church, 2s....

...

1505-6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3

f 71v (21 September-20 September) (*Customary payments*)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

1506-7

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3

f 91v (20 September-19 September) (*Customary payments*)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 94v (*Allowances*)

...And allowance is made to the same (clerk) of money paid to John Barns, by order of the lord members of the chapter, for his labour about the 'Assumption'

made on the feast of St Anne in the nave of the church, both for this year and for the past year, 4s....

...

1507–8

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3

f 111v (19 September–17 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 114v (*Allowances*)

...And allowance is made to the same (clerk) of money paid to John Barns, by order of the lord members of the chapter, for his labour around the 'Assumption' made on the feast of St Anne in the nave of the church, 2s....

...

1508–9

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3

f 131v (17 September–16 September) (Customary payments)

...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....

...

f 134v (*Allowances*)

...And allowance is made to the same (clerk) for money paid to John Barns, by command of the lord members of the chapter, for his labour and expenses around the 'Assumption' made on the feast of St Anne in the nave of the church, 2s....

...

1509–10

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3

f 153v (16 September–15 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f 154 (*Gratuities*)

...

And for John Barns, porter of the close: given to him in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne and for (his) labours and expenses

10s

...

Dean and Chapter Act Book LA: Dean and Chapter A/3/4

f 6v (*1 December*)

...

It concerns
John Barns

On the Saturday for chapter, that is on 1 December AD 1509, the lord treasurer, the archdeacon of Lincoln, and (Sir) Roston, canons residentiary meeting as a chapter in the chapter house – although master precentor, the archdeacon of Stow, and (Sir) FitzHerbert are away from the site of the chapter, they are expressly agreed with whatever is done by those men in that chapter – after a discussion among the aforesaid treasurer, archdeacon of Lincoln, and (Sir) Roston, about and concerning the labour and care carried out every year, and to be carried on in future, by John Barns, among other things about the dove and the clock in the week of Pentecost and also about the 'Assumption of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne, (and) likewise on Christmas Day in preparing the star at dawn and in Holy Week with the banner, unanimously granted, in the name of the chapter, to the aforesaid John Barns for all his labours and careful actions to be shown about the aforementioned in future from year to year an annuity of 20s to be paid to the same (John) annually as long as the chapter pleases in the following way, that is, 10s to be paid by the clerk of the common fund and 10s to be paid by the clerk of the fabric fund yearly at the chapter's pleasure.

...

1510–11

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3

f 172v (*15 September 1510–21 September 1511*) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f 173 (*Gratuities*)

...

And for John Barns, porter of the close: given to the same in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses

10s

...

1511–12

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 194v (21 September–19 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d

...

f 195 (*Gratuities*)

...

And for John Barns, porter of the close: given to him in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses 10s

...

1512–13

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 216v (19 September–18 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d

...

f 217 (*Gratuities*)

...

And given to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses 10s

...

1513–14

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 239v (18 September–17 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d

...

f 240 (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, (and) given to the same in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation

of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours
and expenses 10s
...

1514–15

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 260 (17 September–16 September) (Customary payments)

...
And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at
dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d
...

f 260v (*Gratuities*)

...
And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, (and) given
to him in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St)
Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses 10s
...

1515–16

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 282v (16 September 1515–21 September 1516) (Customary payments)

...
And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at
dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d
...

f 283 (*Gratuities*)

...
And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward
for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the
feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with
2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [10s] 12s
...

Dean and Chapter Act Book LA: Dean and Chapter A/3/3
f 87* (14 June)

For John Barns

...
Be it noted that on 14 June in the year abovesaid, the lord dean, lord precentor,
lord chancellor, lord archdeacon of Lincoln, lord archdeacon of Stow, and
Sir Massingberd, canons residentiary meeting as a chapter in the chapter
house, granted to John Barns 2s to be paid annually to him by the clerk of the

common fund for his labours about the 'Assumption of St Mary' on (St) Anne's Day – just as he has had in the past as appears by the account books of the clerk of the common fund – over and above 20s granted to the same John at the will of the chapter, granted by the chapter on 1 December 1509, for his labours around the said 'Assumption' and other labours to be exercised at various times of the year.

1516–17

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 305v (21 September–20 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d

...

f 306v (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being 12s

...

1517–18

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 328v (20 September–19 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d

...

f 329 (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being 12s

...

1518–19

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 351v (19 September–18 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at

dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f 352 (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being

12s

...

1519–20

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/3
f 374v (18 September–16 September) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f 375 (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being

12s

...

1520–1

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/4
f [19v] (16 September–15 September) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f [20] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being

12s

...

1521-2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/4

f [42] (15 September 1521-21 September 1522) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel
at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f [42v] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward
for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the
feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with
2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being
And paid in reward to the same John by the chapter's favour

12s

...

1522-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/4

f [65] (21 September-20 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at
dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f [65v] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward
for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the
feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with
2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being
And paid in reward to the same John by the chapter's favour

12s

...

1523-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/4

f [89] (20 September-18 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at
dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f [90] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward
for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the
feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with
2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being
And paid in reward to the same John by the chapter's favour

12s

...

1524-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/4

f [110v] (*18 September-17 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at
dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f [111] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward
for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the
feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with
2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being
And paid in reward to the same John by the chapter's favour

12s

...

1525-6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/4

f [135v]* (*17 September-16 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at
dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f [136]* (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward
for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the
feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with
2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being
And paid to the park-keeper of Bytham this year

12s

...

1526–7

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009f 15v (17 February 1526/7–16 February 1527/8) (*Officers' wages*)

...

Likewise paid to the entertainers of this city for their fees 4d

...

f 16 (*Necessary expenses*)

...

Likewise paid for 'the pageant room' of the Bethlehem (pageant) in the Carmelite friars' church 4d

Likewise paid for a breakfast made for the shepherds in the procession of St Anne's guild 6d

Likewise paid for a cord for the pageant, 1d; and (for) the small nails, 1d; and for one mirror, 1½d. Total: 3½d

Likewise paid for the mending of the arm of one angel 1d

...

Likewise paid for one small cage, 4d

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/4f [157] (16 September–15 September) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d

...

f [157v] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being 12s

...

1527

Lincoln Cathedral Statutes LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/8

f 26v

...

But on St John's Day after vespers, the boy bishop will have a half-pound candle and each other chorister will have one small candle at the sacrist's pleasure. And so it shall happen until matins without giving (them) back.

After these things are finished, the said bishop will give their candles to the succentor and the vice-chancellor.

...

1527-8

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009

ff 22-2v (16 February 1527/8-21 February 1528/9) (Other necessary expenses)

...

Likewise paid for a cord (attached) to the Bethlehem pageant 7d

...

Likewise paid for the making of (a) handle for the window of the pageant 1d

...

Likewise paid on expenses for the Bethlehem pageant 19d

Likewise paid for 'the pageant room' 4d

...

Likewise paid to the piper on the procession day 4d

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/4

f [175] (15 September 1527-20 September 1528) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d

...

f [175v] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Bedyll, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being 12s

...

1528-9

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009

f 29v (21 February 1528/9-20 February 1529/30) (Officers' fees)

...

Likewise paid to an entertainer walking before the procession 4d

...

(Other necessary expenses)

Likewise for the carrying of the Bethlehem pageant in the St Anne's procession over and above all the money collected for the same

11½d

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/4
f [201]* (20 September–19 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

f [202]* (*Gratuities*)

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne

12s

...

1529–30

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
f 38 (20 February 1529/30–19 February 1530/1) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Likewise paid to an entertainer

4d

...

(Other necessary expenses)

Likewise paid for the carrying of 'Bethlehem'

10d

...

Likewise paid to certain of the players in our hall at the banquet

4d

...

Likewise paid for the Bethlehem pageant standing at the White Friary

4d

Likewise paid for the small nails and ale

1½d

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
p 21 (19 September–18 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

p 22 (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne

12s

...

1530-1

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
f 46 (19 February 1530/1-18 February 1531/2) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Likewise paid to this city's entertainers

3d

...

(*Other necessary expenses*)

Likewise paid for the mending of the Bethlehem pageant

2d

Likewise paid for nails for the same work

1d

Likewise paid for bread and ale for those carrying the pageant

6½d

Likewise paid for 'the pageant room'

4d

Likewise paid to the carriers of the same pageant

5d

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
p 65 (18 September-17 September) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

p 66 (*Gratuities*)

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne

12s

...

1531-2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
p 111* (17 September-15 September) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

p 112* (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne

12s

...

1532-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5

p 151* (*15 September 1532-21 September 1533*) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

p 152* (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne

12s

...

1533-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5

p [195] (*21 September-20 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

p [196] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne

12s

...

1534-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5

p [239]* (*20 September-19 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn

on Christmas according to custom 6d
 ...

p [240]* (*Gratuities*)

...
 And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward
 for the clock and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast
 of St Anne 12s
 ...

1535-6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
 p [283]* (*19 September-17 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...
 And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn
 on Christmas according to custom 6d
 ...

p [284]* (*Gratuities*)

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward
 for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast
 of St Anne 12s
 ...

1536-7

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
 f 86 (*19 February 1536/7-18 February 1537/8*) (*Allowances*)

...
 Likewise paid for the mending of one angel's wing 1d
 ...
 Likewise paid for the mending of the Bethlehem pageant 18d
 Likewise paid for two mirrors of the pageant 4d
 Likewise for the tinfoil for the painting of the surface
 of the varnish 3½d
 Likewise paid to William Lytyll for the painting of the
 same varnish 12d
 Likewise paid for one cord/rope of the said pageant 4d
 Likewise paid for bread and ale given to the porters
 of the said pageant on St Anne's Day 4d
 Likewise paid for the mending of the hearse 1d

Likewise paid to the shepherds and porters of the
aforesaid pageant 15d – It is not allowed
...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
p [329] (17 September–16 September) (Customary payments)

...
And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel
at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d
...

p [330] (*Gratuities*)

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward
for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast
of St Anne 12s
...

1537–8

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
p [369] (16 September–15 September) (Customary payments)

...
And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at
dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d
...

p [370] (*Gratuities*)

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward
for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast
of St Anne 12s
...

1538–9

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
p [413] (15 September 1538–21 September 1539) (Customary payments)

...
And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at
dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d
...

p [414]* (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve

6s

...

1539–40

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5

p [457] (*21 September–19 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

p [458] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve

6s

...

And paid in coin for expenses about the 'Coronation of St Mary' this year

2s 4d

...

1540–1

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5

p [499] (*19 September–18 September*) (*Customary payments*)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom

6d

...

p [500] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve and for other things

6s

...

1541–2

City Council Minute Book LA: L1/1/1/2

f 2 (*3 October*)

...

At the aforesaid leet court Richard Cogle was admitted as one (of) the waits

of this city, and a silver chain was delivered to him called 'a chain,' containing twenty-seven links and a silver cross. And John Falkener and William Yates are his guarantors, etc.

And also at the aforesaid leet court John Lambert was admitted as one (of) the waits of the said city, and a silver chain was delivered to him called 'a chain,' containing twenty-seven links and a silver cross. And Edward Dawson and Edmund Atkynson are his guarantors, etc.

Moreover at the said leet court Richard Ableson was admitted as one (of) the waits of the aforesaid city, and a silver chain was delivered to him called 'a chain of silver,' and a silver cross, also containing twenty-six links. And Edward Crosfeld is his guarantor, etc.

...

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
p [543] (18 September–17 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d

...

p [544] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve and for other things 6s

...

1542–3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
p [587] (17 September–16 September) (Customary payments)

...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d

...

p [588] (*Gratuities*)

...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve and other things 6s

...

And paid in as much coin (as was spent) for expenses
around the 'Coronation of St Mary' this year 3s 8d
...

1543-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/5
p [629]* (16 September 1543-21 September 1544) (Customary payments)
...

And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at
dawn on Christmas according to custom 6d
...

p [631] (*Gratuities*)
...

And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward
for the clock, the king's banner, and the star at dawn on
Christmas and other things 6s
...

1548-9

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: D/V/2/2a
f [11]* (16 September-15 September) (*Gratuities*)
...

And paid for gloves bought at dawn on Christmas 6d
...

1561-2

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/6
f 125v* (21 September-20 September) (*Costs and expenses*)
...

And in coin paid to John Plumbe, schoolmaster of the
grammar school, for his reward when his students were
playing a comedy before the lord dean and others 10s
And in coin paid for a reward given both to the lady queen's
players, 13s 4d, and the duchess of Suffolk's, 6s 8d, by
consent of the whole chapter 20s
...

1562-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: D/V/2/2b
f [5v]* (20 September-19 September) (*Costs and expenses*)
...

And paid by order of the chapter to servants and players

both of Lord Robert Dudley, 10s, and of the lord earl of Oxford, 5s, for a reward given to them; in all 15s
 ...

1563-4

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/8
 f 129* (19 September-17 September) (Costs and expenses)

...
 And paid at the hands of master subdean for a reward given by him by order of the lord dean to Lord Robert Dudley's servants 6s 8d - discharged
 ...

f 129v*

...
 And paid at the hands of the venerable Francis Mallett, dean, by order of Bartholomew Halley for a reward given to the lady duchess of Suffolk's players, 6s 8d, and to other players, 6s 8d; in all 13s 4d - discharged
 ...

1564-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/6
 f 152* (17 September-16 September) (Costs and expenses)

...
 And paid on 13 April 1565 for a reward given to the lord earl of Leicester's players by order of the lord archdeacon of Lincoln and the lord subdean 10s

f 152v*

...
 And paid by the said receiver this year, both 10s at the hands of the venerable man, the archdeacon of Lincoln, and 10s at the hands of the venerable man, the archdeacon of Bedford, for a reward given to the usher and his boys by order of the whole chapter 20s

And paid at the hands of the said venerable man John Aylmer, archdeacon of Lincoln, for a reward paid to Lord Hunsdon's players this year 6s 8d
 ...

And paid to the lord dean for a reward given to Lord Scrope's players this year 5s
 ...

And paid to Robert Pullayn, one of the chapter's messengers
(*or* representatives) for a reward given to Lord Rich's players
by order of master dean 3s 4d
...

1565–6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/6
f 165v* (16 September–15 September) (*Costs and expenses*)
...

And in reward given by order of the lord dean and the
residentiary canons of the aforesaid church to player/s of
John Byron, knight, in the month of December 1565 4s
And paid to William Saunderson, schoolmaster of the
grammar school, for a reward given to them for playing
a comedy with his boys, as well as for their costs and
expenses borne about the same as according to their bill 47s 6d

f 166*

...
And paid to Robert Pullayn for a reward given by him to
Lord Strange's players by order of the chapter 5s
...
And paid to Master Francis Mallett, dean of the aforesaid
cathedral church, for a reward given by him to the lady
queen's servants, called 'the queen's players,' this year 6s 8d
...

1566–7

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/3
f 33*

...
William Bede
Henry Dent – he is dismissed
Thomas Wateman
Anthony Ellis
They played in the house of Arthur Wilson on Sunday at the time of
divine service. On 22 March 1567/8 at Lincoln, Dent did not (appear)
when he was cited; the rest, when they were sought, were not (found
and so they were cited) by ways and means. Afterwards Dent appeared
and confesses. He has to acknowledge (his fault) next Sunday and to
report (his compliance). Afterwards the lord (judge) dismissed him with
a warning.

1569–70

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/6

f 213* (18 September–17 September) (Customary payments and expenses)

...

Paid at the hand of master archdeacon of Lincoln for
a reward given to the lord earl of Worcester's players 6s 8d

...

f 213v*

...

And paid to Master John Aylmer and Master Todd for
a reward given to the lady queen's servants, called 'the
queen's players' 20s

...

1570–1

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009

f 145v (14 February 1570/1–14 February 1571/2) (Expenses)

And (they seek allowance) of money likewise paid by those
accountants for the dinner made there, namely, for eleven
chickens, 4s; for three piglets, 2s 7d; for a quarter (of)
mutton, 10d; for one bushel wheat, 5s; for twenty gallons
of ale, 4s 2d; (for) wood and coal, 3s 8d; (for) suet, 3d;
(for) currants, 12d; for four ounces pepper, 12d; for two
pounds raisins and two pounds prunes, 16d; (for) cloves
and mace, 5d; (for) alexanders, 1d; (for) sugar, 4d; (for)
mustard, 5d; (for) honey, 1d; (for) yeast, 4d; for bread, 6d 26s

And of money likewise paid for the aforesaid dinner by the
aforesaid John Stowe, namely, for four chickens, 18d; (for)
four quarters (of) mutton, 4s 4d; for beef, 8s 6d; (for) salt,
6d; (for) beer, 3s; (for) charcoal, 6d; (for) wine, 8d; for
bread, 12d; for musicians, 3d; (for) two cakes of butter,
10d; (for) currants, 4d; (for) malt vinegar, 1d; in all 21s 6d

...

1571–2

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009

f 148v* (14 February 1571/2–14 February 1572/3)

The same accountants seek allowance of money paid by them,

both for the dinner and for other things, etc, namely, for ale at the curriers on two occasions, 8d; for William Hesill, 3s 8d; for bread and ale on another occasion, 16d; for four geese, 3s 4d; for eleven chickens, 4s 8d; two cakes of butter, 10d; a peck and a half (*or* a half peck) (of) salt, 6d; one peck of barley, 3d; one kilderkin of beer, 3 s; one quarter beef, 8s 8d; for seven gallons of ale, 2s 4d; one bushel of wheat and the grinding, 5s 2d; one and a quarter sheep and two pounds of suet, 6s 10d; for four piglets, 3s 10d; for ale bought from Thomas Gough's wife, 20d; one dozen apples, 12d; for ale bought from Nicholas Troton's wife, 12d; for spice bought from Thomas Hanson, 2s 8d; for mustard, malt vinegar, and candles, 4d; for pewter borrowed from Cuthbert Wilson, 4d; for coals, 12d; for wood, 2s 8d; and in reward to musicians, 13d; also to the clerk writing this account, 6s 8d; in all

63s 6d

...

1572-3

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/6
f 245v* (21 September-20 September) (*Costs and expenses*)

...

And paid to Master John Aylmer, archdeacon of Lincoln,
for a reward given by him to the lady queen's players

5s

...

1574-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/6
f 269v* (19 September-18 September) (*Costs and expenses*)

...

And paid to John Wyncl, master of the grammar school, for
his pains and care in the setting forth of various plays, this by
order of the chapter

26s 8d

...

1575-6

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/6
f 280* (18 September-16 September) (*Costs and expenses*)

...

And paid to Master Gregory Garth, chancellor of the
aforesaid church, for a reward given by him to the lord
earl of Essex' players singing in the choir of the aforesaid
church by order of the lord dean

10s

...

1592-3

Dean and Chapter Act Book LA: Dean and Chapter A/3/7
f 124* (21 January)

...

® Decree for
paying
participants
(...) a comedy

On Sunday, 21 January AD 1592/3, the aforesaid masters, the dean, the precentor, the chancellor, and the archdeacon of Lincoln, meeting in a short conversation in the choir of the cathedral church of St Mary in Lincoln, decided that the sum of £4 should be bestowed on Bartholomew Gryffyn and John Hilton, namely, 50s to the said Bartholomew and 30s to John Hilton, toward the relief of the labours and burdens that the same Bartholomew and John have sustained in putting on two comedies to be performed by the choristers and other scholars of this church, and that the said sum of £4 should be paid with suitable dispatch by the receiver-general of the said church.

...

1594-5

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/8
f 321* (15 September 1594-21 September 1595) (*Costs and expenses*)

...

And paid to Robert Butler, master of the choristers, for strings and other necessities for (their) viols, as appears by a bill

22s

...

1596-7

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/5/12(38)
f 34v*

...

And paid on the same day to Master Butler for coin allowed to him in the account for paper, viol strings, and other things, 20s 10d, and for his pension, owed to him at Michaelmas next to come, 33s 4d; in total

54s 2d

® (signed)
Thomas Butler

...

1607-8

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/11
f 48v*

...

He is dismissed

John Burton (*English*). On 28 May 1608 he appeared and submitted himself (to the judgment of the court) and he is dismissed with a warning.

1609–10

Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts LA: Bj/3/9
f 139 (*Cost of wax, cloth, and other things*)

...

And paid to Thomas Kingston, master of the choristers,
for viol strings, 6s 8d, and for six bows for their viols, in
English, 'bows for their viols,' 6s

12s 8d

...

1613–14

City Council Minute Book LA: L1/1/1/4
f 118 (*28 September*)

...

Justinian
Walwyn
admitted

Justinian Walwyn, instrument maker, has been admitted into the said liberties
and franchises on the said 11 April for (a payment of) (*blank*)

...

1614–15

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
f 211 (*21 February 1613/14–20 February 1614/15*) (*Payments*)

...

Likewise paid for one quart sack 12d
Likewise paid for the dinners of the clerk and (his) wife 16d
Likewise paid for the musicians' dinners and one pint sack 3s 6d

...

Dean and Chapter Act Book LA: Dean and Chapter A/3/10
ff 150v–1 (*1 August*)

Visitation of Lincoln grammar school by Roger Parker, STD, dean of Lincoln Cathedral; George Eland, BA, chancellor and canon residentiary; and John Hills, STD, canon residentiary and archdeacon of Lincoln, together with the mayor and other officials of the city, in the presence of Thomas Stirroppe, notary public and clerk of the cathedral chapter

Indeed on the said day and hour and in the said place, the said lord dean and lord residentiary canons, also the mayor, recorder, and aldermen aforesaid, gathered together and, meeting after some orations or declamations, namely one spoken in Greek by a certain Sowth and another spoken in Latin by a certain Kent, and after divine service was ended in the same place, charged Master John Phipps, schoolmaster, and William Walkwood, usher, jointly and severally with the articles written below, and they examined them and

some of the students aforesaid individually and together upon the same articles – not omitting (to administer) an oath (*ie*, to tell the truth). And because it was then and there clearly and plainly known to the same visitors that the said William Walkwood was and for some years past had been grossly guilty, the said mayor, recorder, and aldermen, with the advice of the said dean and the residentiaries aforesaid and of a certain Robert Morecroft, another alderman then also present, decided that the said William Walkwood should be removed from the office of the ushership in the said school; and nevertheless the aforesaid dean and residentiaries, mayor, recorder, and aldermen, moved by reason of charity toward the same Walkwood, agreed by their unanimous consent and assent on the sum of £3 6s 8d from the revenues of the common fund of the resident canons of the said cathedral church, and £3 6s 8d from the common chamber of the city of Lincoln, and £6 8s 4d from the wages of the future usher should be paid and contributed yearly, in equal portions at the previously customary times of paying the schoolmaster's and usher's wages, to the said Walkwood for his sustenance and that of his family until and up until he has been provided with a sufficient ecclesiastical benefice or salary; (all of which was done) in the presence of the said Master Walkwood submitting himself to their mercy in the foregoing matters and giving them great thanks.

Likewise the said dean, residentiaries, mayor, recorder, and aldermen decided that in the future the said scholars would not in any way be permitted to exclude the schoolmaster or usher of the said school in any year before the feast of 'O Sapientia,' namely, 16 December.

...

1615–16

City Council Minute Book LA: L1/1/1/4

f 132 (18 September)

...

Sworn

20 November

- 10 Thomas Becket, son of James Becket, (was sworn) as an apprentice to Richard Bell, musician, for eight years (starting) from 1 November in the thirteenth and forty-ninth year of the reign of James, now king of England (and Scotland, *ie*, 1615).

...

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009

f 213 (20 February 1614/15–22 February 1615/16) (*Payments*)

...

Likewise on wine at the feast

3s 2d

Likewise for the musicians' dinners

2s 6d

...

Likewise paid to the beadle 4d
 Likewise for the dinners of the clerk and (his) wife 16d
 ...

1619–20

City Council Minute Book LA: L1/1/1/4
 f 169v (20 September)

...

3 July 16(..)

...

Sworn Anthony Okley, son of William Okley, (has become) apprentice to Justinian Walwyn for seven years, (to serve) an eighth (year) as journeyman, on 1 August in the seventeenth year of the reign of King James (over England) and the fifty-third (year of his reign over Scotland).

1623–4

City Council Minute Book LA: L1/1/1/4
 f 199 (25 September)

...

9 February 1623/4

...

Admitted Thomas Becket, son of the late James, has been admitted and sworn as an apprentice of Richard Bell, musician, for seven years, etc.

...

1626–7

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
 f 226v (20 February 1625/6–19 February 1626/7) (Payments)

...

Likewise when they were summoning (the guests to)
 the feast 3s 8d
 Likewise for coals, in English, charcoal 4d
 Likewise for wine at the feast 2s 8d
 Likewise for the dinners of the clerk and (his) wife 16d
 Likewise to musicians, the beadle, and Thomas Greene 4s 4d

...

1627–8

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
 f 228v (19 February 1626/7–21 February 1627/8) (Allowances)

Likewise at the summoning to the feast 2s

Likewise for the dinners of the clerk and (his) wife at the feast	16d
Likewise for the musicians' and beadle's dinners at the feast	3s
Likewise for drink at the feast	5s
Likewise for wine at the feast	7s 4d
Likewise for fire at the feast	19d
...	

1628–9

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009

f 230v (21 February 1627/8–19 February 1628/9) (Allowances)

...	
Likewise spent about the appointment and summoning of the feast	4s 8d
Likewise for wine at the feast	4s 4d
Likewise for the best drink at the feast	3s 4d
Likewise for the musicians' and beadle's dinners and the beadle's fee	3s 4d
...	

1629–30

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009

f 232 (19 February 1628/9–18 February 1629/30) (Allowances)

...	
Likewise spent about the summoning and appointment of the feast	5s
Likewise for wine at the feast	6s
Likewise for the beadle's fee at the feast	4d
For ale at the feast	6s 8d
Likewise for the clerk's dinner	8d
Likewise for the musicians' dinners at the feast	2s 6d
Likewise toward the payment paid for dinners at the feast	6d
Likewise for ale at night at the feast	12d
...	

1631–2

City Council Minute Book LA: L1/1/1/4

f 151 (27 September)

...	
Sworn John Reade, son of Richard, (has become) an apprentice of Justinian Walwyn, instrument maker, from the feast of St Martin the Bishop in winter next	

before the date of (his) indenture, that is, 13 January in the sixth year of (the reign of King) Charles, 1630/1, for seven years, (to serve) for an eighth year as journeyman; (registered on) 21 November 1631.

...

1632-3

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
f 236v (23 February 1631/2-21 February 1632/3) (Allowances)

...

Likewise spent on the summoning to the common feast of this fellowship	3s
Likewise spent on ale at that feast	5s 4d
Likewise spent for the musicians' and beadle's dinners	2s 8d
Likewise spent on wine at that feast	5s 4d
Likewise given as a gift to the beadle	4d

...

1634-5

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
f 240 (21 February 1633/4-19 February 1634/5) (Allowances)

...

Likewise paid to the musicians, beadle, and to John Nicolson at the feast	3s
Likewise for wine at the feast	18d
Likewise on expenses on the summoning to the feast	12d
Likewise for ale at the payment for the feast	14d

...

Likewise for the dinners of William Enrie, alderman, and Thomas Peachell at the feast	16d
--	-----

...

1636-7

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
f 243* (18 February 1635/6-23 February 1636/7) (Allowances)

...

Likewise on expenses at the summoning to the feast	3s
Likewise at the feast for drink	20s
Likewise for Masters Robert Morecroft's, William Watson's, and Thomas Peachell's dinners at the feast	2s
Likewise for the musicians', beadle's, and John Nicolson's dinners	4s 4d

...

1637-8

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
f 244 (23 February 1636/7-22 February 1637/8) (Allowances)

...

Likewise on expenses on preparation for the feast, on summoning, and at the feast	9s 6d
Likewise for Master Watson's dinner at the feast	8d
Likewise for the musicians', beadles', and John Nicolson's dinners at the feast, together with 4d given as a gift to the beadles	3s 10d

...

1638-9

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
ff 245-5v (22 February 1637/8-21 February 1638/9) (Allowances)

...

Likewise on expenses at the summoning to the feast	6s
Likewise on expenses on ale at the feast	10s
Likewise for the dinner of William Watson, alderman, at the feast	8d 1
Likewise for the musicians', beadles', and John Nicolson's dinners at the feast	3s 6d
Likewise as a gift given to the beadles	4d

...

1641-2

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
f 248v (18 February 1640/1-24 February 1641/2) (Allowances)

...

Likewise spent at the preparation for the feast, 2s; at the summoning to the feast, 2s 8d; and on ale at the feast, 21s	25s 8d
Likewise for the dinner of William Watson, alderman, at the feast	8d
Likewise for the musicians', beadle's, and John Nicolson's dinners at the feast	5s 8d
Likewise as a gift given to the beadle	4d

...

1642-3

Cordwainers' Account and Minute Book LA: LCL/5009
f 250 (24 February 1641/2-23 February 1642/3) (Allowances)

...

Likewise on expenses at the preparation of dinner for the feast of this fellowship	2s 6d
--	-------

Likewise for like expenses at the summoning to the feast	2s
Likewise for the dinners of William Watson, alderman, and the clerk of this fellowship at the feast	16d
Likewise for the musicians' dinners at the feast	2s 6d
Likewise for the beadle's and John Nicolson's dinners	16d
Likewise for ale at the feast	14d
...	

LOUTH

1446

Louth Court Roll LA: Louth Museum, Louth Court Rolls, Box 1
mb [1] (7 November)

...

The bailiff makes presentment out of his own office that Robert de Coxhil(.), 2d, William Fleschewer, 2d, and John Wryght, 2d, did on 5 November last past kill a bull without baiting, contrary to the common ordinance of the town of Louth. Therefore they are in mercy (*ie*, for the sums given above).

...

MAREHAM LE FEN

1608

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/11
f 160*

Presentments made during the visitation of Horncastle, Hill, and Gartree deaneries

...

She is dismissed	Egremona, daughter of John Scarborough
She is dismissed	Elizabeth Woodthorpe, servant of John Scarborough
She is ex-communicated	Katherine, daughter of John Grey (<i>English</i>). °Although the said Egremona and Elizabeth were cited on 21 June 1608 (to appear) before Master Ingram, etc, (they appeared) in no manner, etc (<i>ie</i> , neither in person nor by proxy). The lord (judge) excommunicated (them) for certain causes, etc, (and) commissioned Master Corie, rector of Mareham, as his deputy to hear and to determine, etc, and to certify on the next (court-day) at Lincoln with respect to the said Katherine (who was cited) by ways (and means) for the next (court-day), etc. The said Katherine, after having been cited by ways (and means), etc, (did not appear and) is excommunicated. °On 14 November 1608 it was certified that the said Egremona and Elizabeth had confessed these their faults and that the same (Egremona and Elizabeth) had done penance. Wherefore they are dismissed. °

Tumby

He is dismissed	Stephen Fletcher, alias Otley, for the like. He was cited on 21 June 1608 at
-----------------	--

He is ex-communicated

Lincoln, etc, by ways (and means) for the next (court-day). On 1 July 1608, having been cited by ways (and means), etc, (he did not appear and) is ex-communicated. On 24 September, after an oath, etc (*ie*, after he had taken an oath to abide by the orders of the church), he is absolved and dismissed with a warning.

...

RIPPINGALE

1611

Episcopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/21
f 122v (13 September)

Presentments made during the visitation of Aveland and Lafford deaneries held in the parish church of Sleaford by Otwell Hill, LL.D, vicar general and official principal of William Barlow, bishop of Lincoln

He is dismissed.

Thomas Markernes (*English*). °He appeared on 30 October 1611 after he had been cited, etc, and after (the article) was charged (against him), etc, he denies (it) and he has to undergo purgation with four (compurgators) by the next (court-day). Afterwards he confesses, etc, and is dismissed with a warning.°

...

ROUGHTON

1609

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/12
pp 75–6 (29 April)

Presentments made during the visitation of Horncastle deanery held in the parish church of Horncastle by Otwell Hill, LL.D, commissary and official of the archdeacon of Lincoln

...

He is dismissed

Robert Barber (*English*). °On 6 October 1609 he was sought, etc, by ways, etc (*ie*, by ways and means).° °On 20 October 1609, after being cited by a ways (and means citation), etc, he is suspended.° °On the last day of February 1609/10 the said Robert Barber is absolved after having been sworn in the person of Richard Yongre, and he is dismissed with a warning.°

He is dismissed

Christopher Barber the younger for the like (offence). °He appeared on 18 July 1609 after he had been cited, etc, and after the article was charged (against him) he confesses and is discharged with a warning.° |

Lancelot Hodgson, servant unto William Andrew, for the like (offence). °He appeared on 18 July 1609 after he had been cited, etc, and after the article was charged (against him) he confesses and is dismissed with a warning.°

He is suspended

John Russells (*English*). °In 18 July 1609 he was sought, etc, by ways, etc (*ie*, by ways and means). °On 6 October 1609 he was cited by a ways (and means citation) and is suspended.°

Christopher Boulton (*English*). °He appeared on 18 July 1609 after he had been cited, etc, and after the article was charged (against him) he confesses and is dismissed with a warning.°

...

SIBSEY

1601

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/10
f 92v (1 April)

Presentments made during the visitation of Bolingbroke deanery held in the parish church of Horncastle by Thomas Randes, the archdeacon of Lincoln's official

...

They are dismissed.

The churchwardens there (*English*). They appeared on 30 January 1601/2 after having been cited, and when the article had been charged (against them), they claimed (*English*), but they asked for a suitable period of time to make enquiry and to present, etc. Wherefore the lord (judge) warned them (to do so) in accordance with their request and to certify before 25 March next. On 2 April 1602 the certificate was exhibited, wherefore they are dismissed.

SILK WILLOUGHBY

1623

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/18
f 227v* (1 October)

Detections exhibited during the visitation of Lafford and Aveland deaneries by John Hills, STD, archdeacon of Lincoln, at a session held in the church of Sleaford and presided over by John Farmery, LL.D, the archdeacon's official

...

He is dismissed.

John Taylor (*English*). On 15 November 1623, after he was cited, etc, Master Hawen, his representative, etc (*ie*, his proctor), appeared and confessed,

The cleric's
detection

etc, and submitted, etc. Wherefore he has to acknowledge, etc (*ie*, publicly acknowledge his fault in his parish church), and to certify on the next (court-day) thereafter. °On 29 November 1623 he is dismissed after the certificate was exhibited. °On 29 November 1623 in the consistory (of Lincoln Cathedral) before the lord chancellor (of the diocese), while the registrar was present, Joseph Thirlbye, William Leake, Thomas Yates, [Austin Jeesup,] and William Cooper appeared and they affirmed (*English*).°
He is dismissed.

The cleric's
detection

George Beckwell (*English*). On 19 November 1623 he has (to acknowledge) as above on the same day.

...

He is dismissed.

John Jeesup (*English*). He appeared on 15 November 1623 after having been cited, etc, and the lord (judge) charged him (*English*). He replies and says (*English*). And he further says (*English*). °And he submits himself, etc, wherefore he has to confess publicly, etc, in the church there according to the schedule and to certify at the second session (after), and the lord (judge) decreed that all those others above-written should be cited for the next (court-day), etc. On 11 December 1623 the said Jeesup exhibited the certification concerning his penance of the said confession, etc, wherefore he is dismissed.°

f 228v

He was warned
to pay (the
summoner's) fee

Joseph Thirlbye.

(*English*). On 29 November 1623 after having been cited, etc, he appeared when summoned. After the article was charged against him, he confesses and submitted, etc, wherefore he has to acknowledge, etc, and to certify on the next (court-day) thereafter. °On 11 December 1623 when the said Thirlbye did not appear when summoned and did not certify, etc, he is therefore suspended.°

(*English*)

In like manner

William Leake for the like. On 29 November 1623 he confesses as above. °On 11 December 1623 he is suspended as above.°

In like manner

Thomas Yates for the same. On 29 November 1623 he confesses as above. °On 11 December 1623 he is suspended as above.°

- 23 Austin Jeesup for the like. On 29 November 1623 after (Jeesup) was cited, Master Hawen, his representative, etc, appeared when (Jeesup) was summoned and confesses the charge in his name and submits. Wherefore he has to acknowledge, etc, and to certify on the next (court-day) thereafter. °On 11

December 1623 after a summons was made, etc, for the said Jeesup, he did not appear nor (did he comply) by certifying, etc, wherefore he is suspended.°

In like manner

William Cooper for the same fault. On 29 November after having been cited, etc, he appeared when summoned and has to acknowledge and certify on the next (court-day) thereafter. °On 11 December 1623 he is suspended as above.°

Nicholas (*blank*), servant of Richard Sprat, as above. On 29 November 1623 he was sought, etc, by ways (and means), etc, for the next (court-day). °On 11 December 1623 after he was cited by ways (and means), etc, he did not appear when summoned, etc, wherefore he is suspended.°

Robert Kime for the like. On 29 November 1623 he was sought, etc, by ways (and means), etc, for the next (court-day). °On 11 December 1623 after he was cited by ways (and means), etc, he did not appear when summoned, etc, wherefore he is suspended.°

SPILSBY

1564

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/2
f 71v* (13 April)

Presentments made during the visitation of Bolingbroke deanery held in the parish church of Horncastle by John Aylmer, archdeacon of Lincoln

...

He is dismissed.

Sir John Howson was carrying (*English*). On 14 October 1564 Howson appeared at Lincoln and acknowledges to have done (this) at the command of the lady duchess of Suffolk. Wherefore the lord (judge) suspended him from the administration of divine service. On 4 November 1564 he appeared at Lincoln and the lord (judge) absolved him for certain causes.

STAMFORD

1389

Certificate of Guild of St Martin TNA: PRO C 47/41/173
single mb*

Ordinance of St Martin's guild or fraternity in
St Martin's Church of Stamford

A guild or fraternity has long been organized in honour of God and St Martin

in St Martin's Church of Stamford, in such a form that the brothers and sisters of the aforesaid guild should have a chaplain celebrating (mass) in the aforesaid church in honour of St Martin for the aforesaid brothers and sisters and for all their benefactors, and (that) they should find a certain light in the same church in honour of St Martin. And it is and has been the aforesaid fraternity's custom from time out of mind that on the feast of St Martin the aforesaid brothers shall have a bull – in fact, this bull should be baited and sold to the profit of the aforesaid fraternity. And that on the same feast-day the aforesaid brothers and sisters shall gather to drink, and they shall pray there for their brothers and sisters and all their benefactors. And (that they shall have), for the sustaining and support of the aforesaid chaplain and other charges, what devout persons of the aforesaid town gave over a long time before the statute was made about lands and tenements given in mortmain, (namely,) certain rents to the value of 30s a year. And on the feast of St Michael each brother and sister will give for the support of the aforesaid charges one bushel of barley. And the aforesaid brothers and sisters have an alderman and other officers to collect the aforesaid rents and to organize for all the abovesaid (charges). They do not have goods and chattels except only for the support of the aforesaid charges.

1427–8

St Mary's Churchwardens' Account BL: Cotton Vespasian A.xxiv
f 3v*

...

And as a payment to Thomas Harpmaker for the mending
of the shaft 40d

...

And on expenses for the bearer of the shaft 8d

...

And as a payment for strings/thongs for the shaft 1d

...

And for cloth bought for the shaft 11d

...

And on a gift for the entertainers 6d

...

1440

Episcopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/1
f 83 (21 October) (Presentment by the prioress, Elizabeth Weldon)

*At a visitation held in the chapter house of St Michael's Priory, outside Stamford,
by William Heyworth, bishop of Lincoln*

...

Likewise she says that one Agnes, a nun of this place, has run away in

disobedience by attaching herself to some harper, and she says that they remain together, as it is said, in Newcastle upon Tyne.

...

f 83v (*Presentment by Sister Margaret Mortymer*)

...

Likewise she speaks about the runaway as above.

...

(*Bishop's injunctions*)

Likewise the prioress is enjoined to bring home as conveniently as possible the said runaway who left, as is told above, with a harper, Robert Abbot by name.

...

1472–3

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1

f 16* (*30 September–30 September*) (*Session held 1 November*)

...

Minstrels

William Barton

Christopher Totyll were chosen as minstrels and sworn, etc.

Richard Pynder

1479–80

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1

f 27v* (*30 September–30 September*) (*Session held 2 December*)

...

On the same day and in the same year it was ordered and provided by the alderman, and his brothers, and the whole community of the town that for the honour of God and the restoring of faith a play of Corpus Christi be played publicly in the present year in every respect as (had been done) in the year last past, etc.

...

f 29*

Minstrels

Henry Haynes, minstrel, was admitted (to office) for the present year by the pledge of Robert Navour.

Richard Pynder was likewise admitted (to office) for the same year by the pledge of Richard Navour.

William Johnson was likewise admitted (to office) for the aforesaid year by the pledge of William Tygh.

...

} Sworn

1481-2

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 33* (30 September-30 September) (Session held 14 April)

...

A constitution

On the same day and in the same year it was ordered by the alderman, burgesses, and all the commons assembled in the common hall by their common assent and consent that hereafter, in perpetuity, the play of Corpus Christi shall be played yearly by the wardens of the crafts and their fellowships just as otherwise, etc, that is, six pageants on the feast of Corpus Christi next coming and the remaining five pageants on the feast of Corpus Christi in the year following thereafter, (and) thus continuing these pageants on the aforesaid feast by the crafts assigned before, under a penalty of 40s from any craft assigned to this that does the contrary or refuses to do it, to be applied and levied for the use of the common hall.

1482-3

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 34v (30 September-30 September) (Session held 16 December)

...

Minstrels
admitted (to
office)

Henry Hede, minstrel, was admitted (to office) for the present year by the pledge of Robert Navour.
Richard Pynder was similarly admitted for the same year by the pledge of Richard Fletcher.
William Smythe (was) admitted in like manner by the pledge of John Knyght.

} Sworn

...

1486-7

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 40v* (30 September-30 September) (Session held 4 December)

...

Minstrels sworn,
along with
scutcheons to be
delivered to the
same by pledges
for their being
returned safe
and sound

On the same day and in the same year, Henry Haynes, minstrel; pledge, Robert Navour for the scutcheon
Richard Pynder, minstrel, in like manner; pledges,
John Stede and Bernard Richman
Christopher Totyll, minstrel, admitted (to office); pledge,
John Gybbes for the scutcheon

} Sworn

...

1494-5

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 57 (30 September-30 September) (5 December burgess admissions)

...

John Brandon, minstrel, was admitted (to the liberty

of the borough) for his labour and he will give as his
entry fee

2s

...

1538

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/1
f 69v*

*Proceedings arising from the visitation of Longoboby deanery held before John
Pope, the archdeacon of Lincoln's official*

...

St Martin's
parish

[Lancelot Lacy disturbed divine office once with a horn that he let blow at
the high altar at the time of the elevation of the sacrament. He appeared
and confesses (his fault). After taking an oath, he has to do penance for one
Sunday, etc.]

...

1539–40

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 131 (30 September–30 September) (1 March burgess admissions)

...

William Skelton, minstrel, was admitted to scot and lot
and he will give for his entry fee by the pledge of Robert
Crosby and William Clark

4s

...

1554–5

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 161v (30 September–30 September) (20 November burgess admissions)

...

John Morrys, minstrel, was admitted to scot and lot and
will give for his entry fee by the pledge of John Moore
and John Creche

4s

...

1570–1

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 199v (30 September–30 September) (9 December burgess admissions)

...

Robert Benyson, minstrel, for the like (admission)

2s

...

® To be paid at
the end of
Christmas

1586–7

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1

f 231v* (30 September–30 September) (29 April apprenticeship registrations)

...

On the same day and in the same year William Willoughby came and acknowledged that he would be the apprentice of Thomas Willoughby, musician, for a term of seven years as appears by the indenture, bearing a date on 30 October in the twenty-eighth year of the queen (*ie*, 1586).

...

1588–9

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1

f 235v (30 September–30 September) (2 November burges admissions)

...

Thomas Willoughby, musician, is admitted to scot and lot and he gives for his entry fee

5s

...

1589–90

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1

f 238v (30 September–30 September) (11 October apprenticeship registrations)

...

Robert Pownder came to this hall and acknowledged that he would be the apprentice of Thomas Willoughby, musician, for seven years, from 3 November in the thirtieth year (of the queen, *ie*, 3 November 1588) until the end of the said term as appears more fully by the indenture, bearing a date on the day and in the year stated above.

...

1593–4

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1

f 253 (30 September–30 September) (26 July apprenticeship registrations)

...

Henry Boulton came to this hall and acknowledged that he would be the apprentice of Thomas Willoughby, musician, for ten years from the feast of the Annunciation of St Mary last past as appears more fully by the indenture, bearing a date on 20 May in the thirty-sixth year of Queen Elizabeth (*ie*, 1594). John Waters came to this hall and acknowledged that he would be the apprentice of Thomas Willoughby, musician, for seven years from Michaelmas last past, as appears more fully by the indenture, bearing a date on 16 August in the thirty-fifth year of Queen Elizabeth (*ie*, 1593).

...

1602-3

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 273v (30 September-30 September) (17 May burgess admissions)

...

Francis Benyson was likewise admitted (to scot and lot)
and he gives nothing for his entry fee because he was born
in the town

nil

1624-5

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 342v (30 September-30 September) (5 April burgess admissions)

...

At this hall Henry Pearce, musician, is admitted to scot and
lot and because he served an apprenticeship (in the town (?))
he gives for his entry fee

nil

...

1625-6

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 344v (30 September-30 September) (1 December burgess admissions)

...

At this hall Francis Coyney, musician, is admitted to scot
and lot and he immediately gives for his entry fee to John
Clark, chamberlain

10s

...

1628-9

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1
f 352 (30 September-30 September) (9 October burgess admissions)

Edmund Troupe, William Knewstubbs, Thomas Troupe,
and Nathan Ash, musicians, are admitted to scot and lot
and because they are the aforesaid town's musicians they
give for their entry fee

nil

1629-30

Recognizance of Nathan Ash as Alehouse Keeper

LA: Stamford Quarter Sessions Book, 1629-30
item 29 (23 January)

Stamford
borough in the
county of
Lincoln

Be it known that on 23 January in the fifth year of the reign of our lord
Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland,
defender of the faith, etc, before Edmund Corker, alderman, and Thomas

Watson, gentleman, the said lord king's justices assigned to keep the peace in the aforesaid borough, Robert Glover, tallow-chandler of Stamford aforesaid, and Thomas Troupe, weaver of the same, stood as guarantors for Nathan Ash, musician of the same, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors under pain of £5, and the aforesaid Nathan Ash gave an undertaking on his own behalf under pain of £10, of legal English money. They grant these (sums) to the said lord king, his heirs, and successors, to be made and raised from their goods and chattels, lands, and tenements under the following condition:

(English)

1636–7

Corporation Hall Book 1 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1

f 384* (30 September–30 September) (25 February burgess admissions)

...

It was ordered at this hall that William Mewes, musician, late an apprentice with Thomas Willoughby, deceased, late of Stamford aforesaid, musician, shall be admitted to scot and lot for (an entry fee of) nil, on condition that he produces two reliable men to be bound with him for the sum of £40 for security for the aforesaid town as regards his charge. And the aforesaid William Mewes, Simon Fisher, and Nathan Ash were bound upon 28 February in the abovesaid year to the alderman and burgesses of the town or borough of Stamford aforesaid according to the aforesaid order. Therefore he is admitted, etc

nil

SUTTERTON

1600–1

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/9

f 44v* (3 June)

Proceedings arising from the visitation of North Holland deanery by Thomas Randes, the archdeacon of Lincoln's official, held in the church at Donington in Holland

...

Thomas Harvey

William Wayte

(English). They appeared on 21 March 1600/1 after being cited and submitted themselves (to the judgment of this court). Therefore the lord (judge) dismissed them with a warning.

He is dismissed

TATTERSHALL

1495–6

Receiver's Accounts cks: U1475/Q16/2sheet 5 (*Choristers' expenses*)

...

And paid to Robert Lounde for scoring of a popular (?) song in four parts called 'The Cry of Calais,' 11d, and of another song commonly called 'The Flower of Flowers,' 10d, according to the itemized account thereof, amounting to

21d

...

1498–9

Precentor's Accounts cks: U1475/Q19/4

sheet 1

...

And to Robert Lounde for scoring of four scrows (*ie*, copies (?)) of 'Audimus Vocem,' 2d, (and of) 'Gaude,' compiled by Master Bawldwyn in seven parts, 6d, (and) moreover (of) 'Domine celi et terre' in five parts, 5d; (for) mending of the faults of a book called 'The Legend of the Saints' obscured by prolonged use in every place, 4s; to the same (Robert) for the like mending of the writing of a temporal from start to finish, 3s; moreover (for) scoring (of) 'Salve regine' in seven leaves, 6½d, of the verses of the prophecy, ½d, of three lessons of the Tenebrae, 2d, (and) of a short song in four parts, 2d; for the treble part of a song called 'Maidens of London,' 2d; for the bass and tenor parts of a song of Richard Davy called 'Seculorum,' 1d; for the counter-tenor part of the same song, with others, 1½d; for twelve parcels of parchment, 2s 4d; and to Robert Lounde for scoring of six quires with various songs among them, 4s

15s 8½d

1500–1

Impositor's, Precentor's, and Steward's Accounts cks: U1475/Q19/6sheet 3v (*Rewards*)

...

And in money given as a reward by the hands of the accountant to people playing various interludes, 14d, and to Philip, a labourer, carrying a message as far as Wragby this year

16d

...

1501–2

Impositor's, Precentor's, and Steward's Accounts CKS: U1475/Q19/7
sheet 1v (*Rewards*)

...

And in rewards given to players, performers,
bearwards, and other outsiders visiting this year,
thus showing and appearing according to the
itemized account

3s 6d

...

1502–3

Impositor's, Precentor's, and Stewards' Accounts CKS: U1475/Q19/8
sheet 1v*

...

...(And in money) paid to Robert Lounde, John Pykering, and Thomas
Ashwell for their commons while they were staying outside the college as
below, £20 6s 8d....

...

sheet 2

...

And in money paid in commons to John
Pykering, one other of the six clerks, 5s 10d,
and to Thomas Ashwell, stipendiary clerk,
5s, by turns for their commons in the time
of their illness this year

10s 10d

...

1604

Episcopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/18
p 62 (*18 August*)

*Proceedings arising from the visitation of Horncastle, Hill, and Gartree deaneries
held in the parish church of Horncastle by the commissaries*

...

⁺
a. 4s 6d Mary, wife of Anthony Elsman (*English*). °After she was cited she did not
appear on 5 October 1604. She was suspended. °On 9 November 1604
the said Mary appeared and after she swore an oath, etc, she is absolved,
etc, and she has to pay the apparitor's fee, etc. °

...

TIMBERLAND

1638

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/21
f 23*

Proceedings arising from the visitation of Wraggoe deanery by Morgan Wynnterly and others

...

- Bardney
A. William Boulton presented (*English*). °On 27 October 1638 he appeared and submitted (himself to the judgment of the court). Therefore he has to acknowledge (his fault) and certify (his compliance) in two (parishes). °After he was cited he did not appear on 18 May when summoned. He was excommunicated. °
- A. Ralph Colledge presented (*English*). °After he was cited he did not appear on 27 October 1638 when summoned. He was excommunicated. °
And see the deanery of Horncastle.

...

TYDD ST MARY

1616

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/16
f 11v* (1 October)

Proceedings arising from the visitation of South Holland deanery held in the parish church at Boston, before Christopher Wyvell, LLD, the archdeacon of Lincoln's official, and Thomas Robinson, cleric, MA, his surrogate judge

...

Anthony Thompson (*English*). On 30 October 1616 he was sought, etc, by ways (and means), etc. After he was cited, etc, (he did not appear) on 13 November 1616. He was suspended.

(*English*). After he was cited, etc, (he did not appear) on 27 November 1616. He was suspended.

...

WAINFLEET ST MARY

1616

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/17
f 20/25*

...

He is dismissed.

Stephen Gregge (was presented) (*English*). On 4 June 1616 he was sought, etc, by ways (and means), etc. On 18 June 1616 he was cited, etc. Laurence appeared and claimed that he was a representative (*ie*, a proctor (?)), etc, and after the article was charged (against him), he confesses and is dismissed.

He is dismissed.

Richard Smythe (was presented) in like manner. On 4 June 1616 he was cited, etc. Thomas Byte appeared and claimed that he was a representative (*ie*, a proctor (?)), etc, and after the article was charged (against him), he confesses and is dismissed with a warning.

<...>

<...> (was presented) in like manner. On 4 June 1616 he was cited, etc. He appeared, and after the article was charged (against him), he denies (the charge) and he has to <...> the next warning. Afterward he confesses and is dismissed with a warning.

<...>

<...> On <. > June 1616 Shepherd appeared and claimed that he was a representative (*ie*, a proctor (?)), etc, and after the article was charged (against him), he confesses <...>

WESTBOROUGH

1609

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/12
p 465*

...

He was suspended.

John Elliot (was presented) (*English*). On 28 July 1609 he did not appear, etc, when he was cited. He was suspended.

...

WHAPLODE

1514

Will of John Randall LA: LCC WILLS 1520-25
f 31v* (31 March)

...

...Likewise (I leave) 12d to the dancers' light....

...

1637

Archdeaconry of Lincoln Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vij/20
f 239 (1 July)

Proceedings arising from the visitation of South Holland deanery held in the parish church at Bourne before John Farmery, LL.D, vicar general, in the presence of Philip Pregon, notary public, and Mr Titloe, vicar of Bourne

...

He is dismissed.

John Holmes (*English*). °On 27 October 1637 the apparitor appeared and confessed (as proxy for Holmes (?)). (Holmes) has to acknowledge (his fault) and certify (his compliance) in two (parishes). A certificate was exhibited and (*blank*)°

He is dismissed.

John Higgins (*English*). °On 27 October 1637 the apparitor appeared. He confesses (as proxy for Higgins (?)). (Higgins) has to acknowledge (his fault) and certify (his compliance) in two (parishes). He did not certify, wherefore he was excommunicated. In 28 March 1639 he appeared and after he swore an oath he is absolved and is dismissed.°

WRAGBY

1585

Episcopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/16
f 60v

He is dismissed.

Thomas Toniton danced in church. °After he was cited he appeared on 11 September 1585 at Lincoln and he denies (the charge). He has to undergo compurgation with four compurgators on the next Saturday. Afterwards he submitted himself (to the judgment of the court); therefore (he is dismissed) with a warning.°

...

BARDNEY ABBEY

1246

Bardney Abbey Chartulary BL: Cotton Vespasian E.xx
ff 30v-1v* (23 April)

...

Agreement about the archdeacon's jurisdiction and his procuration from All Saints' Chapel of Barton

Be it known to all sons of holy mother church who see and hear the present letter that – because a dispute was moved upon papal authority before the dean of the church of Salisbury and his fellows between Sir Thomas, archdeacon of Lincoln, on the one part and the abbot and convent of Bardney on the other about the entire jurisdiction to be exercised by the archdeacon in the parish of Bardney, and about the visitation of the parish of Bardney and the procuration due to him by reason of his visitation; and (another dispute was moved) before the prior of Chepstow, the lord pope's commissary, about the annual procuration, likewise owed to him by reason of his visitation, of All Saints' Church of Barton, which he was saying was a parish (church) (but) which, in fact, the said abbot and convent possess to their own uses, and about some wrongs and other personal (legal) actions which he by weighty reasonings estimated at £100 – finally each of the said disputes has been settled by an amicable, binding, and perpetually valid agreement in the form written below, namely:

That the said archdeacon and all his successors, for the time being, will hold a visitation of the parish church of Bardney since it is a parish church, and they will have an annual procuration by reason of his visitation of the same (parish). And they will likewise have – fully, completely, and without any diminution – jurisdiction of every kind within the said parish of Bardney except in the situations written below only, which are granted by the said archdeacon to the aforesaid abbot and his successors and expressly excepted, namely:

That the said abbot and his successors shall retain and have suits involving injuries inflicted by action or word among the laity of the said parish on feast days; likewise suits about non-observance of festivals; likewise (those) about transport (of goods) on holy days; likewise (those) about quintains and other shows; likewise (those) about scotales; likewise (those) about wrestlers; likewise (those) about dances; likewise (those) about crimes by regulars of the house at Bardney committed by them in the said parish of Bardney; likewise about those who tithe dishonestly and about gamblers. But concerning the aforementioned excepted situations, the said abbot and his successors will retain and have full jurisdiction, in such a way, however, that if an appeal is made by (or from) the abbot and his successors themselves in a case of these kinds to the lord archdeacon and his successors, the appeal shall stand and the aforesaid archdeacon and his successors will have full effective cognizance over appeals. Moreover the said archdeacon and his successors will hold a chapter meeting twice or three times in a year in Bardney parish, of the same parishioners and the abbey household only, in the chapel next to the monastery of Bardney, when they will take care that the suits of the same (parish) and the said household are dealt with speedily there or in other chapels of the same parish and, with these circumstances excepted, in neighbouring churches outside the said parish when they wish. Moreover the

said archdeacon on his own behalf and that of his successors remitted in perpetuity to the said abbot and convent and their successors the sought-after procuration from the said All Saints' Church at Barton, and the Peter's pence and synodal dues from Bardney, and all other actions of wrongs and other relevant (actions) of whatever kind moved before the said judges, and also those still to be moved by him at the time of the writing of this document against the said abbot and convent of Bardney, which he estimated at 1,000 marks, and expressly renouncing any penalty of expenses incurred at Chepstow concerning all the premisses, everything sued, and to be sued in future. In witness whereof the seals of the archdeacon and the said abbot and convent have both been appended in turn to the present document written in the manner of an indenture. Made at Frieston 9 Kal. May (*ie*, 23 April) in AD 1246...

1434

Bishop William Gray's Register LA: Bishop's Register 17
f 202v*

... We likewise enjoin each and every one of you, present and future, both old and young without distinction in accordance with their physical ability, under the penalties written above and below, to make time for contemplation in the cloister at due times, leaving aside shameful sports/pastimes which some in the monastery have been accustomed to do too much, and henceforward by no means to run about and wander after excesses, as customary, contrary to the observance of the Rule, and (we enjoin) that those transgressing against any of the premisses be harshly punished according to the Rule, so that one person's pain may be an example to all....

1527–8

Cellarers' Accounts TNA: PRO SC 6/HENVIII/1986
f 17v* (*Gifts and rewards*)

...	
Likewise given in reward to two singers of Tattershall	20d
...	
Likewise given in reward to a singer	12d
...	
Likewise given in reward to players visiting at Christmas time [2s 8d, 8d, 12d, 12d, 2s 8d, 12d]	9s
...	
Likewise given in reward to Thomas Swan, performer	6s 8d
Likewise given in reward to the duke of Suffolk's players	5s
...	

f 18*

...

Likewise given in reward to a performer, a servant of
Sir John Hussey, (...) 8d

...

Likewise given in reward to players of (*or* from) Bedford 4d

...

Likewise given in reward to Sir John Hussey's bearward 12d

...

Likewise given in reward to the duke of Richmond's bearward 20d

...

Likewise given in reward to Thomas Swan 20d

Likewise given in reward to the duke of Suffolk's bearward 20d

...

Likewise given in reward to three performers 12d

...

Likewise given in reward to four performers of the city
of York 16d

...

Likewise given in reward to four performers 16d

...

f 18v*

...

Likewise given in reward to Lord Latimer's performer 8d

...

Likewise given in reward to a singer, a servant of
Lord 'Sugges' 3s 4d

Likewise given in reward to two performers 8d

...

Likewise given in reward to the lord king's players 4s

...

Likewise given in reward to three performers of the
lord cardinal 7s 6d

...

Likewise given in reward to singers on St Oswald's Day 12s

Likewise given in reward to Thomas Swan and other
performers on the said day 4s 4d

...

Likewise given in reward to four performers of the lord king 3s 4d.

...

Likewise to John Sawbell, a performer, 2s.

...

1528-9

Cellarers' Accounts TNA: PRO SC 6/HENVIII/1986f 35 (29 September-15 April) (*Gifts and rewards*)

...

Likewise given in reward to ... three performers, 6d, 6d, 4d.

...

f 35v*

...

Likewise given in reward to three performers of Norwich, 8d....

...

Likewise given in reward to the lord duke of Richmond's
bearward

2s

...

Likewise given in reward to two performers

12d

Likewise given in reward to Gyrsby, a performer, 8d, and to Master Bracost,
12d, to a bearward, 6d, (and) to a boy, a performer, 4d.

...

1529

Cellarers' Accounts TNA: PRO SC 6/HENVIII/1986f 42* (15 April-29 September) (*Payments*)

...

Given
 ® Likewise to a
 bearward (of, or
 of Lord, or from)
 Westmorland, 8d
 Given

First, paid to two performers (and) delivered at the cellarer's
own hands

6d

...

Likewise given in reward to a jester, 4d, and to three waits of
Lincoln, 12d

16d

...

Given Likewise given in reward to a servant of the vicar of Barton, 8d, and to a
performer of Lord Hastings, 4d.

...

f 42v*

Given Likewise given in reward to four performers 12d

Given Likewise given in reward to two waits 8d

...

Given Likewise given in reward to three performers of the lord king 5s

...

Given Likewise given in reward to three waits of York 12d

Given Likewise given in reward to Lord Scrope's servant and to
two performers 12d

	f 43*	
	...	
Given	Likewise given in reward to two performers	8d
	...	
Given	Likewise given in reward to various performers on St Oswald's Day	4s 8d
Given	Likewise given in reward to singers of Tattershall, 7s 6d, of Lincoln, 2s, and (of) Boston, 3s 4d	12s 10d
	...	
Given	Likewise given in reward to four performers of the lord king	3s 4d
	...	
	f 43v*	
	...	
Given	Likewise given in reward to two performers of Lord Westmorland and to a servant of the sheriff	16d
	...	
Given	Likewise given in reward to two performers of the lord cardinal	3s 4d
	...	

1531

Cellarers' Accounts TNA: PRO SC 6/HENVIII/1986

f 68 (8 June) (*Corpus Christi feast expenses*)

	...	
	Likewise given in reward to performers	12s
	...	

HUMBERSTON ABBEY

1440

Episcopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/1

f 69 (6 July) (*Charges made by Abbot William West*)

Visitation held in the abbey's chapter house by William Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln

	...
Conspiracy	Also he says that William Anderby and John Wrauby, monks, are confederates and conspirators together against the abbot. Anderby cleared himself of conspiracy with Freshney (as a compurgator); Wrauby cleared himself with Anderby (as a compurgator).
Anderby	Also that this [Anderby] Wrauby said publicly after the abbot had received

the lord (bishop's) mandate for the visitation, 'Look, now the abbot doesn't have to concern himself with me.'

Wrauby

Also he says that Wrauby has no understanding nor would he learn.

Wrauby

Also he says that Wrauby answered the abbot insolently and rebelliously when he corrected him because he climbed some gates to see the pipers and those leading dances in the parish churchyard and is disobedient in nearly everything, saying that he would never submit to the abbot's correction in anything. (Wrauby) confesses the last part of the charge and swore to undergo penance, namely, that he would seek the abbot's pardon – which indeed he did – and that he would say a nocturn from the psalter of David within the next week, and as to the first part of the charge, he confesses.

...

f 69v* (*Charges made by William Anderby, monk*)

...

Also he says that (...) the abbot sold a corrody to John Harden, harper, for 10 marks, and it is worth 40s a year and it stood thus for 8 years. And he says that at the time of the sale the abbot threatened the convent that, unless they consented to this sale, he would sell a quarter of grain for 2s and (...) from the goods of the house. The abbot confesses the sale but that there was contention between himself and some of the convent for consent.

...

THORNTON ABBEY

1440

Episcopal Visitation Book LA: Diocesan Vj/1

f 73 (11 July) (*Testimony of Brother John Hull*)

Proceedings of the visitation held in the chapter house of Thornton Abbey by William Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln

® The sacrist

Also that the sacrist is lending the monastery's better sets of vestments to those playing harmful pastimes/games in parts among lay people. On this account they (the sets of vestments) are damaged (*or* harmed) and a scandal arises concerning the monastery. Therefore he seeks to restrain (the sacrist) from lending in these circumstances.

...

f 73v (*Testimony of Brother John Wrangle, infirmarian*)

...

Also he says about the alms and the boys who are customarily in the almonry

as above and about the sets of vestments lent as above.

...

f 78v (*Bishop's injunctions to Thornton Abbey*)

...Also we enjoin and order the sacrist of the said monastery for the time being, under the penalties written above and below, not to presume to lend any of the said monastery's sets of vestments for any pastimes/games among the common people or for any scurrilous performances or shows in any way, since sets of vestments of this kind have been much damaged (*or* harmed) by such lending and it would not be right for what has once been dedicated to God to be prophaned by human uses....

APPENDIX 1

1359

Accounts of the King of France BN: manuscrit français 11205

f 24v (8 July) (*Extraordinary expenses*) (*Household*) (*Hertford Castle*)

...

Paid to him

Hannequin, the goldsmith, for melting and remaking the king's testing cup and the goblet of Master Jehan the fool, and for gilding them. And the said testing cup, when sent to him, weighed 2½ marks less 4 deniers (a little less than 20 ounces in all), and he returned it weighing 2½ marks and 37 deniers (a little over 22.5 ounces in all). And the said goblet weighed 6 ounces and he returned it weighing 6 ounces, 17½ deniers (a little over 7 ounces in all). So one owes the said Hannequin for the weight (of metal) 4s 10½d and for gilding them and the making, for all, according to the account made by him for the master of the household, 18 écus, worth

60s

...

f 26 (15 July)

The said Jehan for 9 ells of green cloth to make a gown for Master Jehan the fool on the king's order, (at a cost of) 4s the ell

36s

...

(18 July)

Paid to him

Girardin, servant of Master Jehan the fool, for three pairs of shoes for the said Master Jehan

21d

f 26v (21 July)

...

To C. Hanlen
for him

The minstrel king, for money paid by him to several people for the making of the king's clock; paid to the said minstrel king, 14 écus and 10d, worth

47s 6d

f 27 (22 July) (Clothing)

...

Adam de Bury, for seventeen skins of miniver for an amice for Master Jehan the fool (at a cost of) 4d a skin, worth

4s 3d

...

f 27v

...

To him (Adam de Bury), for a gown for master Jehan the fool, two-and-a-half furs of large squirrel-fur, 50s; likewise one half fur of miniver (made) from sixty-six skins, worth 16s 6d, for three hoods, each one of twenty-four skins, 18s, for all

£4 4s 6d

...

f 38v (24 November) (Gifts) (Somerton Castle)

...

Paid to him

The minstrel king, for a gift made to him by the king, for his needs, 4 écus, worth

13s 4d

...

f 40 (5 December) (Gifts)

...

Paid to the
bishop (...)
priest

The bishop and the clerks of the parish of Navenby (?), who, on St Nicholas' Eve, came to the king's household to sing 'Ergo laudes,' for a gift made to them by the king, as recounted by the master of the household, of 1 écu, worth

3s 4d

...

f 41 (14 December) (Clothing)

...

By Tassin, paid
to him

To him, for three ells of white material for Master Jehan the fool

14s

...

f 41v

To the said Tassin ... for the making of a lined white-woollen garment for Master Jehan the fool.

...

f 42

...

The said Tassin, for having made a suit of three garments for Master Jehan the fool, that is, a coat, a surcoat, and trousers

4s

For material

9d

For lining this suit with fur

12d

...

f 42v (*Household*)

...

By Tassin, paid to him

The said Tassin, for 7½ ells of cloth bought by him, to make a long robe and a mantle for Master Jehan the fool, (at a cost of) 3s the ell, worth

22s 6d

For the shearing of the said cloth

6d

Paid to him

The said Tassin, for a little table for Master Jehan the fool, for four chairs, two benches and eleven skittles, bought on the order of the king

8s 7d

...

f 43 (*18 December*) (*Clothing*)

...

Paid to Tassin

Thomelin the Lincoln draper, for 2 ells of cloth to make hose for Master Jehan the fool, and for shearing the cloth

9s 2d

...

(Christmas gifts for the household)

Chamber:

...

Magister, 16 écus

f 43v col 2

...

Harbingers

...

The minstrel king, 10 écus

...

1359/60

Accounts of the King of France BN: manuscrit français 11205
f 46v (6 January) (Household)

...
Paid to him The minstrel king, on the making of the new clock
that he is making for the king, on the king's order,
3 nobles, worth 20s
...

f 47 (12 January)

...
Paid to him The minstrel king, on the making of the clock that he is
making for the king, 17 nobles, worth 113s 4d
And he has promised that for this sum and the 20s which were already given
him on January 6, he will supply the clock fully completed.
...

f 50v (7 February)

...
Magister, for the making of a sleeved coat, a mantle, a lined
hood and three pairs of hose for Master Jehan the fool 3s 6d
...

f 53 (13 February)

...
Paid to him Jacques from the sauce kitchen, for one cock bought by the
order of my lord Philip for cockfighting, and for two ducklings
and one live mallard which he had caught on the river 2s 8d
...

f 55v (17 March)

...
Paid to Magister Robert (*blank*), the shoemaker of Lincoln, for a pair of light
shoes for Master Jehan the fool 4s 2d
Perrin the furrier, for lining one sleeved coat and one mantel
with fur for Master Jehan the fool 12d
...

f 56 (19 March)

...
Paid to him The minstrel king, for the completion of the new clock
on the order of the king, in spite of the promise the said

minstrel king had made to complete this clock without asking for more than the 20 nobles he has already received, 4 nobles, worth 26s 8d

...

f 60 (21 April) (London)

...

Paid to him

The minstrel king, who, on the king's order, went to Chichester to see certain instruments of which the king had heard spoken, for this, given to cover his expenses, by the order of the king 4 nobles, worth 26s 8d

...

f 60v (21 March–6 April) (Travelling expenses from Somerton to London)

...

Paid to Sir
Aymart

For the hire of five carts, one for the king's chamber, one for the chapel, one for my lord Philip's chamber, one for Master Jehan the fool, and one for the pantry and for the kitchen, which came from Somerton to London over eight days and brought part of the king's baggage, who then came to London; and they were hired at different prices, except for the cart for my lord Philip's chamber, for which only seven days were paid, since he who brought it one day went off without payment on that day. For all £7 9s

...

f 61 (Offerings)

...

Master Jehan the fool, for an offering, on Good Friday, at the Cross 4d

(Household)

The minstrel king, for a commission from the king of England to fetch carts to bring the king's baggage, which Denys and Sir Gautier arranged to come later 3s 4d

...

f 67v (15 May) (London)

Paid to Sir
Aymart

The minstrel king, for a harp bought on the order of the king, 2 nobles, worth 13s 4d

...

f 68 (20 May) (Gifts)

...

Paid to him

The minstrel king, for a gift made to him by the king for his needs, 1 noble, worth

6s 8d

f 68v (Household)

...

Magister, the servant of Master Jehan the fool, for six pairs of shoes for the said master Jehan

3s 4d

And for one pair of full trousers with ties/thongs (or one belt with straps) for the said master Jehan, 12d, in all

4s 4d

To him, for 11¼ ells of cloth to make six pairs of linen gowns (or possibly shirts) for the said master Jehan, (at a cost of) 14d the ell, worth

13s 1½ d

To him for the making of the said linen gowns (or possibly shirts)

2s

...

f 69 (Clothing)

...

To him (Magister) for 6 ells of a striped material and 5 ells of a plain material to make a gown for Master Jehan the fool, (at a cost of) 2s 6d the ell, worth

27s 6d

...

f 71v (2 June) (Gifts)

...

Paid to Tassin

The keeper of the king of England's lions, for a gift made to him by the king, who went to see the said lions, 3 nobles, worth

20s

...

f 74v (10 June) (Gifts)

Paid to him

The minstrel king, for a gift made to him to fetch something he needed

6s 8d

...

f 76 (12 June) (Clothing)

James Andrew, citizen and cloth merchant of London, for several pieces of cloth bought from him to make the king's livery.

...

And for 7 ells of another cloth for Master Jehan the fool 22s
 ...

f 76v

Paid to Jehan
 de Dainville

William the tailor, for the making of two gowns for Master
 Jehan the fool, as recounted by Jehan de Dainville 10s
 ...

(Midsummer gifts for the household)

Chamber:

...

Magister, 10 écus

f 77 col 2

...

Harbingers:

...

The minstrel king, 10 écus

...

f 79 (20 June) *(Clothing)*

...

Paid to Tassin

Perrin the furrier, for lining with fur one surcoat, one hood,
 and one mantel for Master Jehan the fool 2s

(Household)

Girardin, the servant of Master Jehan the fool, who brought
 him from London to Calais by water, and thence to Boulogne,
 on the order of the king, for his needs during the journey,
 2 nobles, worth 13s 4d

...

f 82 (24 June) *(Gifts)*

...

Nothing (paid)
 because they did
 not have any of it
 [Paid to J. le
 Page to take to
 my lord de
 Jargny who
 sent it to them]

[The minstrels of the king of England, the prince of
 Wales, and the duke of Lancaster, who plied their trade
 before the king on the feast of St John, for a gift made to
 them by the king, as recounted by my lord de Jargny,
 40 nobles, worth £13 16s 8d]

...

f 83v (26 June)

A minstrel who played with a dog and a monkey before the king, who was going to the country that day, 1 écu, worth 3s 4d
...

f 86v (29 June) (Clothing)

...
For Master Jehan the fool, five lamb fleeces, (at a cost of) 3s 6d a piece, worth 17s 6d

...
For Master Jehan the fool, two lambskin hoods, (at a cost of) 3s a piece 6s

f 93 (7 July) (Gifts) (Between London and Calais)

...
A man from Dover, called the climber, who, before the king, climbed up the rock in front of the hermitage in Dover, for a gift made to him by the king, 5 nobles, worth 33s 4d

f 94v (8 July) (Clothing) (Calais)

...
Nicholas Houvre, for the cloth for the gown of the king's livery, given to Antoine, the trumpet player 27s

APPENDIX 2

1593–4

Great Wardrobe Account of Sir John Fortescue LA: BNLW 4/4/1
mb 3 (Payments made on dormant warrants)

...And in money paid by the aforesaid accountant within the said time of this account, by virtue of another dormant warrant given at Westminster on 18 April in the first year of the same lady queen (*ie*, 1559), to Peter Guy, one of the flute players of the lady queen, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Peter) yearly at the feast of St Andrew the Apostle during the lady queen's own good pleasure, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the eighth year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1565–16 November 1566) and by the accountant's own book, seen and examined upon this account, amounting in all to £16 2s 6d of new purchasing. And in money paid by the said accountant within the aforesaid time of this account, by virtue of another warrant given

at the manor of Greenwich on 30 April in the eighth year of the same lady queen (*ie*, 1566), to Nicholas Lanier, one of the lady queen's flute players, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Nicholas) yearly at the feast of St Andrew the Apostle during the lady queen's own good pleasure, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the eighth year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1565–16 November 1566) and by the accountant's own book, seen and examined upon this account, amounting in all to £16 2s 6d of new purchasing. And in like money paid by the aforementioned accountant within the time of this account, by power of another warrant given at Westminster on the last day of October in the seventh year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1565), to Mark Anthony Bassano, one of the aforesaid queen's sackbut players, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Mark Anthony) yearly at the feast of St Andrew the Apostle during the lady queen's own good pleasure, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the eighth year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1565–16 November 1566) and by the accountant's own book, seen and examined upon this account, in all £16 2s 6d of new purchasing. And in like money paid by the said accountant within the aforesaid time of this account, by power of another dormant warrant given at Westminster on 10 November in the seventh year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1565), to Ralph Green, one of the lady queen's sackbut players, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Ralph) yearly at the feast of St Andrew the Apostle during the lady queen's own good pleasure, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the eighth year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1565–16 November 1566) and by the accountant's own book, seen and examined upon this account, in all £16 2s 6d of new purchasing. And in money paid by the aforementioned accountant within the time of this account, by power of another warrant given at the manor of Greenwich on 23 May in the eighteenth year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1576), to Gavin Smith, drum player or percussionist of the lady queen, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Gavin) yearly at the feast of St Andrew the Apostle during the lady queen's own good pleasure, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the eighteenth year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1575–16 November 1576) and by the accountant's own book, seen and examined upon this account, amounting in all to £16 2s 6d of new purchasing. And in like money paid by the said accountant within the aforesaid time of this account, by power of another dormant warrant given at the manor of Richmond on 6 April in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1582), to Thomas King, drum player or percussionist of the lady queen, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Thomas) yearly at

the feast of St Andrew the Apostle during the lady queen's own good pleasure, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the twenty-fifth year of the queen (*ie*, 17 November 1582–16 November 1583) and by the accountant's own book, seen and examined upon this account, amounting in all to £16 2s 6d of new purchasing....

mb 3d

And in like money paid by the said accountant within the aforesaid time of this account, by virtue of another dormant warrant given at the manor of Greenwich on 8 May in the third year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1561), to three trumpeters, namely, Arthur Scarlet, John Winckes, and John Reston, for their liveries to be delivered to the same (trumpeters) yearly at the feast of Pentecost during the lady queen's own good pleasure, to each of them in proportion £4 2s, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office for the abovesaid year and by the accountant's own book, shown and examined upon this account, in all £12 6s of new purchasing. And in like money paid by the said accountant within the aforesaid time of this account, by power of another dormant warrant given at Windsor Castle on 1 September in the seventh year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1565), to Thomas Reston, one other trumpeter, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Thomas) yearly at the feast of Pentecost during the lady queen's own good pleasure just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the eighth year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1565–16 November 1566) and by the accountant's own book seen and examined upon this account, amounting in all to £4 2s of new purchasing. And in money paid by the same accountant within the said time of this account, by a warrant given at the honour of Hampton Court on 1 February in the sixteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1573/4), to Francis Bourne and Benedict Browne, two other trumpeters, for their liveries to be delivered to the same (Francis and Benedict) yearly at the feast of Pentecost during the lady queen's own good pleasure, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the sixteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1573–16 November 1574) and by the accountant's own book for this year seen and examined upon this account, amounting in all to £8 4s of new purchasing. And in like money paid by the said accountant within the time of this account, by another warrant given at the honour of Hampton Court on 28 January in the nineteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1576/7), to George Langdale, the lady-queen's trumpeter, for his livery to be delivered

to the same (George) yearly at the feast of Pentecost during the lady queen's good pleasure, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the twenty-second year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1579–16 November 1580) and by the accountant's own book seen and examined upon this account, amounting in all to £4 2s of new purchasing. And in like money paid by the said accountant within the aforesaid time of this account, by power of another warrant given at the palace of Westminster on 29 March in the twenty-first year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1579), to two other trumpeters, namely, to John Smith and William Elliot, for their liveries to be delivered to the same (trumpeters) yearly at the feast of Pentecost during the lady queen's own good pleasure, to each of them in proportion £4 2s a year, amounting together in all, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the sack with warrants from Michaelmas in the twenty-first year (*ie*, 1579) until Michaelmas in the twenty-second year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1580) and by the aforesaid accountant's book for this year seen and examined upon this account, £8 4s of new purchasing. And in money paid by the said accountant within the aforesaid time of this account, by another dormant warrant given at the manor of Richmond on 2 November in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1585), to Henry Martin, John Jukes, and Thomas Fisher, three other trumpeters of the same lady queen, for their liveries to be delivered to the same (Henry, John, and Thomas) yearly at the feast of Pentecost during the lady queen's own good pleasure, to each of them in proportion £4 2s just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the twenty-eighth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1585–16 November 1586) and by the aforesaid accountant's book for this year seen and examined upon this account, in all £12 6s of new purchasing. And in like money paid by the same accountant within the time of this account, by power of a dormant warrant given at the manor of Greenwich on 18 May in the twenty-eighth year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1586), to Thomas Jackson, another trumpeter of the same lady queen, both for his livery to be delivered to the same (Thomas) yearly at the feast of Pentecost during the lady queen's good pleasure and for his banner owed to the same (Thomas) in this year 1594 at the said feast of Pentecost – just as it will be provided at the same feast that will be in the year 1598 and so every fourth year in succession when it is due during the said lady queen's good pleasure – namely, (paid) on his livery this year: for three yards of red cloth for the coat at 10s a yard, 30s; for two yards of black velvet for the border (*or* trimming) at 18s a yard, 36s; for eight yards of cotton for the lining at a price of 12d a yard, 8s; for the embroidery of the said coat, 4s; and for its making, 4s; in total for his aforesaid livery £4 2s; and (paid) for his banner owed this year, namely, for one yard and a half of purple

damask for part of the aforesaid banner at 13s 4d a yard, 20s; for one yard and a half of crimson damask in addition to the same at 13s 4d (a yard), 20s; for the painting and gilding of the same bannner, £4; for four ounces of red fringe at 2s an ounce, 8s; for six ounces of Venice gold for part of three cords (*or* laces) for the said banner at 8s an ounce, 48s; for four ounces of silk for the same purpose at 2s an ounce, 8s; for nine pins (*or* buckles) of Venice gold for the said cords (*or* laces), namely, three pins (*or* buckles) for each cord (*or* lace), at 3s 4d for each pin (*or* buckle), 30s; for four-and-a-half ounces of Venice gold for net caps and ribbons, commonly called 'cauls' and 'tassels,' at 8s an ounce, 36s; and for four-and-a-half ounces of red silk for the same purpose, at a price of 2s an ounce, 9s; amounting between them to £12 19s in all for the said banner; and in all for the aforesaid livery and banner, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the bag of the details of account of this office from the thirty-first year of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1588– 16 November 1589) and by the accountant's own book seen and examined upon this account, amounting in all to £17 12d of new purchasing. And in money paid by the said accountant within the aforesaid time of this account, by power of a dormant warrant given at the manor of Greenwich on 18 August in the thirtieth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1588), to Nicholas Watts, another trumpeter of the lady queen, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Nicholas) yearly at the feast of Pentecost during the said lady queen's good pleasure, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the sack with warrants from Michaelmas in the thirty-first year (*ie*, 1589) to the same Michaelmas in the thirty-second year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1590) and by the accountant's own book seen and examined upon this account, amounting to £4 2s of new purchasing. And in money paid by the said accountant within the time of this account, by virtue of a dormant warrant given at the manor of Greenwich on 4 August in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1582), to Robert Benson, another trumpeter of the lady queen, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Robert) yearly at the feast of Pentecost during the lady queen's good pleasure just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant in the bag of the details of account of this office from the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 17 November 1582–16 November 1583) and by the accountant's own book for this year seen and examined upon this account, amounting in all to £4 2s of new purchasing. And in money paid by the same accountant within the time of this account, by virtue of a dormant warrant given at Windsor Castle on 5 September in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the same lady queen (*ie*, 1593), to Thomas Kellway and Francis Hall, trumpeters of the lady queen, for their liveries to be delivered to the same (Thomas and Francis) yearly at Pentecost

during the lady queen's good pleasure, £4 2s to each of them in proportion, just as appears both by the aforesaid warrant remaining in the sack with warrants of this office from Michaelmas in the thirty-fourth year (*ie*, 1592) until the same Michaelmas in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1593) and by the accountant's own book seen and examined upon this account, £8 4s of new purchasing.... And in money paid by the aforesaid accountant within the aforesaid time of this account, by virtue of like letters patent given on 28 April in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of the aforesaid queen (*ie*, 1586), to Edward Kirkham, yeoman and keeper of all and every of the lady queen's masques and disguisings, for his livery to be delivered to the same (Edward) yearly at the feast of All Saints during his lifetime, just as appears by the same letters patent remaining in the same Edward's possession as well as by the accountant's own book seen and examined upon this account, in all 26s 8d of new purchasing....

APPENDIX 5

1141

William of Malmesbury, Historia Novella BL: Royal MS 13.D.ii
f 118v col 1

...

Of the earl of Gloucester's combat and the king's capture

...

... There was such great zeal in the earl for forcing an end (to the situation) that he would prefer to die rather than that the distress of the kingdom be prolonged any further. For the king, after the siege had been lifted, had also presented himself resolutely for battle with very many earls (*or* very many companions) and an energetic force of knights. At first the king's followers tried to hold a preliminary bout for the battle, which they call a joust, because they were skilled in such an art. But when they saw that the earl's men – so to speak – were fighting not with lances at a distance but with swords close at hand and were bursting through the royalist line with attacking forces and banners, all the (royalist) earls decided together to flee; for six earls had entered the battle with the king. Many barons of well-known faithfulness and courage, who thought the king should not be abandoned in this need, were captured....

...

1270

Patent Roll TNA: PRO C 66/88
mb 6 (10 August)

...

The king to his beloved and trusty earls, barons, knights, and others who intend to gather at Stamford to tourney there at the feast of St Bartholomew

instant, greetings. We command you upon your faith (and) allegiance and the love in which you are held by us and under pain of the loss of all your lands and tenements that you hold in our realm, while strictly prohibiting you from presuming to tourney, joust, or go in another way in arms there or elsewhere on the said day or on other days, without our special permission. In (witness) whereof, etc. Witnesses as above.

And an order was issued to the abbot of Peterborough that he go in person to Stamford upon the aforesaid day and deliver to them our aforesaid letters patent addressed to them in this regard and firmly enjoin them on our behalf not to presume to tourney, joust, or go in another way in arms there or elsewhere on the said day or on other days, without our special permission. And he shall cause this to be publicly proclaimed there. In (witness) whereof, etc. Witnesses as above.

...

1288

Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough BL: Lansdowne MS 239
f 78 cols 1–2

...

St Botolph's fair was burned by a trick.

...

In AD 1288 some squires agreed together to celebrate and hold a *hastilude*, which is called a 'bourdis,' in the dress of members of religious orders during the fair (held) near St Botolph (parish, *ie*, in the town of Boston), such that one part (of the participants) would come in monastic dress and the other part in the dress of canons regular. And it was proclaimed that the monks would hold (a *hastilude*) against the canons regular. When the *hastilude* was held at last some of them plotted to rob the fair also. Moreover a fire was set on a certain day around evening, as they had arranged beforehand, in three or four places, in little scaffolds and sheds. And so as the fire burned and rose to the heavens, the merchants who were able escaped through various places carrying with them their more valuable goods. But those false members of religious orders, who had previously taken over the roads leading out and the river bridge, stealing their goods and slaughtering many, loaded their boats which were ready there and went away secretly. And the fire, burning in this way, consumed most of the fair and the voracious flame even destroyed the church of the friars preacher. The author, as it were, of this crime was a certain Robert Chamberlayn, a very energetic squire, who, lamenting, asked for forgiveness from those merchants after he had been convicted and confessed, as he was being led to a death by hanging. Nevertheless he was unwilling to point out his associates but in his houses – of which he had fine ones in the same town of St Botolph – they found many and rather precious things hidden underground....

...

1343/4

Patent Roll TNA: PRO C 66/211mb 44 (10 February) (*Issued at Westminster*)

...

Concerning
a licence to
hold jousts
at Lincoln
each year

The king, to all to whom, etc, (sends) greetings. The petition of some of our beloved and trusty men of the county of Lincoln, presented to us, stated that for better achieving the solace of knightly men and the use of arms we might wish to graciously grant to them that a certain number of knights chosen for this purpose could meet at Lincoln each year in perpetuity on the Monday next after the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, who would then hold there hastiludes or jousts, and that our kinsman and dearest trusty Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby, who delights in knightly deeds, should be made their captain. We therefore, mindful of the storied deeds of men of old, of how greatly the use and love of arms exalted the name and glory of knightly men, and of how much the royal throne is strengthened by an abundance of men tested in arms, and also (mindful of) the dangers of confusions that often arise from idleness, and wishing therefore to approve more gladly the aforesaid petition, grant for ourselves and our heirs that a certain number of knights chosen for this purpose can amiably and peaceably meet at Lincoln each year on the Monday next after the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, and then in that place in civil fashion, without the oppression of the people of the said district or illicit meetings being held, make and hold hastiludes or jousts both in times of peace and of war with all who wish to come there at that time peacefully for the exercise of arms, and that our said kinsman the earl of Derby shall be their captain for his entire life and that after his death the knights thus chosen shall be able to choose another suitable captain and so then after the death of each captain in perpetuity, wishing that the said captain, knights, or others whatever coming there at that time for this cause shall not be molested, proceeded against in any way, or oppressed by ourselves, or our heirs, justices, sheriffs, or other bailiffs, or any of our servants. In (testimony) whereof, etc....

...

1344/5

Patent Roll TNA: PRO C 66/212mb 4 (18 January) (*Issued at Westminster*)

...

Concerning
a licence to
hold jousts
at Lincoln

The king, to all to whom, etc, (sends) greetings. Know that since some knights of the county of Lincoln have asked us to be willing to grant that, if they could hold jousts each year on the Monday in Whitsun week at our city of Lincoln and (if) the same knights chose our beloved and trusty kinsman Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby, to be their captain in this behalf, (we

would agree) – we out of our special favour and at the request of that our kinsman have granted for ourselves and our heirs that our said kinsman, until the end of his life, and, after his death, the other captains who happened to have been chosen for this purpose by the knights of the same county for the time being, could, together with the same knights and others by their assent, at a certain term to be established by the said captain, hold jousts in any year on the said day in the aforesaid city both in time of war and of the armed defence of peace within our realm of England as in other times. And (we have granted) that all the knights who may wish to come there on the same day and to hold jousts can hold them freely in perpetuity without hindrance or molestation from us or our heirs or our (servants) or our heirs' servants whomsoever, provided always that if it should happen that we hold somewhere within our said realm a meeting of knights on the said feast by reason of a round table or jousts or another deed of arms, that then the said jousts of Lincoln in the said year and on the said day would by no means take place but that the captain of the same jousts for the time being could assign and observe another day, as he pleases, during the month next following the said feast for holding the same jousts, wishing that this captain and the current knights or those who will be in future times by reason of the foregoing shall not be impeded, molested in any way, or oppressed by us or our heirs or our (servants) or our heirs' servants whomsoever. In (testimony) whereof, etc....

...

1347–8

The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker Bodl.: MS. 761
f 126

...

In the same year after Easter, formal (*or* ceremonious) hastiludes were held at Lincoln by the earl of Lancaster, afterward the duke, at which was a great crowd of ladies....

...

1397

Coram Rege Roll TNA: PRO KB 27/544
mb [75] (9 May–4 June)

At Lincoln

The jurors of various wapentakes of the aforesaid county elsewhere, namely, in Easter term in the nineteenth year of the reign of the present king at Lincoln before the lord king, made presentment that William Pyke, John de Repynghale, barker, Alexander Fisher of Spalding, Simon English, William Pirre, and William Speke of Spalding did, on the Sunday next after the feast of St Bartholomew the Apostle in the fifteenth year of the reign of King

Richard II, at Spalding capture and arrest a certain Simon Geldere, indicted and outlawed for felony in the county of Lincoln; and did lead that Simon Geldere to a certain place called 'Pleyingplace' in the same town, believing that it was permitted in law to behead and kill any outlaw for felony; (and) the aforesaid William Pyke did on the day (and) in the year and the place aforesaid, by the assent and abetting and procurement of the aforesaid John, Alexander, Simon, William, and William Speke, behead the aforesaid Simon, a felon. By this an order is issued to the sheriff not to fail, etc, but that he should arrest them if, etc....

...

Endnotes

3–4 Letter 107

On the basis of the three mandates chosen from among Grosseteste's letters, it was not possible to decide upon a base text so, as in the case of Bishop Peter Quinel's statutes for Exeter diocese (printed in John M. Wasson (ed), *Devon*, REED (Toronto, 1986), 4–6, and Rosalind Conklin Hays and C.E. McGee/Sally L. Joyce and Evelyn S. Newlyn (eds), *Dorset/Cornwall*, REED (Toronto, 1999), 463–5), we have produced a text by recension. We have consulted three manuscripts of the letters, also used by Powicke and Cheney in preparing their editions of these mandates: *A*: Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 312, f 167 col 1; *B*: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms 123 (ii), f 80v; *C*: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms 453, pp 296–7 (*Councils & Synods*, pt 1, pp 201–2). In addition to the three manuscripts used in their edition, we have also collated from the 1690 edition of Grosseteste's letters by Edward Brown in the second volume (appendix) of *Fasciculus*, p 382, to which we've assigned the siglum *D*. Brown had access to manuscripts which have subsequently been lost, for example, one at Trinity College, Cambridge, and one in the Cotton collection destroyed in the 1731 fire, and Luard argued that, when his readings differed from the extant manuscripts, they may reflect those of the lost MSS (Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, pp xci–xcii; *Councils & Synods*, pt 1, pp 479–80).

Although Luard assigned a tentative date of 1244 to this mandate (Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, p 317), Powicke and Cheney found 'no means of establishing the date' (*Councils & Synods*, pt 1, p 479). Therefore they assign it a range from June 1235 to October 1253, that is, the entire period Grosseteste was bishop.

Bishop Grosseteste's allusions to Judas Maccabee and his father Mattathias (p 4, ll.1–5) as symbolic of the roles of his archdeacon and himself, respectively, are likely to Vulg. 1 Macc 2.49–69 (in which Mattathias exhorts his sons, especially Judas) and 4.36–61 (in which Judas Maccabee cleanses the Temple).

4–7 Letter 22

See above, endnote to Letter 107, for a discussion of the reasons for the recension and our choice of manuscripts. In constructing our text, we have used the same four sources: *A*: Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 312, f 132 col 2–f 132v col 2, Powicke and Cheney's base text; *B*: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms 123 (ii), ff 105–6; *C*: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms 453, pp 63–7 (*Councils & Synods*, pt 1, pp 201–2); and *D*: Brown, *Fasciculus*, pp 314–15. This mandate has been dated 1236 by Luard (Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, p 72); Powicke and Cheney, however, date it by its relationship to the preceding letter (21), also a mandate. Since 21 can be dated to November 1235 by its reference to a recent royal writ promulgated at Northampton on 9 November 1235, they conclude that this second mandate 'may well not be distant in date and in any case precedes Grosseteste's statutes' (*Councils & Synods*, pt 1, p 202).

7–8 Chapters 23, 35, 39–40

These statutes survive both in a group of legal and theological collections, as well as in some manuscripts of Bishop Grosseteste's letters. See Powicke and Cheney, *Councils & Synods*, pt 1, pp 265–7, for a discussion of the principal manuscripts and dating, and see also Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, pp 154–66. The present edition is based upon the following mss also used by Powicke and Cheney:

- A*: British Library, Additional ms 6158 (23, f 135v cols 1–2; 35, f 136 cols 1–2; 39–40, f 136 col 2);
B: British Library, Cotton Nero D.ii (23, f 266 col 2–f 266v col 1; 35, f 266v col 1; 39–40, f 266v col 2);
C: British Library, Royal 9 A.xiv (23, f 194v col 1; 35 and 39–40, f 195 col 2);
D: British Library, Royal 11 B.x (23, f 177 col 1; 35 and 39–40, f 177v col 1);
E: Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1146 (23, ff 81–1v; 35 and 39–40, f 82);
F: Bodleian Library, ms. Laud Misc. 439 (23, f 81v col 1; 35 and 39–40, f 81v col 2);
G: Cambridge University Library, li.2.7 (23, f 148v col 1; 35 and 39–40, f 149 col 1);
H: Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, ms 138/78 (23, f 177 col 1; 35, f 177 col 2 – f 177v col 1; 39–40, f 177v col 1);
I: Jesus College, Cambridge, ms Q.G.18 (23, f 67 col 1; 35 and 39–40, f 67v col 2); and
J: Peterhouse, Cambridge, 255 (iii) (23, f 32 col 1; 35, f 32v col 2; 39–40, f 32v col 2 – f 33 col 1).

We were not able to obtain access to an eleventh ms used by Powicke and Cheney, El Escorial Library: Latin I.iii.7. On the basis of the four chapters we have excerpted it was not possible to decide upon a base text so, as in the case of Bishop Peter Quinel's statutes for Exeter diocese (printed in John M. Wasson (ed), *Devon*, REED (Toronto, 1986), 4–6, and Rosalind Conklin Hays and C.E. McGee/Sally L. Joyce and Evelyn S. Newlyn (eds), *Dorset/Cornwall*, REED (Toronto, 1999), 463–5), we have produced a text by recension. We have also followed Powicke and Cheney in dating these statutes *c* 1239, based on Grosseteste's visitation activity in the 1230s, as they argue that the statutes were a response to the conditions that he found at that time.

15–16 *stc*: 10243 sigs B1, B4

These articles bear no publication date; the date 1630 is taken from the *stc* and based on the title page, which states that they were intended for use at visitations in 1630 and 1631.

16 *stc*: 10245.8 sigs A3–3v

These articles are dated by a handwritten annotation on the copy preserved at Trinity College, Dublin, which stated that it was used at a visitation on 1 June 1637 at the parish of Bourne. Another printing survives and is catalogued as *stc*: 10245.7. This article appears on sigs A3–3v in both printings. The marginal numbers are references to the applicable church canons.

17 Wing: C4053 sigs B3–3v

There are two printings of Williams' 1641 articles, Wing: C4053 (excerpted here) and Wing: C4053A. The relevant article appears on the same signatures in both printings.

18 LA: ADDLETHORPE PAR/10/1 f [10v]

This payment is in a section immediately preceding a cancelled one headed 'In ye yere of owre lorde god M.iiii.xliij' (that is, 1543/4), being the final note for the period 1543–4, which includes a payment

by Curtis ('one Ihon Curteyss'); both sections seem to be additions from a single account appended to a later one. Curtis is also identified elsewhere as having been warden in 1543–4 (Dudding, 'Addlethorpe and Ingoldmells,' p 152).

18 LA: ADDLETHORPE PAR/10/1 f [21]

This folio of accounts is undated. At the top of the folio is written '*Memorandum* that theys be ye paymentes yat Robert gryne & nycholys hodge hayth payd,' seemingly a later addition to the account in which this folio is included. The account for 1545–6 has two sets of churchwardens, Nicholas Rust and Nicholas Hoghe (ff 3v and 15v) and Nicholas Hoghe and Robert Greene (f 16v), suggesting that for some reason Greene replaced Rust as one of the wardens that year. Thus these payments on f [21] very likely belong under 1545–6.

18 LA: ADDLETHORPE PAR/10/1 f [6]

The heading of this account identifies it as that of 'Robert grene & Alan m(...) cherche wardens ... Anno M.v^c xlvi,' that is, for the period ending January 1546/7. That conclusion is supported by an entry in the account of Nicholas Rust and Nicholas Hoghe, which says that Robert Greene and Alan More were wardens in 38 Henry VIII (that is, 1546–7) (Dudding, 'Addlethorpe and Ingoldmells,' pp 153, 155).

19–20 BL: Additional MS 4937 ff 85–5v, 86v

The procession across the countryside including bills, bows, swords, etc, with the claim that they are praying for seasonable weather, makes this sound greatly like a mock muster (under the guise of perambulations). In its classic form a mock muster involved a festive mock combat between troupes of people from two or more parishes, ending with dramatized peacemaking and festivities, including revels and games. The event often began in the countryside, then progressed into the town (see Milborne Port and Poyntington, or Odcombe and Yeovil, both in Somerset (James Stokes with Robert J. Alexander (eds), *Somerset Including Bath*, vol 1, REED (Toronto, 1996), 167–71, 189–200). But a mock muster could also involve a captain and his troupe (often an armed morris troupe) mounting a sword dance or St George game as another kind of mock battle with guns, swordplay, and noise, all sometimes used to defy or intimidate civil authority (see, for example, the captain and his troupe in Wells, and other mimetic musterings there in 1607 (*Somerset*, vol 1, pp 265, 314–17, 332–34, et passim)). In a third manifestation of the mock muster as a form—the kind suggested by these purported events at Ashby de la Launde—a group (in this case the abbot's priest and tenants) could (and often did) co-opt traditional ceremonies and customs of the kind involving progressive movement through the extent of the parish (as, for example, the Robin Hood games in Somerset or in this instance a Rogation procession), using them to assert metaphorical and physical control of landscape and properties, asserting their rightful ownership of the land via the collective voice and physical presence of a large, raucous, armed group that, for legal purposes, could plausibly be described as a Rogation procession while exhibiting a certain implied threat. The bill in this case accuses the participants of riot, rout, and unlawful assembly; the participants claim a pious motive, though clearly something more than a benign traditional ceremony/ritual has occurred. There are no external witnesses to verify competing descriptions of the event, making it impossible to determine which interpretation is generally closer to true. De la Launde clearly perceived the procession as a statement of ownership by the commandery. He claims that Babyngton caused seventeen armed men, his chaplain and sixteen servants, to go in riotous manner under colour of a procession around the heath to mark and claim the heath as part of the estate for the Temple commandery, and to move away de la Launde's and his tenants' cattle. Babyngton, denying any riot or

rou, says that the purpose of the peaceful procession, made up of a priest, five other men, and three women, was to pray for seasonable weather during a time of drought. The two accounts agree that there was a procession, that it went about the heath, and that it affected in some way the boundary markers, but not on anything else. Such competing representations were quite common in the battles over the landscape in this period and the events themselves had an inherent mimetic dimension. The use of weaponry and other gear (and Babyngton does not explicitly deny their presence) makes this particular incident something more than a Rogation procession to pray for favourable weather. If we believe de la Launde's description of their appearance and actions (it seems unlikely that he would have made up all the particulars in his description out of whole cloth), then the group are dramatizing themselves in implicitly militaristic terms in support of their claims.

The complainant, Thomas de la Launde, further claims that Babyngton had destroyed the heath and de la Launde's crops by pasturing a great number of livestock there; had impounded de la Launde's sheep in a place full of dung and mire, causing many of them to die; had stolen other of de la Launde's creatures who had strayed; and had wrongly used a manor leet court to 'usurp' the ancestral rights of de la Launde (ff 85v, 86). A royal Commission of Inquiry (requested by de la Launde) that included Sir John Hussey, his brother Robert, and three others met at Sleaford, which was Hussey's seat. At that inquiry Babyngton acknowledged that he and his tenants had kept cattle on Temple Heath but not, he said, in excess numbers, and he denied responsibility for the death of de la Launde's livestock, blaming it on poor weather and untimely enclosing of pasture by de la Launde. When faced with creatures who had trespassed, he testified, he simply drove them out or temporarily held them while 'in most curtos maner prayed' their owners to forego such incursions. Fines that he might have levied were 'but some small reward' (f 88). De la Launde claimed that the royal commission had been constituted in Babyngton's favour, betraying de la Launde's confidences to the defendant, enabling him to win. According to Edward Trollope both de la Launde and the Hospitallers who opposed his claim subsequently lost their lands during the latter years of Henry VIII (Trollope, *Sleford*, p 201). The Hospitallers or Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem had held the lands in question since 1324. In that year Edward II had 'stripped [the Knights Templar] of all their estates' at Ashby de la Launde and Temple Bruer, and granted them to the Hospitallers, who held them until their house was suppressed in 1535 (Trollope, *Sleford*, pp 314–15).

20–1 BL: Additional MS 4937 ff 87, 87v

For more on Thomas de la Launde and John Babyngton, see above, endnote to BL: Additional MS 4937 ff 85–5v, 86v.

22 LA: Diocesan Vij/21 f 4v

Boulton and Colledge were charged both in their home parish of Bardney and in Timberland, where the fiddling apparently took place. It is unclear whether there was any fiddling in Bardney itself. See p 335.

22–3 LA: Diocesan Vij/19 f 46a

This presentment is written on a small sheet placed among the regular leaves of the volume. It was sent to the notary public, George Walker, by one Henry Scott who wrote: 'Mr Walker all these I doe present if it please you to accept of them otherwise I pray you let me craue your advice herein, your loucing friend Henry Scott.' The identity of Scott has not yet come to light. The sheet lacks a court heading but it bears the date 'lanuary 9: 1629.' A complete court heading (f 44) identifies a court of the archdeacon of Lincoln for the deanery of Yarburgh held on 20 October 1629 in the church at

East Rasen before John Farmery, LLD, and Morgan Wynne, BA, cleric, in the presence of George Walker, notary public. Notations at the foot of f 46a indicate subsequent hearings on 3, 15, and 26 February, with the charges being dismissed.

23–4 BL: Cotton Galba B.x.17 f 44

While the incident described in this letter was obviously not drama, the cloth seller had constructed a small and dangerous piece of political street theatre by pinning the ‘wenche made in cloth’ to a picture of the king, thereby causing jesting and laughing among Europeans (and perhaps others) in the crowd. His action apparently alludes to Henry VIII’s difficulties with his wives, the getting of an heir, and the arguments that he had used in his conflict with the Church of Rome. The episode illustrates a climate that included surprisingly open criticism of the king in the streets, markets, and fairs of conservative Lincolnshire, and a resentment that eventually exploded in the disastrous Lincolnshire rising that formed part of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.

24 Ball, *Social History and Antiquities of Barton* p 8

The specific identity of the singers is unclear but the wording of the entry indicates that they were paid by the parish for a performance that sounds as if it were a festive event or a church ale. Winterton is about nine miles from Barton.

24–5 TNA: PRO C 47/39/76 single sheet

This document bears no date, but it was one of numerous returns of Lincolnshire guilds (descriptions of their structure and extent, governance, and customs) that Richard II, with parliamentary agreement, ordered sent to the Chancery before 2 February 1388/9. While the guild had been founded in 1366 this return appears to have been made in, or shortly before, 1388/9 (Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, pp 34, 36).

26 LA: BENINGTON IN HOLLAND PAR/13/1 f 19

This reference to a collection (plus the large amount of money collected) shows the ceremony on Plough Monday to have been a major annual fund-raising activity in Benington. Such ceremonies were common in Lincolnshire, and they often involved ceremonial processions, with men carrying a plough that otherwise stood before an altar in the parish church (see Introduction, p 429).

The payments in this entry precede one for bread, drink, and candle on St Hugh’s night (therefore, 17 November 1578). In February 1578/9 the town council of Boston approved a performance of the play of the Passion at Easter or Whitsuntide following (p 40, ll.27–30), leading one to assume that the players from Boston had perhaps come to Benington to promote that forthcoming play (cry the banns of their play), especially given the token amount that they were paid.

26 LA: Diocesan Vij/12 p 465

A court session on 9 May (p 457) for Loveden deanery was held (according to its heading) in the parish church of Sleaford, by Otwell Hill, LLD, commissary and archdeacon’s official. The date of this, the subsequent session on 28 July, is given on p 464. The court heading for the session on 28 July gives no particulars as to the court personnel or location of the session, but one might well think that they were the same as those on 9 May.

26–7 LA: Diocesan Vij/3 f 143

The court heading is on f 133. The nature of the ‘plaie feast’ is not clear from the entry, nor does the phrase turn up in standard sources. The wording of the entry and the time of year suggest that it was

a traditional communal event and that it had occurred in the autumn, perhaps in October; therefore it seems likely to have been connected with harvest. Feasts at the end of harvest – sometimes called ‘harvest home’ – became common in every agricultural region of England and in Scotland, and could involve activities ranging from a simple communal feast to one with song, customary games, revelling, choosing of harvest lords and ladies, and the making of corn dollies, a custom with its origins in pre-Christian culture and therefore not designed to be particularly reassuring to the reformed church. In this instance the ecclesiastical authorities seem concerned with excesses that occurred, and which the respondent had promised to reform. On harvest activities see Christina Hole, *British Folk Customs* (London, 1976), 93–4, and W. Carew Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore of the British Isles: A Descriptive and Historical Dictionary of the superstitions, beliefs, and popular customs of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, from Norman times to the end of the nineteenth century, with Classical and foreign analogues*, vol 1 (London, 1905; rpt New York, 1965), 305–8.

27 BL: Egerton MS 2886 f 5v

For a detailed discussion of the Noah ship in Boston, see the Introduction (pp 420–1). The accounts for 1520–1, 1522–3, and 1523–4, though they exist, contain no payments for the Noah ship.

35 BL: Egerton MS 2886 f 238v

Earlier payments to ‘histriones,’ ‘mimi,’ waits, minstrels, and trumpeters, as well as for the Noah ship, at Pentecost and Corpus Christi strongly suggest that Corpus Christi festivities in Boston included dramatic, as well as musical, performances and processions. But this entry for 1523 is the first explicit reference to a play, this one performed on Good Friday and Easter. For more on performative traditions in Boston, see Introduction, pp 420–1.

36–7 BL: Egerton MS 2886 ff 296, 298

Arundel (p 36, l.24) was either Thomas Fitz Alan (1450–25 October 1524), twenty-second earl of Arundel, or William Fitz Alan (c 1476–23 January 1543/4), twenty-third earl of Arundel.

Because Thomlynson had been chamberlain of the guild in 1523–4, this payment to ‘mimis’ (the word is twice used to indicate waits in Boston records) appears to be a late reimbursement for his having paid the waits of London in 1523 (p 36, ll.13–14), during his year as chamberlain. The two amounts match.

37–8 LA: BB 4/C/1/1 ff 24v, 25, 28v

Arundel (p 37, l.30) was William Fitz Alan (c 1476–23 January 1543/4), twenty-third earl of Arundel.

First mentioned in records dating from 1494, John English (p 38, l.3) was a member, and the apparent leader, of the king’s players during the reign of Henry VII and subsequently the reign of Henry VIII (E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol 2 (Oxford, 1903; rpt 1954), 187; *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol 2, (Oxford, 1923; rpt 1974), 78–9). Other provincial records include payments to English and his troupe in 1520–1 at Dover (James M. Gibson (ed), *Kent: Diocese of Canterbury*, vol 2, REED (Toronto, 2002), 417); in 1523–4 by the earl of Devon (John M. Wasson (ed), *Devon*, REED (Toronto, 1986), 308); and in 1524–5 and 1528–9 at Grimley (David N. Klausner (ed), *Herefordshire/Worcestershire*, REED (Toronto, 1990), 485, 504, 601).

Nicholas Feild was a person of substance in Boston and within the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He was one of six persons in Boston each taxed £2 as annual subsidy in 1523–4 and one of only eighteen persons taxed in Boston that year. In 1544 he was assessed the second highest amount in Boston (Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, pp 61, 63).

Though elected in March mayors in Boston served from May Day to May Day (Bailey, *Transcription of Minutes*, vol 1, pp 244–5). Thus this payment may refer to a May queen.

38 LA: BB 4/C/1/2 f 11

The accounts for 1539–46 are missing. Thereafter, no further certain references to the Noah ship have yet come to light.

38 TNA: PRO E 117/3/57 single sheet

One assumes that the copes for children were either for the choristers or related to the boy bishop ceremony. The five copes sold the next year clearly were the same items mentioned in the inventory of 1552–3.

38 TNA: PRO E 117/3/60 f [1]

For the copes, see above, endnote to TNA: PRO E 117/3/57 single sheet. The identity of John Dobe (l.35) and his reason for wanting the copes are unknown, but in many of the Lincolnshire inventories, such garments were sold to players or to schools.

38 LA: INV 21/167 single mb

Wendon identifies himself as a burgess rather than a musician but see the discussion that follows. His inventory shows him to have had substantial goods and chattel. His will (LA: LCC WILLS 1554–6, f 182, made 18 November 1554, proved 3 February 1554/5) says that he was buried in the church; had a servant; left 80s to the poor (40s in fuel for one Christmas and 40s more the next) among other bequests; and bequeathed to his daughter the extremely large sum of £20, plus £10 each to her daughters and to his son's daughter, the money for the granddaughters to go for the repair of highways should neither of them live to inherit. His executor and heir was his son, Nicholas. His supervisor was Henry Fox (one wonders if Henry was related to the musician William Fox (see pp 41–2)).

A register of the court of Augmentations in the Exchequer (26 April 1554) lists annuities granted by the abbot of Crowland which include one given to 'Iohn Wendon de Boston, "musico & in medicinis experto, pro bono & fidele serviciio suo, ac eciam pro consilio benevolentiaque nobis & monasterio," xxvi s. out of our *cellula* de Freston modo sic vocat', and all the lands there 8 Oct. 30 H. VIII' (quoted in Gough, *Croyland-Abbey*, p 121). Wendon seems to have been known to the abbot as both a musician (his inventory suggests a keyboardist) and a healer, who had become a substantial burgess of the town of Boston.

39 LA: BB 2/A/1/1 f 128v

At the assembly held on 29 December 1573, Edward Astell and eight other persons (two of them women) were named as being allowed to 'tiple contrie aile' or beer (f 143). He was one of two Lincolnshire waits who can be shown to have augmented his musical income in this way. Nathan Ash, a wait in Stamford, operated an inn in that town. Briggess (p 39, l.29) was elected mayor on 25 March 1573 and took the oath of office on 1 May to serve until 1 May following.

40 LA: INV 55/150 single sheet

Skyenner's inventory bears no date, but his will provides a year of death. The inventory is a very short, one-page inventory with but eight items on it. Skyenner's will was made in 1572, but proved on 7 April 1573 (LA: LCC WILLS 1573i/129, ff 198–8v).

40 LA: BB 2/A/1/1 f 185v

A grudging tone in this order (that the play 'shalbe suffred to be plaiede') suggests some official resistance to it; and that 'diuers of this Borough' requested it suggests broad popular support at odds with the official view. That it could be performed at either Whitsuntide or Easter suggests that plays had previously been held from time to time on both days. The hall garth was an open area used for markets. In 1590 the council ordered that henceforth it was to be 'the onely place of merchandyzinge for the marte' and that shops and warehouses were to be built for that purpose (f 272). For the hall garth, see Introduction, p 437.

40 LA: INV 100/223 f [2v]

No will for Copley has turned up, nor is there a date of death in the heading of his inventory. The date given is that when the inventory was presented at Lincoln.

41 LA: LCC WILLS 1608ii ff 37, 37v

Oudum's will shows strong connections among four families of musicians in Boston. Oudum bequeathed a shawm to musician William Fox, whom he calls his brother and makes the supervisor of his will. Fox, in his own will (pp 41–2), gives Richard Knott (his son-in-law) instruments and tools for mending them, suggesting that Knott was an instrument-maker. Fox also gave Richard Oudum (the son of Arthur) song books and a fife once belonging to Richard's uncle, Ralph Oudum. Bernard Lynam, to whom Oudum bequeathed a great bagpipe, and who may have been a musician, was apparently less than well-to-do. His will (LA: LCC WILLS 1617i/343) mentions only £5 and some 'goods,' and he signed with a mark. He left a wife and daughter, and was related to Edward Lynam. His will was made on 30 June 1617 and proved on 2 October 1617. Arthur Oudum was a substantial member of the community, bequeathing a house and grounds to his son Richard, and mentioning his wife Alice. Whether his other two witnesses – Alexander Yates and Edward Seeley – or his brother Edward were musicians is not indicated. Whether any of these musicians were among Boston's waits is not clear, but they certainly had strong musical associations with each other.

Even though Richard Oudum received the gift of song books and a fife from William Fox (see pp 41–2), both Oudum's will and his inventory describe him as a victualler and his inventory makes no mention of musical instruments (LA: LCC WILLS 1620/29 and LA: INV 123/100, respectively made 3 and 14 April 1620). Presuming that he was Richard, son of the musician Arthur, he was not, like his father, a professional musician, though he may well have played. His will mentions four children (three in their minority). His eldest son, Anthony, received his house and grounds; his two daughters and other son each received £20. His wife, Frances, was his executor (f 29).

42 LA: BB 2/A/1/2 f 146

In 1620 (and previously in 1613) the mayor of Boston was Thomas Middlecott. This earl of Rutland was Francis Manners (1578–1632), eighth earl of Rutland. The names of his secretary and of 'the Captain' in the entry are not given in the records, but neither person appears to have had to do with entertainments.

43 LA: BB 2/A/1/2 f 155v

Master Doctor Baron was Peter Baron, MD (d. 1631), who became a freeman of the borough in 1606, an alderman of the town in 1609, and its mayor in 1610. According to Pishy Thompson, Dr Baron 'took a very prominent part in the affairs of the town and Corporation, and his name is mentioned in

the Corporation records in connexion with every proceeding of importance that occurred.' He lived 'on the south side of the east end of Spain Lane' in Boston and is described by Thompson as 'a physician of considerable eminence, and a man of very various talent,' who 'took the lead in all the public matters of the town.' Thompson describes him as a 'theological controversialist' whose Lutheran views placed him in conflict with the Rev. John Cotton, Boston's gifted Calvinist vicar who later emigrated to what became the city of Boston in the United States (the town so named in his honour). Dr Baron had powerful supporters at court, including the earl of Exeter, who defended Dr Baron's elevated position in the contentious atmosphere of seventeenth-century Boston. Whether those connections suggest that he was selected by the town as a person who could tactfully pay the children of the Revels not to perform is unclear (Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, pp 412, 414–15, 433–5). This troupe may have been one of the Revels troupes claiming the patronage of the late Queen Anne: see the *Patrons and Performances Web Site* <<http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/>> for information relating to these troupes from published REED volumes.

43 LA: BB 2/A/1/2 ff 191, 194v, 197v

In 1624 (as in 1602 and 1614), the mayor of Boston was Leonard Cammock. Sir William Armine of Osgodby (l.24) was a parliamentarian who had been created a baronet on 28 November 1619. At the time of this account he was MP for Boston (as he had been in 1621) and he had been sheriff of Huntingdonshire in 1620. He would be MP for Grantham in 1625; MP for Lincolnshire in 1626, 1628, and 1641; and sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1630 (P.W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558–1603*, *The History of Parliament*, vol 1 (London, 1981); see also pp 323–5). The payment to Armine's man seems likely related to work on behalf of Armine and the town rather than to entertainments.

John Cammock (l.31) was mayor of Boston in 1625. He was a senior burgess who had been mayor in 1623. He leased the manor house of Boston Hallgarth in 1624, just prior to becoming mayor, and owned land in the village of Skirbeck. In 1642 he was one of many citizens of the town assessed by the Crown for governmental expenses. In 1642 John Cammock, gentleman (presumably the same person), was also assessed as a landowner in the village of Leverton, six miles northeast of Boston. It seems quite possible that the payments to the prince's players, for which Cammock is being reimbursed in this entry, had been made during his mayoralty in 1623 (since most such payments were made by mayors) (Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, pp 83, 238, 455, 466, 553).

43–4 LA: BB 2/A/1/2 f 279

The mayor of Boston in 1633 was John Whiting, Jr (also mayor in 1626, 1644, and 1655). His father, John Whiting, Sr, had been mayor in 1600 and 1608. The Whitings were an ancient family in Boston, first mentioned in a subsidy roll in 1333. As non-conformists several members of the family (including the Rev. Samuel Whiting, brother of John Whiting, Jr) emigrated to America. 'Wibberton' is the village of Wyberton, three miles south of Boston. The Robert Ingram of the entry was probably Robert Ingram, citizen and ironmonger of London (d. 1644), who was the son of John Ingram of Bucknall (near Horncastle). Robert's son, Sir Arthur Ingram (20 April 1617–81) was variously assessed for land in Boston and Fishtoft near Boston, and for 'part of the parsonage of Freiston [another village near Boston] belonging to the Abbey.' So in this entry, the town was paying rental fees to a family that had major land holdings in and near Boston (Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, pp 203, 430–1, 454–5, 482, 501; and Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 2, pp 540–1).

44 LA: BB 2/A/1/2 f 284v

Thomas 'Haughton' was the mayor of Boston in 1634.

44 LA: BB 2/A/1/2 ff 289, 293v

The payment to the waits was made on 25 March 1635. The mayor who made the payment was Thomas Law. 'James Neave' appears to have been a cloth-maker. A family of the same name was taxed in Leverton in 1332 and another family of the same name lived in Hagworthingham near Horncastle. But the genealogical tree of the latter contains no mention of a James Neave, so his identity remains obscure. It is also unclear whether 'Tointon' refers to a person of that name or to the village of Toynton All Saints, fifteen miles north of Boston. A family named Tointon paid a poll tax at Leverton in 1332, so the surname was common to the area. In this instance, given the wording of the entry, Tointon seems likely to be a reference to a workman being paid money owed for his services (Thompson, *History and Antiquities*, pp 551–2; and Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 2, p 706).

45 LA: Diocesan Vj/24 f 69v

The heading on f 67 lacks dates, times, and names of the presiding court officers, but the court must have been held between 19 October and 31 December 1618. It is not clear where the piping actually took place. It is possible either that Bett was prosecuted in his home parish of Branston for an offence that occurred only in Potterhanworth, or that he had piped in both parishes.

45 LA: Diocesan Vj/24 f 55v

A number of cases in the episcopal visitation books present potential confusions because court headings list two different visitations held at different dates, places, and deaneries (see, for example, Great Hale and Grantham). In this case the defendant Sills lived in Brant Broughton (see his will, p 46) located in the deanery of Loveden. Thus his case was likely heard at the first of the two visitations.

46–7 LA: Diocesan Vij/21 f 57v

'Burneholme' (p 46, l.38) must mean Burnham, a hamlet two miles west of Thornton Curtis on the site of a deserted medieval village (Thornton Curtis is near Grimsby and the Humberside). The Tripps were from Horkstow, Ellis from Barton, both communities near the northeast border of the country in Yarburgh deanery. It seems likely that the three defendants committed their offence together in Burnham. Ellis' case summary says as much; and there would have been no reason for Bridget Tripp to have to certify twice unless, like her husband, she had committed her offence in a parish other than her own.

47 Carlisle, *Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools* p 794

The manuscript seen by Carlisle (if that is what it was) was evidently defective, but it is clear that the various lessons were to be prepared against the next day, that is, the play-day was not to be allowed to disrupt the next day's school-work.

47–8 LA: Diocesan Vij/10 f 64v

Butterworth's will (LA: LCC WILLS 1607ii/155) and his inventory (LA: INV 102/23) indicate that he was a well-to-do farmer who left a large 'mansion' house, considerable furniture, goods, money, and livestock. He had a wife, sons, and daughters who survived him. His will was made on 19 October 1605 and proved on 28 March 1607. Salmon, also a resident of Horncastle, was perhaps more substantial than Butterworth, having maid servants and other employees, considerable cash to bequeath to friends and associates, plus a house, much furniture, lands, and horses (LA: LCC WILLS 1604ii/232). Both were at least middle-aged at the time of the incident.

48–50 TNA: PRO STAC 5/L13/33 sheet 2

Both copies of the bill of complaint (sheets 1 and 2) are heavily damaged and the text has suffered much loss from wear and tear, as well as holes. Sheet 2 appears to be the original bill and is somewhat less damaged in the relevant section (describing the events in Coningsby), and we have transcribed from it; some readings have been supplied from item 1 where it seemed helpful.

54–5 TNA: PRO STAC 5/L13/33 sheet 48

No examination answers to these interrogatories survive. Their purpose seems to have been to assert Dymoke's status as lord of the town and manor of Coningsby, a reference to his conflict with the earl of Lincoln that underlay the May games march on Coningsby. As phrased the interrogatories affirm the claim that Dymoke was 'chief lord' of Coningsby and that he controlled the 'greatest parte' of the town. Interrogatory 5 asserts that a recent trial at the assizes in Lincoln, between Dymoke and the earl of Lincoln, had found that Dymoke, by virtue of a lease from the bishop of Carlisle, was rightful lord of the manor and soke of Horncastle (which would have included Coningsby).

55 LA: Dean and Chapter Cijj/36 f 197

Herdman was a former churchwarden and Page was a current churchwarden, giving the impression that the players in question may perhaps have been local school children.

55–6 LA: DONINGTON IN HOLLAND PAR/23/7 single sheet

In 1562–3 the churchwardens of Long Sutton paid the bann criers of Donington 6s 8d for announcing their play in that parish. The wardens also paid for cakes and beer on the same occasion (see p 227, ll.3, 4). For discussion of the play itself and theatrical tradition in Donington, see the Introduction, pp 421–2.

57–9 LA: Diocesan Vijj/1 pp 30–1

Katharine Whitacres, wife of John, was cited for seldom going to the parish church and was identified as being an alehousekeeper. Anne Whitacres, otherwise unidentified, was similarly cited (p 32). Given the time of year and their going about with a drum and loud beating, these nine defendants might well have been involved in a traditional fund-raising game and entertainment (whether hogmany or some other processional activity).

59 LA: Diocesan Vijj/15 f 73

No complete court heading survives in the volume but a partial heading on f 7 gives the date 1615, as does this entry.

61–2 TNA: PRO E 178/1315 mb [1]

The second witness, John Hardie, 90, milner, of Gainsborough, said essentially the same as Develing except for claiming that the royalty elected by the young people 'sometymes the called kinge sometymes Lord and after there was a quene or Ladie chosen and they were called the Lord & Ladye or kinge or quene of the trinitie guilde' (mb [2]). According to Hardie a trinity light was maintained in the Gainsborough parish church. There was also a fraternity or brotherhood of the older people in the town who met at the chapel yearly on Ascension Day or at Corpus Christi. The chief officers of all the guilds apparently were variously called kings and queens, lords and ladies, or guild masters. He also said that mass was celebrated on solemn feast days when processions came from Gainsborough

church (mb [2]). Witnesses Ralph Ashkough, 70, a draper, and Christopher Storres, 72, shoemaker, both of Gainsborough, added no additional detail except that Storres called the Trinity guild the young men's guild (mb [3]). The final witness, Edward Staveley, 74, a draper of Gainsborough, seems to have known little about the guilds (mb [4]), but concerning the crucial information about the nature of the dual mastership and festive practices of the guild in article 3, the first four witnesses all agree.

According to John Leland this chapel in chapel garth was 'an old chapelle of stone yn the south part of Gainsborow town, wher they of the tounse say that many Danes be buried' (*The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543, Parts I–III*, Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed), vol 1 (Carbondale, 1964), 33). It had been torn down well before 1587 by Thomas Dobson and on the site now stood 'Chapel Staithe.' C. Moor quotes the five witnesses as saying that the chapel garth was 'bounded on the West by the Trent, on the East by "the waie called Picknall Fee Gate" or "the hie streete," on the North partly by a house used as a fish house, and partly by "a common laine," on the South by "a hie waie leading unto the river of Trent."' As Moor further observes, 'the "comon laine" was evidently what is now Caskgate Street; Picknall Fee Gate or "the hie streete" is now called Silver Street, and "the hie waie leading unto the river" is the approach to Chapel Staithe' (*A History of Gainsburgh* (Gainsborough, 1904), 296).

62–5 TNA: PRO STAC 8/168/31 sheet 22

In an answer to the bill of complaint made on 3 July 1606 (TNA: PRO STAC 8/168/31, sheet 19 or item (11)), Willoughby categorically denied all the charges made against him by Hickman in the bill. Hickman responded to the answers of Willoughby and Tournay with a replication (sheet 18 or item (10)) reaffirming that all the charges he had made against the defendants were true.

Sir William Hickman, of Gainsborough (d. 25 September 1625), was son and heir of Anthony Hickman, London, who was said to have been 'much in favor with Henry 8 and Edward 6' (Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 2, pp 493, 495). William Hickman was knighted at Belvoir Castle. His second wife, Elizabeth (d. 1622), was daughter of William Willoughby and Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Christopher Hildyard, of Little Coates (Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 3, p 1088).

This case appears to have been part of Gainsborough's collective hatred for and resistance against Hickman, who had become its new landlord at the end of the sixteenth century and 'immediately engaged in the most aggressive extension and exploitation of his manorial rights' by coercion, threat, rapacious taxation, and appropriation of properties and rights. The result was 'affrays and suits with counter-suits throughout the first decade of the seventeenth century' that amounted to a 'bludgeoning of unincorporated Gainsborough' (Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 31–2, 35). The feuds among powerful competing interests – reflected in this libel suit with its viciously parodic ballads – caused immense economic, social, and legal damage to the town.

Sir Thomas Willoughby, whom Hickman charged with having libelled him, was the fifth son of Charles, second Lord Willoughby of Parham, Suffolk. From Sir Thomas descended the eleventh Lord Willoughby (Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 3, p 1088). The Tournays were an ancient family of Caenby and Glenham, and it seems probable that Tristram Tournay of Caenby was part of that family, perhaps even the son of John (d. 1605) and Anne (d. 1641), but his name does not appear in Maddison's Tournay family tree (*Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 3, pp 1002–3). The proximity of the communities in this suit (Caenby, Gainsborough, Knaith, and Fenton, Nottinghamshire, among others), and the close relationships of the principals, show this to have been a nasty squabble among people closely related by class, blood, and marriage.

65–6 TNA: PRO STAC 8/168/31 sheet 26

A second copy of the libellous ballad (sheet 21 or item (13)), also entered into evidence, bears no date. At its head the court has written, 'The rime *which* was first made.' Following the first stanza the court has added, 'The alteracions & additions afterwards inserted,' but this copy differs from sheet 26 in only two words. In stanza 2, l.1, it says 'lack a lent' rather than 'lack of Lent,' and in stanza 3, l.3, it does not have the word 'that.' This second copy merely served to prove the charge that the ballad had been copied and circulated.

67–8 TNA: PRO STAC 8/168/31 sheet 6

The fifteen examination questions on sheet 6 are exactly the same as those on sheet 24 (no [16]). Neither copy is dated but the questions were used for the examinations conducted both on 4 April and 31 May 1608, so these questions would have been written shortly before 4 April.

69–70 TNA: PRO STAC 8/168/31 sheet 4

Also on sheet 4, neither Francis Slater, 24, yeoman of Knaith, nor Charles Kempe, 30, yeoman of Lea, added anything of note concerning the libellous ballads. Nor did Susan Bullock, 26, spinster of Fenton, Nottinghamshire, though she did testify that when her mistress, Lady Thornhagh, sent her to inquire after the pregnant Lady Willoughby, the lady's husband sent her home with a copy of the bill of complaint and his answer to it. On sheet 5 the same group of witnesses as on sheets 3–4, in answering additional questions, collectively affirmed their belief that Willoughby was not the author of the ballad, that he and his wife were among its targets, and that Willoughby had learned of the ballad from Tristram Tournay. Sir Thomas Willoughby, in his examination answer on 8 July 1606 (ff 8–11), in answer to plaintiff's interrogatories (sheet 12), emphatically denied any role in the writing, copying, disseminating, or singing of the libellous ballads, especially of having done so to Lord Willoughby of Parham, or Sir William Pelham. Concerning his servant, Leonard Roebuck, Willoughby also denied that Roebuck had sung or spread the ballads.

John Thornhagh, Esq., of Fenton, Nottinghamshire (d. 23 March 1612/13), was son and heir of Anthony Thornhagh. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Brian Bailles, Esq. The daughter mentioned in the examination answer would have been either Barbara or Elizabeth (Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 3, p 970).

70–2 TNA: PRO STAC 8/168/31 sheets 27, 28, 29

Edward Willoughby (d. 1614), brother of the defendant, Sir Thomas Willoughby (sheet 27), was third son of Charles (1536–26 October 1612), second Lord Willoughby of Parham, Suffolk (Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 3, p 1088). John Noble, about age 60, a mercer from Gainsborough, had heard the libel read in his shop, but he did not say who the reader was. He also commented that Hickman, the plaintiff, had himself spoken of the rhyme more than anyone else (sheet 29).

According to Edward Willoughby in his deposition (sheet 27), Thomas Willoughby claimed to know the author but did not reveal it to those around him. Tristram Tournay had told Luke Martin, 37, a mercer from Gainsborough, as well as Walter Carey, that he had received the rhymes from a gentlewoman (sheet 27), a comment confirmed by Carey in his own deposition.

73 LA: Diocesan Vj/24 f 57v

According to the inventory taken near the time of his death (LA: INV 128/62), the piper Wetherill was a relatively established labourer who had a house, considerable household goods, ten sheep, and a

few farm implements, all worth £17 6s 9d. The inventory lists no musical instruments. Concerning the double visitation heading in this case, see p 750, endnote to LA: Diocesan Vj/24 f 55v.

74 LA: INV 144/85 single mb

Seemly was one of the town waits. He had what seems to have been a substantial house and considerable household possessions, including bedding and linens, brass and pewter pieces, metal kitchen and fireplace implements and containers, and furniture. He also owned livestock and had farmlands that were then planted. His total worth was listed in the inventory as being £34 13s 4d.

76 LA: Grantham Borough 5/1 f 107v

Three more references to the waits occur – in 1643, 1647, and 1648, when the town decided to suspend support for the waits until after difficulties caused by the Civil War had subsided (see LA: Grantham Borough 5/1, ff 112v, 177, and 181).

77 LA: Diocesan Vij/11 f 28v

This case presents an unusual dating problem (see p 750, endnote to LA: Diocesan Vj/24 f 55v, for discussion of double visitations in court headings). Even though Great Hale was in Lafford deanery (visitation held on 22 April), the initial hearing concerning the baiting in Great Hale was held at the 17 February session. This chronology suggests that when these double deanery headings occur, they indicate sessions at which presentments for either of the deaneries named could be made. Both deaneries were in the archdeaconry of Lincoln and both visitations were conducted by the archdeacon of Lincoln's surrogates. Eland, the presiding official, was archdeacon of Bedford and commissary (C.W. Foster, *The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I as illustrated by Documents relating to the Diocese of Lincoln*, vol 1, Lincoln Record Society 23 (Horncastle, 1926), lxx).

77–8 TNA: PRO SP 16/274 ff [1v–2]

Great Hale is situated midway on the road between Sleaford and Boston. The Cawdron family moved to Great Hale in the early seventeenth century and was resident there and in neighbouring Heckington until 1733. Robert Cawdron (d. 30 December 1665) was the son of Robert Cawdron, Sr. (d. 1652), and his first wife, Anne King of Ashby de la Launde (1583–1625). As the entry indicates Cawdron, as lord of the manor, possessed rights to income from the parish properties. The Master Fitzwilliam and Mistress Creswel of the entry, who clandestinely married, were likely William Fitzwilliam (d. 1678) and Elizabeth Creswel (d. 1653) of Burgh, who had married on 14 February 1632/3 at Burgh. Fitzwilliam was the second son of Sir George Fitzwilliam of Mablethorpe (d. 31 July 1637) and Elizabeth Duncombe of London (d. 1637). The Fitzwilliams were lords of the manor of Mablethorpe and of Withern. Whether the individuals named in the visitation had anything to do with the May lady is entirely unclear, but the entries do show that important gentry in the area included non-conformists and that traditional May games continued, in spite of efforts to suppress them (Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 1, pp 233–6, 357–9; Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, Nicholas Antram (rev) (London, 1964; rev 1989; rpt 1998), 330–1; and Arthur Mee, *Lincolnshire: A County of Infinite Charm* (London, 1949; rpt 1992), 157).

78 NELA: 1/600/5/1 mb 1

Payments to Walter Wayte (either the same person or two with the same name) occur twice more – in the account for 1424–5, where he is identified as 'histrionis ville,' and in 1441–2. If one person,

then he served as wait for more than forty years in Grimsby and is the earliest named wait in the Lincolnshire records.

The surname Wayte also occurs a number of times in early accounts from Lincoln, but there is no indication that it referred to a person who was necessarily a performer. Expenses are listed at the house of Agnes Wayte (LA: Bj/2/4, f 96v). She is also named in 1318–19 (LA: Bj/2/5, f 4) as the recipient of 15s for the quitclaim of a plot of land within the tenement of the chapel of St Michael on the Mount. There also occurs a William Wayte, of St Peter's in Eastgate, Lincoln, in 1392 (Bokingham Register, 1363–97, Book 405), and in Alfred Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills ... 1280–1547* (Lincoln, 1888), 86. The will of William Askeby mentions a William Wayte as being a clerk; a Margaret Wayte is also mentioned in the will of Elizabeth la Zouche (Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, pp 25, 91–2).

78 NELA: 1/101/5/10 single sheet

In 1447 the York city chamberlain paid an indeterminate amount to one person playing 'cum Ioly Wat & Malkyn,' and in the following year he paid 2d to two persons 'Iudentibus Ioly Wat & Malkyn' (Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (eds), *York*, REED, vol 1 (Toronto, 1979), 70, 72), so it would appear that the puppet show called 'Ioly Walte and Malkyng' was widely known in the East Midlands, north and south of the Humber, during the first half of the fifteenth century. Grimsby historian Edward Gillett concluded, based on the defendant's name, that Hans Speryng 'was probably yet another German, perhaps domiciled in the town,' noting that 'men of German origin were well known in Grimsby' (*History of Grimsby*, pp 23–4). Ian Lancashire concluded that both men were probably puppet players and that the suit arose over disputed ownership of the puppets, or over failure by Speryng to return with the puppets in time for a performance by one or both of the men ("Ioly Walte and Malkyng": a Grimsby puppet play in 1431,' REEDN 2 (1979), 6–7). The plaintiff's 'pledge' was Walter Wayte – the only wait to be named in the town's records during this period. For a discussion of the relationship of the puppet play of this name to both the oldest surviving English play-text, *Interludium de Clerico et Puella*, and to several literary texts of the period, see Lancashire, 'Ioly Walte and Malkyng,' p 7.

78 NELA: 1/600/13 mb 1

The name Henry ('eiusdem Henrici') refers to Henry Kalsex, another employee of the borough mentioned earlier in the account.

79 NELA: 1/600/16 mb 1d

'Stanley' was Thomas Stanley (between 1433 and 1435–29 July 1504), second Lord Stanley and later tenth earl of Derby.

79 NELA: 1/600/19 mb 1d

This payment is the first mention of a bearward or baiting in the accounts. Bull Ring Lane is still to be found at the west end of Victoria Street near the Market Hall. The prince (l.13) was Arthur Tudor (20 September 1486–2 April 1502), prince of Wales, eldest son of Henry VII. Buckingham (l.13) was Edward Stafford (3 February 1477/8–17 May 1521), third duke of Buckingham. Northumberland (l.14) was Henry Algernon Percy (14 January 1477/8–19 May 1527), ninth earl of Northumberland.

79 NELA: 1/102/2 f 3v

This entry is difficult to date; the court is said to have been held on the Thursday next after Epiphany

in the year below, but the only date given lower down on the page is that of a court held on Wednesday, 18 January, in the abovesaid year. Tracking back from f 3v, the only full date given is for a court held in 23 Henry VII. Epiphany of 23 Henry VII fell in 1508, in which 18 January was a Tuesday. One assumes that '18' in this date is a mistake for '19' and that the court was held on 13 January 1507/8, thus putting this entry in the 1507–8 civic year.

For further discussions of the Mariners' guild activities see the Introduction, pp 422–3.

79 NELA: 1/600/21 single mb

'Darcy' was Thomas, first Lord Darcy (of Darcy or of Temple Hurst) (before May 1467–30 June 1537).

80 NELA: 1/600/22 mb 1

For 'Darcy,' see above, endnote to NELA: 1/600/21 single mb.

80 NELA: 1/102/2 f 6

The date of this court session is 18 June (f 5v). The book is identified as being a record of the town's court during the time when John Fotherbie was mayor (f 1). The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report*, p 289, identifies Fotherbie's tenure as 1526 (that is, 1526–7).

While the precise meaning of this reference to the play of Holy John of Bower remains unclear, it likely does not refer to an otherwise unknown Holy John of Bower or to Holy John of Beverley, as some scholars have suggested (see Introduction, pp 422–3).

However, the order indicates a link between the play and Grimsby's guild of St John of Bower. That guild was associated with St James' Church, and its membership included some of the most important burgesses in Grimsby. It may have been the most important religious and civic guild in the town, in effect its guild merchant (LA: LCC WILLS 1535–47, f 5v; Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, p 84). Grimsby had five other religious guilds. Since the order names six men to oversee the play, it seemingly refers to a religious play being jointly produced by the six religious guilds of Grimsby's two parishes, and overseen by the most important members of the guilds.

The six men named in the order were all senior members of the local oligarchy, and at least four of them can be identified as former and future mayors, senior burgesses, and elite sea merchants. Master Peter Mason, listed first in the order, possessed moveable goods that had the highest assessed value (£60) in Grimsby in 1524, plus houses, lands, tenements, silver, and money (S.H. Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby: Growth and Decline* (Hull, 1993), 132). He was mayor in 1512, 1516, 1517, and 1530 (the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report*, p 289). Michael Mason, son of Peter Mason, was a corn merchant who had other shipping interests as well, including coal (Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, pp 99–100). He served as mayor in 1532, 1535, and 1539 (the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report*, p 289). Richard Emperyngham came from a notable family who had long been resident in Grimsby (Cervase Holles, *Memorials of the Holles Family*, A.C. Wood (ed), Camden Society, 3rd ser, vol 55 (London, 1937), 209). At least three of his predecessors had served as mayor of Grimsby a total of eight times (1434, 1443, 1451, 1461, 1495, 1507, 1508, and 1509), and he himself served as mayor five times (1536, 1545, 1547, 1554, and 1558), and as deputy mayor once (1549). Emperyngham's two sons also served as mayor a total of five times (1563, 1566, 1577, 1583, and 1610) (Holles, *Memorials*, pp 211–12). Emperyngham was also one of Peter Mason's executors (Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, pp 99–100; the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report*, pp 289–90). Thomas Chalonner (or Chalender) 'had a third share in a ship called the *God's Grace* which he left to his son, Edward, with the herring nets'; therefore he was a sea merchant. He was buried in St James' Church but had ties to both Grimsby parishes (Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, p 99; David Hickman (ed), *Lincoln Wills 1532–1534*

(Woodbridge, Suff, 2001), 302–3). On the face of it, Chalonner seems to have been an important member of the laity in St James' parish. The final two men named in the order of 1527 (Bedforth and Mudy) do not appear in lists of past or future mayors, and I have found no details about their lives.

81 NELA: 1/600/27 single sheet

Damage to the manuscript has destroyed part of the heading, however the portion that survives gives a date of 4 Edward iv (that is, 1550–1). An entry on the dorse refers to the late chantry grounds (chantries were abolished in 1547) and the entry extracted here refers to the king's players, confirming in a more general way that the date must be a year between 1547 and 1553, the years of Edward's reign.

82 NELA: 1/600/34 mb 3

'Warwike' (l.38) was Ambrose Dudley (c 1528–21 February 1589/90), twenty-first earl of Warwick; 'domini ffit(...)' (l.37) has not been identified. The marshes, bisected by the waterway known as the Haven, lay between the town and the Humber. According to Edward Gillett, 300 of the 427 marshland acres had been recovered from the sea by the late sixteenth century. The area included jetties and docks, a few houses, and lands formerly belonging to local religious houses. It was (and is) an area resonant with the town's identity as a fishing community (Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, pp 1, 98–9, 109–10).

84–5 NELA: 1/601/1 ff 1, 2v, 3, 3v

Given the chronological order of entries in the account and the evidence within several of the entries, the entry on f 1 must be for 1571 whereas the remaining three must be for 1572. Leicester (p 84, l.19; p 85, l.4) was Robert Dudley (24 June 1532 or 1533–4 September 1588), fourteenth earl of Leicester. Mountjoy (p 84, l.29) was James Blount (c 1533–20 October 1581), sixth Lord Mountjoy.

86 NELA: 1/600/36 single mb dorse

Edward Stafford (l.5; 17 January 1535/6–18 October 1603) was twelfth Baron Stafford. Constable's (l.6) identity is uncertain; a number of John Constables from a number of branches of the Yorkshire-based Constable family were alive at this date. Stanley Kahrl reported that Grimsby historian, Edward Gillett, had suggested the possibility that this patron was John Constable of Kexby, Yorkshire North Riding, son of Sir Robert Constable of Everingham, Yorkshire East Riding, because 'the family had a long association with the town' of Grimsby (*Collections viii*, p 105). This latter Constable, however, was not apparently a 'Sir John.' The most prominent and most probable Sir John Constable in this period was Sir John (1526–25 May 1579) of Burton Constable and Halsham, Yorkshire East Riding (knighted 1553). In his *History of Grimsby*, Gillett cites two examples of the Yorkshire Constables' involvement in the affairs of the town (pp 35, 56–7). Worcester (l.6) was William Somerset (c 1527–21 February 1588/9), eighth earl of Worcester.

86 NELA: 1/600/43 single sheet dorse

The wording of the entry suggests that Wath, who was leader of a troupe of players, was not part of the gentry. No will or inventory has turned up for a Wath or Waythe (identified in Prerogative Court of Canterbury volumes as variant spellings of the same name) in Grimsby, but several probate records show that the name was current in Lincolnshire. Wills survive for a Thomas Wayth of Hawerby (LA: LCC WILLS 1558 ii, f 74), John Waythe of Leadenham (LA: LCC WILLS 1563–66 and 1569, f 232), and John Wath of Thoresby (LA: LCC WILLS 1611, I 308). Early seventeenth-century probate administrations survive for Thomas Waythe of Sibsey in 1613 (LCC Axi, 113, B, 278); Thomas Wath of Kirton in Holland, 1619 (LCC B I, 92); and Winnifred Wathe of Boston, 1628 (LCC Ax, 106, B I, 90); see C.W. Foster (ed),

Calendars of Administrations in the Consistory Court of Lincoln, A.D. 1540–1659, Lincoln Record Society 16 (Horncastle, 1921 for 1918), 364.

86 NELA: 1/600/32 single mb

'Magistro saintpoole' was Thomas St Poll (c 1539–29 August 1592) of Snarford and North Carlton.

86 NELA: 261/1 f C10v

The Mariners' guild held its annual dinner and audit, and a procession with the plough ship, on Plough Monday. The entries for 1580–1, 1581–2, and 1584–5, for example, include both receipts on Plough Day and payments for repair of the plough ship, as well as an order mentioning the setting forth of the plough ship on Plough Day. The guild clearly held its major fund-raising activities during events connected with the plough ship on that day. Since this account was declared on 7 January 1578/9 (Plough Monday would fall on 12 January in this year), the young men of this entry were presenting the gathering that they had conducted in conjunction with the processing of the plough ship the previous year, 13 January 1577/8. Fraternities, whether for young men or young women, commonly existed within or beside larger local guilds (see, for example, at Gainsborough).

86–7 NELA: 261/1 ff C15, C15v

If this account follows the same pattern as that in 1578/9 (see above), and there seems no reason to think that it does not, then these receipts were gathered on Plough Monday 1579/80. Plough Monday 1580/1 preceded the declaring of this account by two days, but it is unlikely that the parish would have been able to reckon up so soon after the close of the account.

87 NELA: 261/1 ff C18, C18v

It is likely that these receipts were gathered on Plough Monday 1580/1, in line with the pattern in the Mariners' accounts, although the account was declared on 10 January 1581/2.

88 NELA: 261/1 f B2

This account was declared on Plough Monday, 7 January 1582/3, but in line with the pattern in the Mariners' accounts, and for practical reasons, it is likely that the monies presented here had been gathered on Plough Day 1581/2.

88 NELA: 261/1 f B10

The receipts in this account were likely gathered on Plough Monday, 13 January 1583/4.

88 NELA: 1/600/48 single mb

Each payment in this account is preceded by a symbol appearing to be two r's – perhaps standing for 'total,' or perhaps just a scribal flourish. Willoughby (l.34) was either Peregrine Bertie (12 October 1555–25 June 1601), thirteenth Lord Willoughby de Eresby, or Charles Willoughby (1536–by 26 October 1612), second Lord Willoughby of Parham.

88–9 NELA: 261/1 f B14v

The receipts in this account were likely gathered on Plough Monday, 11 January 1584/5.

89 NELA: 261/1 f B19v

The 10s Plough Day receipt is also entered in f B16v along with two other items which were apparently

noted in rough after the end of the 1585–6 account and in advance of the 1586–7 account being drawn up. The f B16v entry reads, ‘Receyved of plowe monday 1586 x s.’ The receipts in this account were likely gathered on Plough Monday, 10 January 1585/6. When the accountant wrote the year 1586 on B16v and B19v, he was apparently using the modern historical year. Scribes often referred to the year in which most of the account fell.

89–90 TNA: PRO SP 52/68 f [1]

The play was held ‘about witsunday’ (p 89, l.29) 1602 but whether on Whit Sunday itself or on another day is unclear from the wording of the entry. The letter describes the two principals in the case as having been companions at the play, thus they had a personal history before the performance. In an undated state paper a ‘Nich. Blundeston’ was included in a list of recusant prisoners being held sometime between 1601 and 1603 in various London prisons (he being in Marshalsea) (Mary Ann Everett Green (ed), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1601–1603; With Addenda, 1547–1565*, vol 288, item 53 (London, 1870; rpt Nendeln, Lichtenstein, 1967), 315). Since the documents in this volume are all undated, this item gives no clues as to when ‘Blundeston’ was in prison, but since the incident at the Whitsuntide play happened on or about 23 May 1602, he must have been in prison sometime between 1601 and May 1602. Presuming that the two Nicholases are one and the same, then there had been previous legal storms in his life concerning matters of religion; perhaps this incident in Grimsby had been one too, though the documents do not say as much.

90–1 Hatfield House: Cecil Papers Vol. 95/66 f [1]

The intercession of James VI of Scotland on Henslay’s behalf had the desired effect. On 15 August 1604 a list of court orders (TNA: PRO SP/38/7, ff 225–6) records, ‘A pardon graunted to Iohn Ansley for the murder of Nicholas Blunston procured by Sir Thomas Lake’ (f 225v).

91 Grange (ed): ‘Hagworthingham Church Book’ p 7

This entry and those for 1537–8, 1546–7, and 1555–6 collectively provide strong evidence of a local customary tradition with mimetic and commemorative features similar to those in, for example, Holbeach, Lincoln, Sleaford, and Sutterton, among other parishes. The banner indicates a procession. A sheet for the Sacrament suggests the possibility of either a Corpus Christi or an Assumption procession. Reference to our lady’s coat implies a representation of the Blessed Virgin, and dancing gear appears to indicate dancing for fund-raising, perhaps as part of the procession.

92 Grange (ed): ‘Hagworthingham Church Book’ p 9

Elsewhere in the county (at Gainsborough, for example) gatherings by young men indicate fund-raising activities, usually including some kind of entertainment, in this case a wassail, an activity that usually, but not exclusively, occurred in the season between Christmas and Epiphany (see W. Carew Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore of the British Isles*, vol 2 (London, 1905; rpt New York, 1965), 619–20). The young men of Hagworthingham were engaging in a guild-like activity that, in this case, had survived after the guilds were formally abolished. Since the parish had a dinner, with considerable ale, on Plough Monday, one might think that the young men’s wassail occurred at that time.

92–4 TNA: PRO STAC 8/124/20 sheet 16

Following the first seventeen lines of the sheet Dymoke’s bill of complaint catalogues a long list of charges claiming that Cholmeley used briberies, extortions, and attempts to undermine the processes

of the courts, in an ongoing dispute over land. The bill is highly legalistic, part of a dispute between two lawyers.

The other seven documents in the bundle for this case relate to steps in the legal process against Cholmeley: the commission patent, his plea, his answer and demurrer in response to the bill of complaint, and interrogatories and his answers to them. None of the seven documents refer to the libellous songs, nor do any of the documents indicate how the case was resolved.

96 LA: HECKINGTON PAR/7/1 f [7]

The preceding leaf (f [6]) bears the date 1568 and identifies the wardens as being a 'Nicholas (...)' (Nicholas Taylor who appears at the top of f [7]) and William Pett. The following account (f [8v]) names William Pett and William Harryman as churchwardens for 1570–1; that is, Pett had now become senior warden. It seems certain that the '1568' means '1568/9' and that the account with the entry is for 1569–70.

As was the case at Witham on the Hill, in addition to its wardens Heckingham had two ploughmasters (officers of a plough guild (f [9v])), who must have overseen ceremonies and customs on Plough Monday. The parish also received money from the young men, apparently a guild whose youthful members gathered money for the parish.

96 LA: HECKINGTON PAR/7/1 f [56]

The heading of this account says that its wardens, Robert Wilson and Robert Taylor, made their account on 11 January 1596/7. According to a heading on f [54] the preceding wardens, Henry Williams and William Small, had made their account on 22 April 1596 (so for 1595–6). The account following Wilson and Taylor's was made on 24 January 1597/8 (for 1597–8), according to a heading on f [58v]. Thus this account must be for 1596–7 and the maypole for 1597.

96–7 Bodl.: ms. Eng. misc. b.72 f 88v

The heading of the account is given on f 89 but the payments section begins on f 88v with a heading saying it was made 'in the yer afforssayd.' Both pages have the same two churchwardens and are written in the same hand and therefore seem to be from the same account, though the pages are out of order. Assorted entries in the accounts make clear that the parish had gatherings (collections) in the church on Holy Thursday, Easter, Corpus Christi, Michaelmas, All Hallows, and Twelfth Day.

The following wills or admonitions survive for individuals who may be those, or related to those, who are named as participating in the Ascension procession and enactment: Cuthbert Watson (LA: LCC WILLS 1584, f 98); John Lense (1558i, f 176, of Edenham); John Linsay (1543–56, f 253); Henry Merycok (1535–7, f 173, of Forforth); Edward Merycok (1586/Aiv, f 105, of Langton by Partney); John Blessed (1545–6 i, f 143v); and William Lincoln (1535–7, f 202v, of Wigtoft). If these are indeed some of the same individuals it would indicate that several parishes worked together in staging the ceremony and play.

97–8 Stukeley: *Itinerarium Curiosum* pp 19, 20

An inventory and will respectively for two persons who figure prominently in the churchwardens' book reinforce the credibility of this source (which is a copy of the lost original). The inventory of William Calow (presumably the younger, d. 1577) describes him as a bachelor with few belongings, mentioning only eight sheep and three lambs (LA: INV 61/392). The total value of his possessions was £6 3s 4d. A 'William Callowe' (presumably the elder) was described in a 1561 list of freeholders as a gentleman of Holbeach. In 1564, as tenant of the manor of Holbeach, he brought a suit against Gregory Fynes,

Lord Dacre, 'complaining that the manor had been unjustly taken and held from his possession because there are two manors called "Holbeche."' He secured a judgment restoring his possession of the manor (MacDonald, *Historical Notices*, pp 122–3). Humphrey Hornesey's will mentions his wife, Isabel, and a son, John, and daughter, Agnes. He had considerable household goods, including bed hangings and other 'hangynges' (LA: LCC WILLS 1558, iv, f 192). So in this case, the church's playing garments and its fabric were purchased by locals. Notice the reference to 'Mr callowe' in the entry that follows, for 1560. A will also survives for a William Davie of East Keale (LA: LCC WILLS 1592, f 57), though the date seems late for the will to be that of the same person mentioned in the inventory book. MacDonald flatly states that the eight men who purchased garments or ornaments 'were all residents of this Parish,' meaning Holbeach (p 119). For more on the inventory, see Introduction, pp 424–5.

98 Bodl.: ms. Eng. misc. b .72 f 90

The date is clear in that the heading says 2 Elizabeth 1560.

98 LA: Diocesan Vij/10 f 116v

Edward Freman, yeoman, possessed extensive goods and had a large house. His inventory mentions his best chamber, a staircase, a parlour, a brewhouse, a hall chamber, and a high gallery. He had cattle as well (LA: INV 154/474). His will shows that his dwelling was a considerable property (LA: LCC WILLS 1647–8/943). Because he had malt querns, brewing vessels, and a brewhouse, and repeatedly permitted dancing, play, and drinking in his house, he very likely was an alehousekeeper, although his will and inventory do not explicitly identify him as one.

99 LA: Diocesan FUR 2 ff 17, 17v

The inventory was examined at Lincoln in the home of John Aylmer, archdeacon of Lincoln, before Aylmer, Nicholas Bullingham, bishop of Lincoln, and George Mounson, gentleman, three commissaries of the king (f 17v).

101–2 LA: LEVERTON PAR/7/1 f 22

The heading of the account appears to contain a dating error. It says that the account was made on the third Sunday in Advent, 17 December of 17 Henry VIII and 1526, but in 1526 that Sunday fell on 16 December, and on 17 December in 1525. Selecting the correct date depends on what error the scribe would have been more likely to make. If the correct date is 1526 he wrote the wrong day of the month and regnal year but the right calendar year. If the correct date is 1525 he wrote the wrong calendar year. The former seems more likely, given his repetition of 17, thus the account seems most probably to have been made on 16 December 1526, for 1525–6.

The Master Holand in the payment may perhaps have been the father or another relative of Anthony Holand, a farmer of Swineshead, whose will was proved 12 November 1574, forty-eight years after this payment. He left a wife and four children who were all in their minority. His will lists goods, cattle, and copyhold lands of the queen, known as Beemond fee (LA: LCC WILLS 1574 ii, f 102). If related to him, then the Holand who led the players of Swineshead was part of a substantial family in that community. The decision to provide the group with bread and ale further suggests that the players and Holand were respected parishioners to be courteously received by the wardens of Leverton.

102 LA: LEVERTON PAR/13/1 f 10v

The wardens gave similarly to another parish (Sibsey, f 22), but in that case the accounts make no mention of banns crying by the parish, though it may well have been paid in the course of announcing

a fund-raising play or another entertainment – a typical pattern in Lincolnshire. Bourne (l.18) is a small market and abbey town approximately twenty miles south by southwest of Leverton.

103 Letter 32

See p 741, endnote to Letter 107, for a discussion of the reasons for the recension and our choice of manuscripts. In constructing our text we have used three of the same sources: *A*: Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 312, f 138v col 1; *C*: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms 453, p 106; and *D*: Brown, *Fasciculus*, p 331. The letter does not appear in *B* (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms 123).

The feast of fools had been forbidden by Innocent III in a letter dealing, among other issues, with seasonal misrule by the minor clergy at Christmastide, sent to the bishop of Gnesen (the modern Gniezno) on 13 January 1206/7, in which the pope exhorted the bishop, 'Iudibriorum consuetudinem vel potius corruptelam curetis a vestris ecclesiis taliter extirpare, quod vos divini cultus et sacri comprobetis ordinis zelatores' ('you shall take care to eradicate the custom, or rather the corruption, of (these) games/sports from your churches in such a way that you may prove yourself to be a zealot for divine worship and the sacred order (ie, of clergy)') (see *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol 2, col 452). This mandate was incorporated into the Decretals of Gregory IX by the canonist Raymond de Peñaforte, and so gained the status of canon law throughout the Latin church after the collection was promulgated in 1234. Thus it seems probable that this canonical collection provided the impetus to Grosseteste's efforts to forbid the practice in his cathedral.

103 TNA: PRO SC 5/LINCS/TOWER/17A mb 4

For discussion of the Battleplace, its location and possible uses, see Appendix 5, pp 599–600.

104 LA: Bj/2/4 f 45v

This is the first surviving gloves entry; the meaning and purpose of the gloves is not immediately clear. In 1319–20 (LA: Bj/2/5, f 22), an entry for a payment for a half dozen gloves (or possibly a half dozen pairs of gloves), unlike this payment, gives no dating or context.

104 LA: Bj/2/4 f 96v

This entry is the first reference to a boy bishop in the accounts (the first mention of a boy bishop in Lincoln occurs in the Liber Niger, ff 7–7v, during the late thirteenth century).

105 LA: Bj/2/5 f 93v

This same entry occurs in a fragmentary rough account for the same year, LA: Bj/5/8/3a, f 8v.

106 LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/3 ff 30v–1

In dating these customs we have followed Bradshaw's edition of the Black Book in *Statutes*, which gives a date of around 1330 to 1333 for customs observed at Lincoln Cathedral but not set down in writing.

The precise nature of the 'columba' (or dove) mentioned in the cathedral records is unclear. When dated it is referred to as being used at Pentecost and the entries in 1321–2 and c 1330–3 indicate that it was brought or carried by a cleric. Another reference mentions it along with processional banners. Payments in 1395–6 for cords and other necessities for the 'columba' and the angel at Pentecost suggest an enactment of some kind involving ascent and descent. For a fuller discussion of this event, see pp 408–9.

In the late thirteenth century the bishop sent a mandate 'to all the archdeacons and officials of the diocese of Lincoln to cause the faithful of every household in the diocese to be moved to a more regular

observance of the yearly pentecostal processions' (David M. Smith (ed), *English Episcopal Acta IV: Lincoln 1186–1206* (London, 1986), 66). One wonders if the appearance of the ceremony using the 'columba' was not a specific response to that mandate as part of an attempt to attract the faithful to the cathedral's service at Pentecost, and to serve as a model for other churches in the county, which tended to reflect the cathedral in other respects.

106 LA: Bj/2/7 f 119v

This same entry occurs in a rough version of the account, LA: Bj/5/9/6, f 17v. In the rough version the Epiphany play is called the kings' play in the marginal heading, Sadiler is not named in the entry for the crowns, and the entry does not specify that the crowns are for the kings. Further in the rough version the Resurrection play has a separate marginal heading, but entries that do not differ substantially from the corresponding entries in the finished account.

107 LA: Bj/5/3b f 15v

In this rough account for 1384–5 marginal account headings for the Epiphany play and the Resurrection play appear, but the actual accounting paragraphs are blank. This oddity suggests that the account may have been made up before the plays were performed or that they were not actually held this year. The former seems more likely. No fair account for this year survives.

108 TNA: PRO C 47/41/152 single sheet

According to Westlake (*Parish Gilds*, pp 172–3), the Cordwainers' guild dates from 1307, so it is conceivable that the procession with mimetic elements dates from early in the fourteenth century. Westlake claims that statutes from 12 Richard II (1388–9) refer to "Mornspeches" in [the] church of St. Lawrence.'

109 LA: Bishop's Register 12 f 477v

For a full discussion of the feud between the dean and the canons, see [Edmund Venables], 'An Incident in the Episcopate of Bishop John of Buckingham, 1393–1395,' *Reports and Papers of the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of the Counties of Lincoln and Northampton* 18 (1885–6), 96–102. John Shepey (d. 1412) was appointed dean of Lincoln Cathedral in 1378. He had come to Lincoln (as had Bishop Buckingham) from Lichfield Cathedral, and the bishop appears to have been disposed personally to side with the dean against the canons, but to condemn officially the non-compliant actions of the dean and his unruly retainers. Charges against Shepey ranged from personal excesses to bribery, but centred in two violent assaults which his retainers inflicted upon the servants of other cathedral officials within the cathedral itself. The matter against the dean and his retainers was resolved only after lengthy trials and decrees of punishment upon the retainers by both the church and the Crown.

The description of the various entertainments which Shepey is accused of sanctioning gives some of the earliest evidence of a wide array of non-liturgical entertainments sponsored within the town and supported by the dean.

109 LA: Bj/2/8 ff 119, 119v

Both of these entries also occur in LA: Bj/2/9, ff 10v–11, a rough version of this same account.

110 LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1 mb 4

This particular list (designated as 'A' by Hill) is of the greatest interest since it provides the only documentary evidence for a number of plays performed in Lincoln during the fifteenth century. The original

list of mayors, bailiffs, and sheriffs is written in black ink; the same hand, using red ink, adds information concerning significant national and local events, including the plays. The list in black ink appears to reflect the city's interest in providing a history of corporation officials; the additions in red seemingly seek to weave in events that would give the chronology a historical context. Listing out the events shows that they overwhelmingly have to do with political order, insurrection, transitions of power, and visits by royalty. In this context the inclusion of the plays would seem to identify them as being events of major cultural and historical significance to the city (or at least to the makers of this civic list) and to identify the city, not the cathedral, as their principal patron.

111 LA: Bj/5/9/10 f [1v]

Kahrl says that the accounts for 1403–4 are missing; however an account (LA: Bj/5/5) which Kahrl extracts in *Collections viii*, p 27, as being 'Before 1403' is in fact a rough account for this account (LA: Bj/5/9/10), and both, according to the archivist who dated them, are the account for 1403–4. She notes that Bj/5/5 includes the same entry as the one in this account: 'Et in cyrotectis emptis pro Maria & Angelo ac prophetis inaurora Natalis domini vj d.' (f 30), and that the minutes section of this account is identical with the one in Bj/5/5. Bj/5/5, she says, was never finished, instead becoming a repository for miscellaneous annotations of all kinds. The rationale for her dating of the two copies of the account is as follows: lists of canons resident in it are identical with those in the account for 1402–3 (Bj/2/10, f 86v), so it must be later than the death of Peter Dalton in 1402. But the lists of canons resident are not identical with those for 1403–4; Canon Welborn died October 1404 but is a canon resident in this account, so the account must, by elimination, be for 1403–4.

111 LA: Bj/2/10 f 111v

This account lacks a heading. Both the catalogue at Lincolnshire Archives and Kahrl (*Collections viii*, p 28) give the date as 1406–7, based on chantry headings on ff 117–17v, but the account that follows (f 127v) is dated 1406–7. Thus Bj/2/10 more likely belongs to one of the two years to which it has been tentatively assigned here.

111 LA: Bj/2/10 f 127v

See endnote to LA: Bj/2/10 f 111v above.

111 LA: Bj/5/10/6(3) f [1]

This entry is given as 'Undated, 1397–1440' in Kahrl (*Collections viii*, p 30). The account has no heading but was later dated from internal evidence by the archivist.

112 LA: L1/3/1 f 4v

This entry in the civic register, one of a group of ordinances approved at the meeting of the mayor and citizens on 21 April 1422, establishes that by this date Lincoln already had an established tradition of supporting town waits who served as the mayor's musicians. Civic records next mention the mayor's three waits in 1514 (see p 134). In 1515 (p 135, l.24) begins an annually appearing customary entry in which the mayor is allotted 3s 4d to give in rewards to minstrels, presumably meaning both waits and visiting musicians, though that is not clear from the wording of the order. These annual allotments may provide evidence that travelling performers were visiting Lincoln throughout the period covered by the entries. A separate order in 1515 decrees that in that year the mayor was to have his three waits 'Acordyng to Thaucyng Custom' (p 136).

112 LA: Bj/5/10/3a f [2]

This account is three central bifolia from an account dated from internal evidence by archivists.

113 LA: Bj/5/9/12 f [6]

This account lacks a heading. The archivist has dated it by the substitution of Carpenter for Price as prebendary of Clifton, which occurs in the account on 23 September 1431 (f [1]).

113 LA: Bj/5/9/13 f [7]

The account lacks a heading. The archivist has dated it from internal evidence.

113 LA: Bj/5/10/3c f [2]

The account lacks a heading. It has been dated by the archivist from internal evidence: the death of Robert Lake on February 1434/5.

113 LA: Bj/2/12 f 10v

Kahrl (*Collections VIII*, p 30) identifies this entry as being in LA: Bj/5/12, but the various accounts designated Bj/5/12 followed by a number are from the mid-sixteenth century and do not include this entry. For example Bj/5/12/14b for 1557–8, Bj/5/12/14c for 1557–8, and Bj/5/12/13 for 1557–8 have no relevant entries.

114 LA: Bj/2/13 f 63v

Kahrl (*Collections VIII*, p 31) says that the account for 1444–5 does not exist but it does, in Bj/2/13, ff 100–33. However, it contains no relevant entries.

115 LA: Bj/2/15 f [13]

This account (as well as the two following) begins with a more elaborate date than usual, which includes the day and month of the Sunday next after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in both the opening and closing years. The dates given are 22 September and 21 September, respectively. The opening date is incorrect – in 1448 Holy Cross Day (14 September) fell on a Saturday, so the following Sunday was the next day, 15 September. The closing date, however, is correct.

115 LA: Bj/2/15 f [65v]

This account (like the two preceding accounts) begins with a more elaborate date, which includes the day and month of the Sunday next after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in the opening year. In the closing year the month is given but the day is left blank. The opening date is incorrect – it is given as 21 September but in 1450 the Sunday after Holy Cross Day was 20 September rather than 21 September.

122 LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1 mb 6

The note 'hoc anno factus fuit le bisshop brige' refers to the hamlet of Bishop Bridge (or Bishopbridge) near Market Rasen and now split administratively between the parishes of Glentham and Kingerby. The base and shaft of a cross now opposite the church gates of Kingerby bear a Latin inscription dated 1451 that mentions 'Pons Episcopi,' the bishop's bridge (Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, Nicholas Antram (rev), 2nd ed (London, 1989; rpt 1998), 415). Likely this annalistic notice by the antiquarian who annotated the mayors' list refers to either the building of the bridge or the growth of the settlement, probably the former.

122 LA: Bj/5/7 ff [70, 70v]

In the account for 1474–5 the outermost bifolium is missing and bifolia are misbound within it. On f [70v] the first of the two entries has been cancelled; Kahrl (*Collections viii*, p 35) suggests that it was done by the scribe who made the Corpus Christi entries.

123 LA: Bj/5/7 ff [29, 29v]

The two outermost leaves and central bifolium of the account were recovered from fragments in Bj/5/10/7. They were dated by the archivist from inductions to prebends (f [1v]) of the bifolium, and by the sum of allocations on f [2v], which matches those on the opposite leaf, which is dated 1477–8. As Kahrl notes (*Collections viii*, pp 35–6), the final word of the extracted portion has been crossed out. The rest of the entry and another copy of the same sum, written in a different hand, have been erased. On f [29v] the amount has been left blank. A line of 25mm has been drawn to the next entry.

123–4 LA: L1/3/1 f 59

The lengthy civic customary of which this paragraph is part runs from f 46v to f 59. The opening paragraph says that by 1480 the practices delineated in the customary were 'of old auncien tyme acustomyd & usyd,' had been chartered by earlier kings, and were confirmed by Edward iv. It was 'compyled & drawn owte of franch in to jnglysh be Thomas: Grantham yat hath beyn Mayr of ye same cite' (f 46v). The customary 'is very clearly written by Grantham in a large hand, with ornamented initial letters and marginal rubrics. The pages have been much rubbed and slightly injured by the wear and tear of continual use. There are some alterations and additions, and at f. 58 one paragraph has been entirely scraped out and another substituted' (the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report*, pp 22–3). The section concerning Christmas mirth, games, and sports is the final one in the customary. See an entry in 1576 (p 199, l.22) that also refers to the 'Christmas Mirth' in Lincoln.

124 LA: Bj/3/2 f 60

The wording of this entry, taken together with the wording of LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/37 f 17 (see p 125), indicates that the Coronation/Assumption certainly included a moveable structure, perhaps a pageant or tableau, conveyable in the procession from the lower city to the nave of the cathedral (see further the Introduction, p 413).

125 LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/37 f 17

Dean and Chapter A/3/1 is a fair version of Dean and Chapter A/2/37, but the clerk who made the fair copy made some mistakes in his copying that affect the entry's grammar and sense; thus the decision here to print the rough copy.

127 LA: Dean and Chapter A/3/1 f 58v

Burton is a small parish about two miles from Lincoln. No will for Robert Clark survives at Lincoln.

134 LA: L1/1/1/1 f 42

On 3 December of this same year the council reaffirmed that its representatives were to communicate with Master Dighton and that his promised grant of a priest to sing for the St Anne guild was 'To Stand in effect & Stable' (f 51v).

136 LA: L1/1/1/1 f 56v

The heading on f 56 says the council was held 17 April 8 Henry viii. This must be an error for 7 Henry viii

(that is, 1516) given the date of subsequent meetings. Either the scribe was mistakenly anticipating regnal year 8 (which, in fact, it may have been by the time he wrote up the minutes) or he has got the wrong day of the month. 27 April 1516 would fall in 8 Henry VIII.

In subsequent entries several of the accused came forward and submitted themselves to the mayor and council and gave a bond of good behaviour. Those named as doing so were John Martin, Christopher Holtbe, Laurence Bryght, Richard Thomas, Thomas Deane, Robert Wryght, Christopher Watkynson, Peter Gybson, and Edward Smythe (ff 56v–7).

137 LA: Dean and Chapter A/3/3 f 87

The year of this and the neighbouring entries is given in the first entry on this folio.

137–8 LA: L1/1/1/1 ff 72v, 75

The usual entry recording the swearing in of the mayor and the granting of his fees for the year occurs on f 74v but, untypically, it includes no mention of the minstrels.

138–9 LA: L1/1/1/1 ff 81–1v

Kahrl observes that 'Pereson was mayor in 1517, Sammes in 1516, and Irchenett in 1515' (*Collections VIII*, p 46). Under ultraviolet light the word following 'ffox' (p 139, l.19) appears to be the words 'Chamberlain' and 'alderman' written over each other and both cancelled. In the following year Fox became mayor.

140–1 LA: L1/1/1/1 f 107

The mayor, John Tailboys, died on 14 April 1520 during his term in office, was briefly replaced on 23 April by Master Irchenett who served as 'levetenaunt in hys Styd,' and was replaced as mayor at the next leet by Peter Efford (ff 109, 112v; LA: Diocesan Miscellaneous Roll 1, mb 7c).

143 LA: L1/1/1/1 f 132

Lady 'powes' (l.32) appears to have been Margaret Grey Powis (d. c 1545) of Burton by Lincoln, daughter of Sir Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley. She was the widow of Sir John Grey, Lord Powis, and second wife of Robert Sutton of Burton (Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 3, p 939).

147 LA: L1/1/1/1 f 162v

A similar amount of money for rewards to minstrels had been included in 1515 (p 135, ll.24–5).

148 LA: L1/1/1/1 f 172v

This is the first year in which the entry in the account specifies that the aldermen and the sheriffs must all contribute to the waits' pay, though that does not mean that the tradition was not in place earlier.

151 LA: Bj/3/4 ff [135v, 136]

A rough version of these entries survives in Bj/3/7/6, ff 81–2. In copying the rough accounts the clerk made a mistake in grouping the entry for the parker with the entry for Barns on f [136]. Accounts in the two previous years group a two-part entry for Barns with a bracket pointing at the 12s total, followed by a blank or nil entry for the parker; that is, the grouping here of the parker with Barns is not significant.

153–4 LA: LCL/5009 ff 1, 1v, 2, 2v, 3

These customs bear no date in the Cordwainers' guild book (ff 1–3). A heading on f 4 refers to the

guild's articles and customs in the time of Hugh Rich, chosen to be graceman of the guild on the Monday following St Valentine's Day in 1527 (that is, to serve during the year 1527–8). The hand used to copy them is contemporaneous with subsequent entries in the guild book (though when the articles and customs were originally codified is entirely unclear), so this copy of the articles and customs appears to have been made in either 1526 or 1527, the years of the earliest accounts in the book.

157 LA: Bj/3/4 ff [201, 202]

These same entries for 1528 also occur in a second copy of this account found in John Grantham's Book, LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/7, ff 85–6. In the cathedral account for 24 January 1557/8 (Bj/5/12/14c) Watson is identified as porter of the gates within the close (f 34) and as porter and keeper of the clock (f 41).

157 LA: L1/1/1/1 f 217

The same information is entered on f 214v of the manuscript without substantive differences. The whole of f 214v is struck through and the scribe has noted at the foot of the cancelled folio, 'All this leyff is wrong wrytten her ffor itt aughtto be wrytten at the last end of the yeer of Thomas gryssyngton maior And so it is.' 'Master Vrry' (l.37) is Robert Urry, mayor (f 219v), an alderman of St Mark's parish. His will (LA: LCC WILLS 1543–5, f 14v) mentions no wife or children; he leaves 3s 4d to the great guild of Lincoln.

158–9 LA: L1/1/1/1 f 222

Though these standard entries awarding the mayor's money and recording his oath occur in the years between 1532 and 1539, in some years they do not mention the minstrels (ff 225v, 1532; f 229, 1533; f 240, 1534; f 276v, 1539).

160 LA: LCL/5009 f 54v

The payments to players and for the dinner could have been made in connection with the pageants on St Anne's Day, with an event on Sts Crispin and Crispinian's Day (which is referenced in an expense item immediately preceding these payments), or with another kind of performance at the guild's annual feast. There is no other evidence for such performances on Sts Crispin and Crispinian's Day. The accounts for numerous years include payments for the waits' or the musicians' dinner, but none for players at the annual dinner. Unless this account is calling musicians 'plaiers' (which the accounts do not do elsewhere), these payments are likely referring to players who had performed as part of the guild's Bethlehem pageant on St Anne's Day. The placement of the entry within this civic year is based on the likelihood that the players performed on St Anne's Day.

160 LA: Bj/3/5 pp 111, 112

These entries are also recorded in the rough version of this account, LA: Bj/5/12/no. 1, ff 4–5.

161 LA: Bj/3/5 pp 151, 152

These entries are also recorded in the rough version of this account, LA: Bj/5/12/2c, ff 45–6.

162 LA: Bj/3/5 pp [239, 240]

These entries are also recorded in the rough version of this account, LA: Bj/5/12/5, ff 11–12.

162–3 LA: LCL/5009 f 79

The header of the original account omits the day of the week on which the account ended, but it must be 19 February 1536/7 since the next year's account began on that day (f 80v).

163 LA: Bj/3/5 pp [283, 284]

These entries are also recorded in the rough version of this account, LA: Bj/5/12/8 (2), ff 11–12.

163 LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/15/1–3 f 16v

The entry does not indicate that this cope was for the boy bishop or members of his court, but an inventory of 1548 (see p 176) does identify a similar velvet cope as being for the boy bishop, suggesting at least the possibility that this one was too. For a discussion and transcription of both documents, see Wordsworth, 'Inventories,' pp 12–38 and 41–63, plus discussions of various similar documents throughout the article. See also a transcription of the 1536 inventory in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, pp 272–87. An inventory of the revestry, taken 11 May 1557, which Wordsworth excerpts (pp 71–6), has no references to the boy bishop; the original of that 1557 inventory is on ff [29–40] of the same cathedral book, LA: Dean and Chapter A/2/15/1–3.

166 LA: Bj/3/5 p [414]

This entry, different from the usual ones in that no entry for the feast of St Anne occurs, is written in a space where an earlier entry – perhaps the usual one – had been written.

166–7 LA: L1/1/1/1 ff 276, 278–8v

In the court of 14 September 1539 (f 274v), the mayor received his usual allocation for expenses but it included no mention of money for minstrels.

The 'Stuffe' referred to in the entry (p 166, l.40) had been described in 1527 (p 152, ll.6–7) as items used to furnish the pageants in the procession on St Anne's Day. Other entries in the council minute book refer to torches, garments, jewels, plate, and other 'honormentes' (p 143, l.30). The chapel in which the guild's belongings had previously been stored was the Chapel of St Thomas of Canterbury on the High Bridge (at the base of Steep Hill near the guildhall), the starting point for the procession to the minster on St Anne's Day. City officials took possession of the chapel and it was eventually 'converted into a dwellinghouse and let' (Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 18, 32, 56, 81).

Regarding the entry from f 278, it was common practice (see, for example, p 152) for parish churches in Lincoln to loan garments and other items to St Anne's guild for furnishing the pageants in the procession on St Anne's Day. In this instance the city is ordering that six such garments become the permanent property of the guild; such bequests are common in the records. These copes were likely intended for use in the procession and pageants since the producing of that event was St Anne guild's reason for being.

168 LA: L1/1/1/1 f 283

This is the first entry in which customary payments to waits by each officer of the town are delineated.

169 LA: LCL/5009 f 105v

There are no payments related to the pageant or procession in the 1541 portion of the accounts.

169–71 BL: Additional Ms 6113 ff 179v–81v

This royal entry into Lincoln was fraught with significance. It followed by five years the uprising known

as the Pilgrimage of Grace, in which some 20,000 locals had mounted an insurrection to protest the king's suppression of religious houses, among other royal actions. Also, during this visit to Lincoln occurred the supposed infidelity of Katherine Howard that led to her trial and execution. For discussion of the visit, see Madden, 'Account,' pp 334–8. Madden concludes that the description was 'composed by one of the Heralds present' and written down in the hand of William Colburne, Rouge Dragon, who was subsequently appointed York herald in 1564 (p 335). Concerning the Pilgrimage of Grace, see Anne Ward, *The Lincolnshire Rising 1536* (Louth, 1996).

172 LA: L1/1/1/2 f 3v

The date for the court at which these orders were made is on f 3 of the council minute book.

172 LA: LCL/5009 f 109

The entire section in which these entries occur was cancelled in the original document.

173 LA: L1/1/1/2 f 13

Since the principal purpose of St Anne's guild was to produce the procession and pageants, and since part of the job of the St Anne priest was to assist in that production (see, for example, pp 144–5) and to wait upon the mayor (see p 158, ll.38–9), clearly in this entry he was riding to gather contributions related to the processions and pageants for that year. A later entry on 3 June 1555 (p 181) confirms that the same priest took pains in bringing forth the pageants. An entry on f 15 confirms that Kempe was bellman of the city as of 20 October 1543 and that he had died by 31 January 1558/9 when his successor was appointed (f 141v).

174 LA: Bj/3/5 p [629]

This is the final entry in the cathedral accounts to indicate that the gloves were being purchased for Mary and the angel. Subsequent payments for gloves on Christmas morning – but with no reference to Mary or the angel – occur in 1548–9 (D/V/2/2a, f [11]); 1553–4, 1554–5, 1555–6, 1556–7, 1558–9, 1559–60, 1560–1, and 1561–2 (Bj/3/6, ff 23, 38v, 54v, 69, 82v, 97v, 111, and 124 respectively); 1563–4 (Bj/3/8, f 124); and 1557–8 (Bj/5/12/14c, f 39). It is difficult to know whom the gloves were being purchased for, if not for Mary and the angel, but in a post-Reformation environment, chapter officials had clearly found cause to remove such references from the cathedral accounts, and had likely modified the ceremony itself.

176 LA: L1/1/1/2 f 48v

Sapcote had been mayor in 1544.

177 LA: D/V/2/2a f [11]

In this account Thomas Watson, the doorman who was usually paid for preparations surrounding the Christmas event, is responsible for 'vexilla regis,' the king's banner, presumably a processional banner used in liturgy. Based on the wording of the Latin, the banner, unlike the star, is not connected with Christmas.

180 LA: LCL/5009 ff 120v, 121

After 1542 no references to the pageant and procession appear until this one in 1553–4, no doubt reflecting the suppression of guilds that occurred under Edward VI, which may also explain why the entries in 1541 and 1542 were cancelled in the accounts. But these entries seem to indicate a major rebuilding of the pageants after their hiatus under Edward VI.

The account with these entries is undated. Folio 116 refers to 1545–6; a memorandum on f 119 is from 1546–7; a note on f 119v was written in 1550–1. The entries on f 120v itself are written in a similar hand to that on f 119v. Entries on the same page as the pageant entries, in the receipts section, also encompass a two-year period as do the payments, referring to Candlemas in the third year of Philip and Mary (1554–5) as being the earlier year. In July 1554 the Lincoln city council ordered that the St Anne guild have a Corpus Christi play and that the guilds bring forth their pageants, which further confirms these entries as being for 1554. The account that follows this one is Elizabethan.

Kahl assigns these undated accounts on f 120v to 1542–3, commenting that Craig's dating of them as 1554 and 1555 was 'mere guesswork,' and that they could just as reasonably be assigned 'to the period before 1545 when the guild leased its house and distributed its funds' (*Collections viii*, p 62), but the later date seems more supportable, as explained above.

181 LA: L1/1/1/2 f 119v

The identity of Sir William Smythe is not clear. Several Williams turn up in the records but none is designated 'Sir.' The will of William Smythe of Lincoln (LA: LCC WILLS 1559) shows him to have been well-to-do, to have had a shop in Lincoln, to have been involved in the sale of fish, to have had a number of debts, and to have had a family of considerable size. Another William, of St Benedict parish in Lincoln, left a bequest to young Henry Sapcote (a relative was a mayor) but is otherwise an unpromising candidate (LA: LCC WILLS 1557 iv, f 129). The 'Smiths' of Honington and the close of Lincoln, who had a coat of arms, included a William (d. 1556) (Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 3, p 899). Foster lists a 'William Smith,' commissary and official of the archdeaconries of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, but that was in 1604 and therefore seems late (C.W. Foster (ed), *The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I as illustrated by Documents relating to the Diocese of Lincoln*, vol 1, Lincoln Record Society 23 (Horncastle, 1926), cxxiii).

182 LA: LCL/5009 f 120v

This version of the account was made at least a year after the event. The first five payments on f 120v (p 180, ll.23–8) appear to have been made on time, in 1553–4. The next six payments (those in this extract) were late payments, made in 1554–5 well after the previous account year had ended. They immediately follow in sequence those that had been made on time. The later group of payments from f 121 includes one for bearing the pageant, which is missing from the five that were made on time. On balance there seems little doubt that the late-made payments were reimbursements for the St Anne's event of 1553–4.

These entries are the final references in the Cordwainers' book to the pageant or procession on St Anne's Day.

184–5 LA: L1/1/1/2 ff 163, 173v

A new policy seems to have been put into place with this first entry, in which, henceforth, the waits were to be hired for the entire year. If the details of the order in the minute book are accurate, the waits were free to travel and perform on their own from late spring through late summer.

The entry of f 173v and subsequent ones make clear that in 1562 the mayor was, in effect, the lord of the manor of Canwick. In 1466 the city had acquired the right to gather scot and lot from the residents, and at the Dissolution the mayor and city were given rights of pasture over priory meadow lands in Canwick (Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 281, 349). Some of the mayor's expenses for entertaining came out of those monies. The growing ability of the city during the sixteenth century to function as a patron

of performers paralleled that of private patrons. During this same time the corporation bought a house for mayors (f 175).

185 LA: Bj/3/6 f 125v

In this year payments to the schoolmaster (for a play) and to travelling companies appear in the cathedral accounts for the first time. The schoolmaster's name is given as John Plumtry on f 138v of the account. The entries on f 125v suggest that the three 'troupes' may have been playing together before the dean and chapter. The duchess of Suffolk (l.20) was Katherine Willoughby (22 March 1518/19–19 September 1580), twelfth Baroness Willoughby, widow of Charles Brandon (c 1484–22 August 1545), fourth duke of Suffolk, and wife of Richard Bertie (1517–82). It seems likely that the duchess of Suffolk's players paid here were the same five individual players who are named in her household account for 1561 (p 356).

186 LA: D/V/2/2b f [5v]

For Dudley, see p 757, endnote to NELA: 1/601/1 ff 1, 2v, 3, 3v. Oxford (l.15) was Edward de Vere (12 April 1550–24 June 1604), the seventeenth earl.

186–7 LA: L1/1/1/2 ff 185, 193

At a court held on 13 November 1563 all the men here assigned to gather funds for the play were included in the list of common councillors and they were near the top of that list, so seemingly they were more senior councillors (f 183v). Beside Fulbeck's name in that list was written 'alderman elect' and Cokkyt was listed along with the new mayor and one other senior official in the court heading at Michaelmas 1563 (f 183). The convocation heading on f 185v identifies Fulbeck as Thomas Fulbeck, a juror. In 1564 in a report to the privy council on the loyalty of leading men in the county, cathedral officials described Fulbeck as one of seven aldermen who were indifferent in matters of religion (Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, p 98). So the city council seems to have perceived him as a person who could be trusted to produce a play that would not place the city at odds with the Crown. Fulbeck would be mayor of Lincoln in 1566 (LA: L1/1/1/3, f 10v).

Folio 193 is smaller and on rougher paper than the surrounding pages. It has been pasted or glued between ff 92 and 94 (two leaves of charter for the Glovers' guild) and is included in the contemporary sequence of foliation. It seems clearly to have been integrated into the original volume before contemporary foliation was added and was probably from a booklet used by the guild or by the alderman-producer of the play.

187–8 LA: Bj/3/8 ff 129, 129v

For Robert Dudley and the duchess of Suffolk, see p 757, endnote to NELA: 1/601/1 ff 1, 2v, 3, 3v, and above, endnote to LA: Bj/3/6 f 125v. On f 129 the payment to Dudley's servants (presumably his players) occurred between December 1563 and January 1563/4. On f 129v the payments to the queen's players were made between February and July 1564, if the entries in the account are chronologically organized, as they appear to be. The payment to Dudley's servants is not present in Bj/3/6, the final version of the account, though the payment to the duchess of Suffolk's players is, on f 138v.

188–9 LA: Bj/3/6 ff 152, 152v

For Leicester, see p 757, endnote to NELA: 1/601/1 ff 1, 2v, 3, 3v. Although this entry mentions no play in the payment to the assistant schoolmaster and his boys, it likely was a payment for one. 'Regardo' indicates that the payment was a kind of reward rather than a customary payment, and it is the same

wording used in the payment to Hunsdon's players two entries later in the account. The reference to both the schoolmaster and his boys indicates a payment for a joint effort undertaken, likely a performance. Hunsdon (p 189, l.10) was Henry Carey (4 March 1525/6–23 July 1596), first Lord Hunsdon. Rich (p 189, l.16) was Richard (1496/7–12 June 1567), first Lord Rich.

189–91 LA: L1/1/1/3 f 1 col 1, col 2

This set of speeches is on the first leaf in the volume. It is a page of the same quality, age, and wear as the others in the volume but is smaller in length by 20mm (390mm x 265mm) and seems to have been affixed as part of the volume when it was bound. This first folio is damaged at the top and on the right side, resulting in some loss of text. The upper left corner says 'C Booke' presumably meaning 'Corporation Book.' The page is dated in the twenty-fifth year of the common clerk, William Hynde. The next leaf in the volume, the first regular folio, also says the twenty-fifth year of William Hynde, so the age of the first is certain; it is contemporaneous with the volume. Clearly the leaf is a performance text. The speeches are numbered in series of three throughout, so are obviously intended for three speakers or singers playing the role of 'senators.' In the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report*, p 58, there is an assertion that this set of speeches was 'spoken or sung by the three city waits ... as a warning beforehand for the right keeping of Christmas time, a ceremony called "Crying Christmas,"' but as Stanley Kahrl points out, there 'is no statement to this effect in the text' (*Collections viii*, p 101). This set of speeches, given their content, would appear to relate to the 1480 civic register entry regarding the proclaiming of Christmas by the mayor's officers on St Thomas the Apostle's Day (21 December) (pp 123–4), which in turn appears to relate to a 1571 entry in the minute book (unfortunately overlooked and only discovered after it was too late to be included in the Records text proper), which notes 'that ye old robes whiche the officers cried cristmas withall schall be made in decent clokes for ye seid officers to crye ye same yerely withall hereafter & the rest of ye vtenselles wher ye same robes lye or ben whiche be to Small value to be Sold away & this to be done as Master mayour schall appoint' (LA: L1/1/1/3, f 61v). (See also the 5 December 1576 minute book order regarding the proclaiming of Christmas by the officers, p 199.) Although there is a 10 December 1524 entry stating that liveries shall be bought for the two waits 'yat they may haue ij honest Gowns made agaynst Crystynnes next to Come' (p 149), the waits do not appear to be referred to as 'officers' in the minute book, and a 13 November 1562 entry regarding liveries makes clear that the waits and the officers (referred to as 'ye officers of this Cytye called the mayors officeres') are different persons (p 186). Almost annually from 1551–2 to 1586–7 the mayor was given an allowance for the liveries of officers, the number of which (when specified) was four. Whether this set of speeches constituted the proclaiming/crying of Christmas mentioned in the records or whether it constituted a separate ceremony, and who delivered these speeches, is unclear in the records.

191–2 LA: L1/1/1/3 f 10v

Watches might range in nature from simple musterings to religious customs to elaborate civic spectacles. This watch is noteworthy only in that it occurred within a few days of the Whitsun play, and that like the pre-Reformation procession on St Anne's Day it seems anciently to have involved all the men and civic officials of the city. See also p 774, endnote to L1/1/1/3 f 22v, in which officials mention these two large civic events in the same order.

192 LA: Bj/3/6 ff 165v, 166

Byron (l.23) was Sir John Byron (1487/8–5 May 1567) of Colwick and Newstead Abbey, Nottinghamshire.

Saunderson, a cleric, was appointed headmaster on 5 November 1565 and served until 1570; he had previously been incumbent of Sudbrooke, a village near Nettleham (Charles Garton, *Lincoln School 1090 to 1300: A Draft History*, 6 vols (Williamsville, NY, 1980), 689–91). The performance probably occurred in December. Strange (l.32) was Henry Stanley (September 1531–25 September 1593), styled Lord Strange, eldest son of Edward, thirteenth earl of Derby.

193 LA: Diocesan Vij/3 f 33

No court heading is given on previous pages in the volume. Other entries for playing in this book specify non-theatrical games of chance and skill such as cards, chess, or bowling (ff 33, 38, 54, 89–89v, 93v, 132v, 143v, 145, and 151). This particular entry does not specify an activity other than playing, so the nature of that play – whether theatrical, musical, or otherwise – is unclear.

193 LA: L1/1/1/3 f 22v

Kahrl observes that the statute ordering that the watch be kept first appeared after the entry relating to the play of Tobit in 1566 (see p 191) (*Collections viii*, p 68). In a subsequent entry on 9 July 1569 the reference to the watch appears, as he notes, without reference to plays.

194 LA: L1/1/1/3 f 33v

The previous entry identifies the tenement as being in St Benedict's churchyard.

195 LA: Bj/3/6 ff 213, 213v

The phrase 'comitis wigornie' refers to William Somerset (1527–21 February 1588/9), eighth earl of Worcester. The account is chronologically arranged and thus the payment to Worcester's players appears to have been made between January and February, the payment to the queen's players between February/March and late summer. These same payments are recorded in LA: Bj/3/8, ff 181v–2, a rough version of Bj/3/6. Neither they nor any other entries after 1569 are included in Kahrl's *Collections viii* because his volume ends with that year.

196–7 LA: LCL/5009 f 148v

The volume has two folios numbered f 148; this entry is on the verso of the first f 148 and faces the second f 148. The payment is among those made at the guild meeting ('quartum colloquium') held the Sunday after the Epiphany. If, as seems likely, the dinner was held on the election day (St Valentine's Day last past), then the guild masters each year were paying for expenses at the dinner on their own election day, which came at the start of their year, not for the expenses at the dinner on the election day of their successors, which came at the end of their year. That is, the dinner appears to have come in the first quarter, rather than the fourth.

197 LA: Bj/3/6 f 245v

The account is chronologically arranged and thus the reimbursement to Aylmer for the queen's players appears to have been made between 23 January and September 1573. Bj/3/8 includes the rough account of this one. The same payment, to Aylmer, occurs on f 261v of that rough account.

198 LA: INV 58/215 single sheet

Edward Hogge's will (LA: LCC WILLS 1575 i, f 61v) gives no clues as to his profession or craft. He had few goods and his will mentions no musical instruments.

198 LA: Bj/3/6 f 269v

The rough account for this same year, LA: Bj/2/1, does not include this payment but instead seems to be an account 'in progress.'

199 LA: Bj/3/6 f 280

See endnote to LA: Bj/3/6 f 269v above. Essex was Walter Devereux (16 September 1539–22 September 1576), eighteenth earl of Essex.

199 LA: L1/1/1/3 f 100

The city customal (recorded in the civic register) of 1480 confirms that Christmas 'myrthe' in Lincoln was a civic-sponsored period of freedom to engage in mirth, game, and sport, extending from 21 December through 6 January annually (pp 123–4). This entry confirms that the custom was continuing as of 1576, and that it included a procession of civic officials (which procession may have included the performance of the speeches of the three 'senators' (see pp 189–91)).

203 LA: Dean and Chapter A/3/7 f 124

Hilton began his association with Lincoln Cathedral as a chorister and became a poor clerk there in 1580. He appears to have been acting as master of the choristers by 1590/1, when a cathedral account includes a payment to 'Iohanni Hilton Magistro Choristarum' (Ian Payne, 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College, Cambridge, c. 1594–c. 1615: Archival and Biographical Evidence,' *Music and Letters* 68 (1987), 128–40). In December 1593, less than a year after producing these two comedies by the choristers and other scholars of the cathedral, he became choirmaster of Trinity College, Cambridge. On 26 January 1593/4 the chapter 'as a reward for good and faithful service of John Hilton, late Poor Clerk and Organist of the Cathedral ... allow him to dispose of his house in the Close' (A.R. Maddison, 'Lincoln Cathedral Choir A.D. 1558 to 1640,' *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers* 18 (1886), 110–22; and C.W. Foster (ed), *The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I as illustrated by Documents relating to the Diocese of Lincoln*, vol 1, Lincoln Record Society 23 (Horncastle, 1926), 436–7). As Payne says, Hilton was a skilled musician who brought much to the college, including 'materials for the practice of viol music' ('Instrumental Music,' p 130). He purchased the first ever recorded viols at Trinity College, as well as lutes, strings, and repair materials for the instruments. When he died in 1609 his bequests included virginals and song books (Payne, 'Instrumental Music,' pp 130–2). Gryffyn, his co-producer of the comedies at Lincoln Cathedral, may also have been a poor clerk but he was paid considerably more than Hilton. Nothing else of him has come to light.

203 LA: Bj/3/8 f 321

Robert Butler, the schoolmaster, 'had been a chorister from 1585 to 1587, when he was elected a Poor Clerk.' He replaced John Hilton (see above) 'as Thomas Butler's unofficial assistant' when Hilton departed to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1593 (Payne, 'Instrumental Music,' pp 129–30).

204 LA: Bj/5/12(38) f 34v

Because this entry comes from a draft book of payments for 1596 and 1597, not from the usual common fund accounts, it is here dated according to the civic year in which the payment was made, rather than to a standard cathedral accounting term.

205 LA: Diocesan Vij/11 f 48v

No court heading for this visitation survives in the book, but dates of subsequent sessions concerning

this and surrounding cases makes clear that the incident happened in late spring 1608. The parish is St Mary, Lincoln (f 48), and Burton appears to have been an alehousekeeper.

205 LA: L1/1/1/4 f 70v

Concerning Walwyn's relationship with the city, also see pp 207, 214, 217, 220.

205 LA: LCL/5009 f 201v

In 1606 (f 177) the guild had made an order that the feast would thereafter be held on the Monday following the feast of All Saints (1 November). Previously it had been held on the election day, normally the Monday after the feast of St Valentine (14 February).

206 LA: L1/1/1/4 f 74v

There seem to have been at least two Richard Bells. One, who had several apprentices, was identified as a tailor (ff 178v and 198v). He was either the son of the musician Bell (apparently not himself a musician) or an entirely unrelated Richard Bell. A house formerly held by Richard Bell the elder, then by his son Henry, was described as being in Thorngate, a suburb near the river at the southern edge of Lincoln (see Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp 156, 203, 244). A Richard Bell who held a piece of ground in Coltham seems to have been the musician Bell since the lease for that property was renewed to his son, Richard (f 225). In 1606 to reward Bell for his ongoing efforts, at his own cost, to repair and maintain Monks' Fen and Lincoln Fen, the city awarded him the right to take the profit from willows and wood in Lincoln Fen and to receive 20s yearly from the city (LA : L1/1/1/4, f 44v). The council minute book records an order that two indentures be drawn formalizing these understandings between the musician Bell and the city concerning 'Muncks Fen' on 11 September 1606 (f 47). In 1618 the minute book records the observation that Bell had not fulfilled his part of the agreement but that he was still to be paid every year as long as he continued to plant growth that stopped cattle from entering the property (f 152v). A final reference to Bell occurs in 8 June 1630 in an allusion to a suit against him and others concerning money that they had failed to supply for relief of the poor (f 240v).

206 LA: LCL/5009 f 203v

Mistress Mason and Mistress Morrost were members of the company of Cordwainers, as were their husbands. In 1611 Robert Morrost was alderman of the guild (f 204), and in 1612 he would serve as one of the four wardens of the guild (f 205). Later, in 1614, Mason was listed among those having paid their mornspeech money (f 209v), and in that same year he was also listed as one of the enfranchised members of the guild (f 210). In 1521, after John Mason's name had stopped appearing in the records, an entry records that Elizabeth Mason, widow and member of the company, had taken a journeyman shoemaker into her service (f 220v).

207 LA: L1/1/1/4 f 122

The lord lieutenant (1612–29) was Francis Manners, eighth earl of Rutland, of Belvoir Castle in Rutland near the Lincolnshire border.

209–14 LA: L1/1/1/4 ff 136v, 139v–42, 144

Between 14 March and 15 September the king conducted a royal progress from London to Scotland and back. He entered Lincolnshire at Grantham, then travelled to Lincoln on 27 March and departed Lincoln for Newark in Nottinghamshire on 5 April. Walwyn's name (p 214, l.30) is also included in a list of those to check as being absentees from sermons (f 148).

217 LA: LCL/5009 f 221

The heading of the 1620–1 account says that it closed on Thursday, 24 February 18 James I (1620/1). However 24 February 1620/1 was a Saturday rather than a Thursday. At this period the new officers for the guild were normally elected on the Monday following 14 February, while the accounts for the outgoing officers closed on the following Thursday. The two sets of officers thus technically overlapped for several days, although it seems likely that the incoming officers took over most responsibilities immediately while the outgoing officers put their books in order. It is likely here, then, that the day of the week is correct, but the conversion to the day and month is faulty – the actual closing date was probably Thursday, 22 February.

217 LA: LCL/5009 f 223

For the opening date of this account see above, endnote to LCL: MS 5009 f 221.

217–18 LA: L1/1/1/4 f 196v

Rutland was Francis Manners, eighth earl of Rutland.

219 LA: INV 134/49 single sheet

In 1631 a Richard Bell, tailor (possibly the son of the musician, Richard), died (LA: LCC WILLS 1631, f 39), so apparently he did not inherit his father's musical talents. His wife (unnamed) was to inherit his estate, unless she remarried, and in the event of his wife predeceasing him his executors were to be his father-in-law, John Coddington of Harmston, and his brother-in-law, Edmund Coddington of 'South Hicome' (Hykeham). His will mentions his five children and he had a house and land which he leased. To Henry Bell, musician (presumably his brother), he left his best suit and the lease of Monks' Fen (see p 776, endnote to LA: L1/1/1/4 f 74v).

221 LA: LCC WILLS 1635i f 15

On 14 August 1658 Morton's grand-daughter Bridget, then a widow in Kingston upon Hull, sold five tenements and their grounds in Lincoln to Richard Smythe, gentleman, of Lincoln (LA: TLE 15/1121/6), including the house given her by Morton. The deed confirming the sale reads in part: '...And all the estate right tytle propertie possession reversion and reversions remainder and remainders rent benefit clayme and demaund whatsoever which she the said Bridget Iones now hath or might have, or which [^]shee[^] or her heires at any tyme hereafter may or might have clayme to or demaund of in and to the said ffive Tenementes and premisses with their appurtenances by force and vertue of the guift of Iohn Morton late of the Cittie of Lincolne Musitian deceased [^]to her the said Bridget by the name of Bridget Hill[^] (grandfather of the said Bridget) in and by his last will and testament dated the 13:th or 17:th day of Ianuary 1635, or otherwise howsoever....'

221 LA: LCL/5009 f 243

This year's account is said to have closed on Thursday, 20 February 1636/7. In fact 20 February was a Monday; the Thursday of that week was 23 February. Because the usual practice in this period was that accounts closed on the Thursday following the Monday after 14 February, the weekday is likely to be correct, and the day and month mistaken.

222 LA: INV 150/6 f [1]

The 'other chamber' to which this entry refers is distinct from the 'best chamber' described in the preceding section of the inventory. Bell was a resident in St Swithin's parish and was presumably the

younger son of the musician Richard Bell (d. 1628). Henry Bell's will (LA: LCC WILLS 1638–40, f 13) makes no mention of musical instruments. It names his wife Elizabeth as his executrix and says that a house and close should be sold to bequeath £5 each to his sons and one daughter. The will was made 29 February 1639/40 and proved 23 April 1640.

223–4 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 ff 5, 11

Whether the appearance in one year of two communities relatively near each other signals that they were jointly producing a play is not clear from the records, but the fact that only the banns of Frieston were paid suggests at least the possibility that the two parishes were co-operatively producing Frieston's play. These payments do seem to provide solid proof that local plays were being mounted in those locales during those specific years and that the producing parishes were seeking large audiences.

224 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 ff 39v, 42v

The Long Sutton accounts are a broken volume that was reconstituted at some point, with some pages and parts of accounts out of order. By following the folio numbers as opposed to their physical sequence, the chronology of the accounts is preserved.

The exception is the heading page bearing the section memorandum of this account which appears as f 92v, making it physically and sequentially out of order. The heading lists four wardens as being elected in 1550, Harry Dey (listed first in the account) being the senior warden, and Humphrey Carten (listed second) being his junior warden. The payment to players on f 39v occurs in Dey's section of the account; the payment to the duchess of Suffolk's players on f 42v occurs in Carten's section. For the duchess of Suffolk, see p 772, endnote to LA: Bj/3/6 f 125v.

225 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 f 57v

Given that the payments are chronologically arranged it appears likely that this payment to players was for a performance in the spring, perhaps at Whitsun or Easter.

225 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 ff 75, 75v

This account begins on f 74v, which is physically followed by ff 78–9v, 94–97v, with accounts for 1561–2, 1569–70, and part of 1570–1. Then this account returns on ff 75–6.

226 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 ff 77, 77v

The account book skips from f 77v to f 80, stopping before this account is finished. The payments to players occur in churchwarden William Crane's payments section of the account. The remaining portion of that section and the rest of the account for 1560–1 are now located between ff 74v and 94. The page facing f 77v (f 80) is from the account for 1561–2, also William Crane's payments section, but from his account with churchwarden William Marret in that different year.

227 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 f 83

These five payments on f 83 appear to have occurred between 5 April and 3 May 1562 as they fall between those for account day and Rogation week in the list of payments. Since the account was made or closed on 18 April 1563, four weeks before Rogation that year, it seems impossible that the payments could be for 1563.

227 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 ff 85, 86

The first five payments on f 85 occur shortly after one for Rogation week and before one that mentions

Lammas (1 August), so the banns were likely cried early in summer. The payment to Rich's players, coming after references to Michaelmas and Candlemas, and near the end of the section, might well have been a winter or Lenten visit. The timing of the payments on f 86 is unknowable. For Rich (l.19), see pp 772–3, endnote to LA: Bj/3/6 ff 152, 152v.

227–8 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 ff 87, 88v

The account is chronologically organized, so the payment to the players seems to have occurred in March or April 1565. For the duchess of Suffolk (p 227, l.39) see p 772, endnote to LA: Bj/3/6 f 125v. Lord Robert (p 228, l.4) was Robert Dudley: see p 757, endnote to NELA: 1/601/1 ff 1, 2v, 3, 3v. Dudley's players would have needed to go through Long Sutton to get from Lincoln to Norfolk where Dudley had very considerable land holdings.

228 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 ff 90, 90v

'Gasken' (l.14) was Sir John Gascoigne (by 1510–4 April 1568) of Cardington, Bedfordshire. The payment to the players of Bolingbroke (l.26) occurred sometime between St Nicholas' tide 1565 and the second payment, which occurred at Easter 1566.

228–9 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 ff 94v, 95

The pages of the book are bound out of order, so that component parts of this account are physically separated within the volume. The first part of this account, including the heading, is on f 93. The only dated entries on either side of the payments to the players of Keston are for Rogation week and 22 November, thus this performance seems to have occurred sometime between those two dates.

229 LA: SUTTON ST MARY PAR/7/1 f 111

For 'Mr Sampal,' see p 758, endnote to NELA: 1/600/32 single mb.

230 LA: Goulding 4B/5/1 f [2]

The original roll does not seem to survive among those held by Lincolnshire Archives.

230 LA: Goulding 4B/5/1 p c

The underlining of the word 'male' likely indicates ME 'mal(l)e' – a bag or pouch.

231 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1 p 14

A heading for this section of accounts says, 'Paid for Reparacion about the kyrke' (p 13). The entry for 1513–14 confirms that the event involving the boy bishop occurred on Childermas or Holy Innocents' Day, 28 December.

232 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1 p 115

The usual payments for the boy bishop were not made in the accounts for 1504–5 or 1507–8.

232 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1 p 141

The payment of two knells for the harper Tisson reflects the practice of the month mind, in which his family pays the first time for ringing the bell at his funeral, and the second for ringing the bell a month later (at his month mind).

233 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1 p 167

It is unclear whether Spencer was a harper who had possession of a harp owned by the church, a harp-maker who had been paid to supply a harp that he had not yet delivered, or simply a craftsman. The churchwardens also paid him for several other things, for instance, for mending the organ bellows (p 178) and for two trees (p 190). The church might have come into possession of a harp, as it did many other objects as bequests, and the term was current in Louth. However, it is at least possible that in this instance the word is an early occurrence of the other sense of 'harp' as a screen or sieve – see David N. Klausner (ed), *Wales*, REED (Toronto, 2005), 225–9, 436, for another document in which that possibility is discussed.

233 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1 pp 211, 216

The nearest dated entry to the harp entry, the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity (that is, 10 October), occurs four entries earlier on the page, though whether the four receipts after it were collected on the same day is uncertain. The payment to the child bishop occurs within a cluster of payments made on the second Sunday after Christmas (that is, 2 January 1512/13).

234 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1 p 267

No payment to the child bishop would occur in 1516–17.

The original of the Corpus Christi play has not survived and knowledge of its contents has perished with it. Kahl wondered whether 'it is at least possible that the parish priest, or someone else with the idea of approximating the procedures followed at cathedrals, obtained a manuscript copy of a cycle intending it for subsequent production in the town' ('Medieval Drama,' p 131). He concluded that references in the Louth churchwardens' accounts to pageants being stored in a barn or being born in procession to the church likely refer to pageant wagons, on which parts of a newly formed cycle were performed. Based on a payment to players of Grimsby for speaking the banns of their play in 1527–8, he asks whether those players might have 'put on the plays at Corpus Christi' that year in Louth (p 131). He acknowledges that 1513–14 would be 'a relatively late date for a cycle to be established for the first time,' but sees that apparent fact in Louth as evidence 'for the vitality of the cycles' (p 132). However, the only clear indication as to the nature of the Corpus Christi play in Louth occurs in a payment in 1557–8 (see p 239) to the schoolmaster of Louth, for furnishing the play in the market stead on Corpus Christi Day, which indicates not a cycle but a single play. That the pageants were stored, at various times, in the small confines of St Mary's Church and in a 'lath' barn, and were 'borne' on Corpus Christi Day, suggests the more likely possibility that they were banners or small hutches to be carried rather than large wagons to be used as mobile stages. One is inclined to think that the Corpus Christi play in Louth was not a cycle but a single play mounted by parish and guilds in the context of processions, minstrelsy, and worship on Corpus Christi Day. Such an event would mirror events in Lincoln, which seems probable since the bishop of Lincoln was lord of the manor in Louth.

235 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1 p 344

This is the final year in which payments to the child bishop are recorded but the accounts for 1524–5 and 1526–7 are missing.

235 LA: Monson 7/28 p 106

William Foster was again paid the same amount (6s 8d) for part of his wages by the Trinity guild

in the account for 1527–9 (LA: Monson 7/28, p 108). But he was also paid by the Louth churchwardens in 1527–8 for costs related to preparing the church and pageants for Corpus Christi Day. In the churchwardens' account for 1523–4, he is listed first among three 'Mynesters *within* the qwere' of the parish church (LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1, p 345); one of the others is Thomas Foster. In the account for 1534–5, Thomas Foster is named first among the ministers but William is no longer listed, perhaps deceased by that time (LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/2, f 29v).

236 LA: Monson 7/2 ff 238, 238v

Folios 238–8v are part of an alderman's account for 1527–8, placed out of sequence among the accounts for 1528–9.

Accounts from the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Louth (Monson 7/1), which survive together with the Trinity guild accounts, contain no references to the Corpus Christi pageants, but they do contain stipendiary payments nearly every year to men for carrying the banner of the guild in processions on the feasts of Corpus Christi and the Ascension (see for example, f 6 for 1473–4), in which the guild obviously took part.

236–7 LA: Monson 7/2 ff 232, 237, 242v

The marginal heading on f 232 was originally 'Gulpylan,' but the initial letter is lost at the damaged edge of the page. Gulpyn Lane (p 236, l.40) still exists but is now known as Schoolhouse Lane (information courtesy of Jean Howard, Honorary Curator, Louth Museum, in a personal letter 22 January 1997). The 'layth' (or lathe) was a barn. An earlier entry on f 242v identifies Ranyer (p 237, l.12) as Richard Ranyer, a thatcher, of Manby (a village about five miles east of Louth). In that entry he was paid 2s 4d for four days work in thatching the tenement of one John Jenkinson.

237 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/2 f 15

A number of entries refer to watchers (ff 15–15v, 1530–1; f 109, 1553–4; ff 115v and 120, 1555–6); or to watching in the church or before the sepulchre, sacrament, or feretory on Corpus Christi Day (f 17v, 1531–2; f 25v, 1533–4; f 33v, 1535–6; f 37v, 1536–7; f 71v, 1545–6; f 76, 1546–7) or at Corpus Christ tide (ff 21v, 1532–3; f 29v, 1534–5); or to gathering of money for the plough light (f 16v, 1531–2; f 31, 1534–5; f 80, 1547–8; f 88, 1549–50; f 88v, 1550–1; f 100v, 1552–3; f 105, 1553–4; f 123v, 1556–7; f 132v, 1558–9); or to gathering for the parish on Plough Day (f 19, 1531–2); or to making the streets clean against Corpus Christi Day (f 37v, 1536–7).

237 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/2 f 35

Robert Baylye seems to have been in 'general merchandise'; on f 34v he is paid for providing coal, candles, nails, and a lock with a key for a gate.

238 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/2 f 50

The first payment to players from another town (Grimsby) had occurred in 1527–8, but this is the first recorded payment to players of an important lord and it occurred two years after the Pilgrimage of Grace, in which several leaders of that insurrection who were from Louth had been executed. For Suffolk, see p 772, endnote to LA: Bj/3/6 f 125v.

238 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/2 f 80

Withern is about ten miles east of Louth.

238 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/2 f 101

Curson's identity has not yet come to light, but he may have been the chief officer (later called warden) of the town, since it was that officer who was authorized to pay the players.

239 LA: Louth Grammar School B/3/1 p 16

The person provided with wine was no doubt Mr George Heneage, who was high steward of the manorial court of Louth from 1564 to 1596, after the manor came under the authority of the town warden and his assistants in 1564 (Goulding, *Louth*, pp 77, 96). He was praised by the town in 1565 'for his ffreindship in our affaires' (p 57) and by 1588 was described as 'Sir George Henneage one of the Quenes Maiesties Iustices' (p 58). Goodale was no doubt John Goodale, headmaster of the grammar school, 1551–76 (p 113). The wording of the entry indicates that Goodale was involved either in producing the town's plays or at the least in paying and assisting unidentified players who produced them.

239 LA: Louth Grammar School B/3/1 p 24

Jordayne has not been identified. The fact that payments for plays appear in both parish and civic accounts shows that two entities within the town were sponsoring – perhaps co-sponsoring – performance in this year.

239 LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/2 f 124v

Apparently there was no objection by the majority of the town at this date to plays being staged in the church itself or in the Market Stead, since both are identified as playing places during this period (see the following entry).

239 LA: Louth Grammar School B/3/1 p 29

The wording makes it obvious that this Corpus Christi play, though reimbursed in 1557–8, was held in 1556–7. In this instance the schoolmaster clearly was involved in production of the play.

240 LA: Louth Grammar School B/3/1 p 126

Pelonne had been usher of the grammar school since 1566 and served as headmaster, 1577–80 (Goulding, *Louth*, p 114).

241 LA: Louth Grammar School B/3/1 p 256

The date in Arabic numbers was corrected, in a different hand, from 1594 to 1593.

241 LA: Louth Grammar School B/3/1 p 261

The date in Arabic numbers was corrected, in a different hand, from 1595 to 1594.

242–3 LA: Louth Grammar School B/3/1 p 339

This is the first use of the word 'wait' in the Louth records, though it is obvious from other entries that musicians, some of them perhaps waits, were present from much earlier times.

244 LA: Louth Grammar School B/3/1 p 365

Derby was William Stanley (before 20 July 1561–29 September 1642), fifteenth earl of Derby. The standard sources say that Louth had an eight-day fair starting on the third Sunday after Easter, another on the octave of Sts Peter and Paul (29 June), and a third on 11 November (Samantha Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* <<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/>

gazweb2.html>, Lincolnshire, 23 July 2007). But none of them mention the May Day fair that this entry documents.

250 LA: Louth Grammar School B/3/1 p 498

Sir Thomas Grantham (d. 1630) of St Katherine's near Lincoln was sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1600 and 'sat in all the parliaments from 1604 until 1629' (Maddison (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol 2, p 423; and Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, p 114). He had been knighted by James I in 1603 'as the new king passed through Belvoir on his way to London,' and when James I visited Lincoln in 1617 he lodged at Grantham's house in St Katherine's (Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, pp 117, 129–30). Grantham was a Protestant royalist and one of the most influential men in the county.

256–7 LA: Diocesan Vij/11 f 160

'Caring' Sunday means Carling Sunday; thus the performance occurred on the fifth Sunday in Lent, 13 March in 1607/8, near Easter. The hands of three notaries can be distinguished in the recording of this case. The first wrote the names and charges made against the accused. The second wrote the marginalia and recorded all but the latest session (p 257, ll.4–9, 13–16). The third recorded the 14 November session only (p 257, ll.9–11).

257 LA: MARKET DEEPING PAR/10/1 ff C3v, C4

These entries occur in the dike reeves' account of Alexander Hudson and Thomas Watson, the third section of the book of accounts (dike reeves' accounts), independently foliated C1–12. For Worcester, see p 774, endnote to LA: Bj/3/6 ff 213, 213v.

257 LA: MARKET DEEPING PAR/10/1 f D17v

This entry occurs in the bailiff and constable's account of William Mannyng and Thomas Oldgate, town bailiffs, expenses section.

258 LA: MARKET DEEPING PAR/10/1 f D21

This entry occurs in the bailiff and constable's account of William Hudson and Joshua Thornes, town bailiffs. The heading says only 1606 (that is, the account is likely for 1606–7). If it follows the pattern for other bailiffs and constables' accounts, it runs Plough Monday to Plough Monday.

258–62 TNA: PRO STAC 8/114/12 mb 74

If documents other than the bill of complaint and Mumby's answer were generated by the case, they do not survive within this bundle of two documents. The fact that the two are numbered mbs 73–4 suggests that at one time there may indeed have been other documents. On the dorse of the bill is twice written 'Dawson vs Mumby' and the date, Wednesday, 7 November 19 James, under which is the signature 'Parker.' It is not possible to be certain whether the interlineations and corrections are all made by the same clerk or a different one, since the apparent differences may be due to a change of pen or the roughness of the erased surface.

263–4 TNA: PRO SP 10/15 f [1]

See a letter of prohibition against unlicensed players in the County section (pp 367–8). Taken together, the two documents demonstrate a continuing official concern about unlicensed players in the county over a period spanning seventy years.

264 LA: LCC ADMONS 1582/21 single sheet

Artle died intestate so there is no will to provide details about his family or his belongings. A second document with the inventory names Henry Soole of Pinchbeck as his administrator for his two children, Roger and Beatrice.

265 LA: SAXILBY PAR/7/d f 7v

The scribe has left blank the space for the day in January on which this particular account was declared. Saxilby usually made its accounts in early January, for the year just ended. The headings of the first two accounts in the book give both the Christian date and the regnal year but others give only the 'year of grace.'

266–7 LA: Diocesan Vij/18 f 227v

The line of dots on p 267 represents the continuation of an otherwise unrelated case written in the space originally left blank between the presentments of Beckwell and Jeesup. Nothing has been omitted from this transcription that is pertinent to these proceedings for singing obscene songs instead of psalms at a Sunday service.

268 BL: Additional Ms 28,533 f 2

The word 'playn/' on l.37 was apparently originally written 'play/' by the clerk. He then corrected it to 'playn/' by adding the final 'n' after the virgule and placing dots beneath both the virgule and the 'n' to show that they were to be transposed.

269 BL: Additional Ms 28,533 f 3v

Minstrels clearly participated in Corpus Christi ceremonies and seemingly in the celebration of the Ascension, which included a play. Minstrels and others carried banners at the head of processions and this payment seemingly has the parish providing such a banner for that purpose.

269–73 TNA: PRO STAC 5/L1/29 sheet [21]

In their answers (undated) to Clinton's bill of complaint, Sir Edward Dymoke and Roger Bayard denied being guilty of the charges brought in the bill. Tailboys Dymoke and the two Craddocks made similar denials in their answer on 30 November 1601. There followed on 30 March 1602 a *dedimus potestatem* warrant appointing commissioners to take depositions for the court of Star Chamber. The commissioners used the plaintiff's interrogatories to depose Sir Edward Dymoke and Roger Bayard on 7 April 1602; see pp 273–95.

277–84 TNA: PRO STAC 5/L1/29 sheets [5–8, 9–9v, 12v–13v]

While Tailboys Dymoke and the two Craddocks were examined on 7 December 1601, Marmaduke Dickinson was examined some fourteen months later, on 11 February 1602/3, from a different set of interrogatories (see pp 297–301). For Article 4 all four defendants asserted that in playing the part of 'Lord Pleasure Her' Tailboys Dymoke was not representing the earl of Lincoln, though it would have been obvious to the court that he was, since they later found the defendants guilty. In Article 9, while Tailboys Dymoke denied that the green where the play occurred adjoined the outer court of Sir Edward Dymoke's house (thus making the play visible to those in the house), Craddock the elder said that it did; Craddock the younger said that part of the green adjoined 'the stables *which stande in the vtter Courte* \wedge *or yarde* of the *saied* Sir Edward dymockes house.'

292–3 TNA: PRO STAC 5/L1/29 sheet [17]

Although Sir Edward was not examined on these interrogatories until early April 1602, the interrogatories themselves were likely drawn up very early in the course of the suit, perhaps at the same time as the bill of complaint, which bears a filing date of 23 November 1601. In both documents the defendant Bayard or Byard is referred to initially by the given name 'John,' but in the filed bill this was corrected to 'Roger,' while in this set of interrogatories the error was allowed to stand. The lack of a correction suggests an early date, as does the lack of some allegations that are in the interrogatories for witnesses deposed in February but not in the bill of complaint (such as that concerning Sir Edward's alleged collaboration over a two- to four-week period in writing the play). In answering the five interrogatories Sir Edward Dymoke categorically denied having any involvement in the planning, advertising, or staging of the play and, indeed, claimed to know very little about it, having, he said, become aware of the play only after it had been performed. His answers offer no useful details about the play. However, Roger Bayard's answers on the same day to similar interrogatories were much more forthcoming (see pp 293–4).

296–7 TNA: PRO STAC 5/L1/29 sheet [28]

For some reason Dickinson had not been examined with Tailboys Dymoke and the two Craddocks in December 1601 or with Roger Bayard in April 1602 (the other actors in the play). When he was examined in February 1602/3 he gave self-serving answers that confirmed damning motives and involvements that must have pleased the plaintiff, Lord Clinton, and that certainly worried and angered the other defendants.

303–4 Huntington Library: EL 2723 f [1]

Along with the fines related to the libellous stage play at Kyme, this list of fines for various suits may also include those arising from two other conflicts: libellous May games and a mock muster at Coningsby with an assault on the earl of Lincoln and his company on 25 or 26 July 1601, and a contemporaneous conflict between Sir Edward Dymoke and his followers with the earl of Lincoln's men at Horncastle over property rights there (see pp 47–55). (For more information, see Norreys Jephson O'Connor, *Godes Peace and the Queenes: Vicissitudes of a House 1539–1615* (Cambridge, MA, 1934), 108–15.)

304 Spalding Gentlemen's Society Museum: Maurice Johnson Papers f 74v

This entry is part of the minutes of a meeting held 23 January 1723/4, recorded by Maurice Johnson. A twentieth-century transcription from the minute book, of the entry concerning the play, can be found in the A.K. Maples Collection, 'Historical Notes Relating to Spalding,' vol 1, p 66, at the Gentlemen's Society Museum. Maples, a solicitor, was curator and president of the Society. He gave the museum its strong room and purchased the collections that they possess.

304–5 Gooch, *A History of Spalding* pp 128–9

The words 'for that purpose' in Gooch's discussion refer to fund-raising for repairs and expansion of the church of St Mary and St Nicholas after the Dissolution.

305–8 TNA: PRO STAC 8/186/12 sheet 9

In his answer to the bill of complaint, which he made on 6 May 1605 (TNA: PRO STAC 8/186/12, sheet 6), Earle denied all the charges in the bill, including the accusation that he had authored the libellous ballads. He said that he had lived in Spalding for four years.

311 TNA: PRO STAC 8/186/12 sheet 5

The nine interrogatories on the sheet, directed to all three defendants, ask about all the charges made in the bill of complaint. Only Earle's examination answers survive, and in them he denies all the charges except the one in interrogatory 4 – that he copied and shared the libellous songs.

313 LA: Diocesan Vij/2 f 71v

An antiquarian description of a play in Spalding, c 1541–6, claims that the play was written by 'one Howsun a prest' (see p 304). The John Howson of this incident in Spilsby was clearly a priest, since he was thereafter suspended from conducting divine services, for misbehaviour during the masque, and was called 'dominus.' Whether he was the same Howson who wrote the Spalding play cannot, of course, be known from this entry.

A number of Howsons (sometimes Houson) appear in the parish registers of both Spilsby and Spalding, though they cast little light on the identification of John Howson except to support the likelihood that Howson really did exist and that he was local.

The masque seems to have taken place at night and Howson's 'preaching' perhaps suggests some anti-clerical or anti-papist content; his patron, Katherine Bertie, the duchess of Suffolk, was a passionate supporter of the Reformation. Her intervention suggests that Howson was in her employ. The Willoughbys were closely associated with Spilsby, their family seat once having been at Eresby Hall, a mile south of Spilsby; many of the family are buried in the parish church, and the Willoughby Chapel inside contains a monument to the duchess and her second husband, Richard Bertie, of Grimsthorpe Castle.

315 LA: Diocesan FUR 2 f 184v

Unlike many other inventories in this collection, the one for Stallingborough identifies neither an examining official nor other particulars indicating that the inventory was examined. Whether the sale was made to travelling players or to school players or other locals is unclear from the entry. The phrase 'turnd to thuse yat the candestickes wear' refers to a previous entry on this folio stating that candlesticks, hand bells, cruets, and a sacring bell were melted down and the metal used for casting a bell.

316 TNA: PRO C 47/41/173 single mb

The reference to the baiting and sale of the bull may be the earliest documentary reference to the bull-running tradition in Stamford. If so it confirms that the running was already a traditional practice in Stamford by 1389.

316–17 BL: Cotton Vespasian A.xxiv f 3v

One of the meanings of 'schafte' was maypole, and Peacock in *English Church Furniture* concluded that these entries refer to the maypole belonging to St Mary's Church in Stamford (p 179). Having a permanent maypole would presumably have meant that going to fetch in May by lobbing, dressing, and carrying a pole back to the parish would not necessarily have been part of the May game every year in this part of Stamford parish. Whether the entries are all related to repair of the shaft as part of the May game, and whether the entertainers were being paid in connection with the game, is not clear from the entries.

317–18 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 f 5v

Local historian Alan Rogers asserts that there were no craft guilds in Stamford though there were 'a number of socio-religious gilds' ('Late Medieval Stamford: A Study of a Town Council 1465–1492,' *Perspectives in English Urban History*, Alan Everitt (ed) (London, 1973), 16–38), but the precise situation in medieval Stamford is less than clear. Shortly after the town received its great charter from Edward IV

in 1462, the town council made this order categorizing local crafts into eleven 'pageants' and ordering each to appoint two wardens who were responsible for that pageant's compliance with all rules governing crafts within it. As used here and in 1466–7 the word 'pageant' seems to be synonymous with 'company,' perhaps as set forth in processions, but in 1482 (see p 320) the council ordered the wardens of six pageants (five another time) to mount the Corpus Christi play to which they were traditionally assigned. The precise relationship of the crafts, the religious guilds, the play, and the pageants is not clear from the records that survive. Rogers speculates that the united guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Corpus Christi in St Mary's Church, the parish church of Stamford, was the entity primarily responsible for the plays but no evidence supporting that claim survives ('Late Medieval Stamford,' p 33).

319 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 f 16

This is the first entry which names minstrels, who were being admitted as freemen of the town. Two of them (Totyll and Pynder) are identified as waits in later years. The wording of several later entries (pp 319–20) makes it plain that the three minstrels were waits even though the Latin words for 'wait' are not used.

319 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 ff 27v, 29

The wording of this order illustrates the extent to which the perception of the meaning and purpose of the Corpus Christi plays differed before and after the Reformation. Here its performance is ordered by the local oligarchy for the honour of God and the reformation of the faithful, whereas sixteenth-century reformers commonly described such plays in exactly the opposite terms.

These three minstrels were admitted during the same court at which the performance of the Corpus Christi play was ordered to be performed, as, the order says, it had been the previous year. Robert Navour, who pledged for the minstrel William Haynes, was a furbisher and a member of the First Twelve, the most senior body of local governing officials after the aldermen (Alan Rogers, 'Late Medieval Stamford: A Study of a Town Council 1465–1492,' *Perspectives in English Urban History*, Alan Everitt (ed) (London, 1973), 18, 36). No biographical information has come to light about Richard Navour or William Tygh. As the entries on ff 40v and 59 suggest, the pledges made were likely for the safe return of the scutcheons.

320 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 f 33

The tenor of this order suggests that the town may have been experiencing difficulty in getting some members of the crafts to meet their annual responsibility in mounting the Corpus Christi play.

320 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 f 40v

Though minstrels had been admitted in earlier years with pledges supplied by various burgesses, this is the first year in which references to the scutcheons occur in the order, thereby confirming that the three were now waits. John Stede was acting alderman (an office equivalent in rank to a mayor) in 1485. Both he and John Gybbes were members of the First Twelve, the highest ranking of the councillors (Alan Rogers, 'Late Medieval Stamford: A Study of a Town Council 1465–1492,' *Perspectives in English Urban History*, Alan Everitt (ed) (London, 1973), 36).

321 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 f 59

In this entry the word 'wait' occurs for the first time in the records. David Cecil, a lawyer and native of Herefordshire, had married the heiress of a wealthy Stamford glover and was in the service of Lady Margaret Beaufort, who had interests in the town. Eventually he was also yeoman of the king's chamber and a knight by 1525–6 (Alan Rogers, 'Late Medieval Stamford: A Study of a Town Council 1465–1492,'

Perspectives in English Urban History, Alan Everitt (ed) (London, 1973), 30). Cecil was the grandfather of William Cecil (13 September 1520–4 August 1598), first Lord Burghley, lord treasurer to Elizabeth I, and was alderman of Stamford in 1503–4, 1514–15, and 1525–6 (Justin Simpson, 'The Stamford Waits and Their Predecessors: An Historical Sketch,' *The Reliquary* 26 (1885), 3). In this receipt for the return of scutcheons the names of guarantors John Stede and David Cecil have been underlined, apparently by a later antiquarian hand.

321 LA: Diocesan Vij/1 f 69v

The court heading for this entry is damaged; while the name of the deanery, the judge's name and office, and the year of the proceedings are all legible, the day and month on which the court sat and the location in which it met are illegible. Many entries have been administratively cancelled, perhaps indicating that they were transferred to another court book.

323 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 f 231v

This entry provides the earliest evidence of someone being apprenticed to a musician in Stamford. See also the entries for 1589–90 and 1593–4, which indicate that Willoughby had several apprentices, perhaps indicating that he was head of a company. Willoughby was a substantial citizen who served for a number of years as one of the two collectors for the St George's Church in Stamford (ff 259v, 272, and 277).

324–5 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 f 348v

A later, antiquarian hand has written 'Town Waights' in the left margin of this entry. Between 1486 and 1626, although the hall book records the admission of numerous musicians, it contains no certain evidence that any of them were waits, though some of them probably were. The hall book contains no entries appointing musicians for the town between 1494–5, when the three scutcheons were returned (p 321), and 1627–8. It does, however, name seven musicians who were admitted to the freedom of the borough during that period, one of whom (Thomas Willoughby) took four apprentices between 1586 and 1594 (pp 323–4). The hall book appears to be an incomplete record, though, since Henry Pearce is allowed admission to the freedom of the borough for nothing on the grounds that he has served an apprenticeship, though his apprenticeship to a local musician is not previously recorded in the book. The city never seems to have had more than three scutcheons for its waits.

'Graye' was Henry Grey (c 1599–21 August 1673), second Lord Grey of Groby. Upon his marriage in 1620 he acquired possession of the castle, borough, and manor of Stamford, and was created first earl of Stamford on 26 March 1627/8. From the wording of this order it is unclear whether Lord Grey was asking that the town's waits be replaced with his own household musicians plus one local musician – Henry Pearce – or was attempting to fill the town's need for waits because none were then present. Henry Pearce is listed as a defendant in LA: Stamford Quarter Sessions, 1629–30, item 8. The nature of the cause against him is not given in the list where his name appears as a defendant. Other references to him occur in the entries for 1624–5 and 1632–3.

Seven seems an unusually high number of waits for a town the size of Stamford and, indeed, several of this group apparently stayed but a short time since a year later, in 1628–9, only four of them (the Troupes, Ash, and Knewstubs) were admitted as residents paying taxes and rents. By 1634 Knewstubs had become a wait in Grantham. In 1630, under the terms of his recognizance, Ash is allowed to keep a common alehouse in his dwelling in Stamford, subject to certain restrictions, thereby giving one clue as to how some of the waits augmented their civic income (LA: Stamford Quarter Sessions Book, 1629–

30, item 29; and Joan Varley, *The Parts of Kesteven: Studies in Law and Local Government* (Bourne and London, 1974), 64).

326–7 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 ff 369, 371

Charles I visited Stamford twice – in 1633 and 1634. Though generally royalist in their sympathies the people of Stamford (and others in Lincolnshire) had a number of serious conflicts – political, ecclesiastical, and financial – with the king. These two visits appear related to his attempt to manage those conflicts. Since Charles' accession in 1625 the Crown had demanded military moneys, had impressed local men, and had seized deserters. County gentry in parliament had been imprisoned for resisting Charles' 'fiscal experiments' in which he bypassed parliament to raise revenue by means of 'forced' loans. The county also mightily resented the activities of Archbishop Laud, who also visited in 1634. It resisted the king's new initiative to drain the Fens, which upset the successful methods of farming 'based on pasturage in the rich common fen which the local peasants had evolved and which would be shattered by the drainage.' Thus the stern tone of this civic order and of the warnings issued by royal officials in advance of the king's visit (Alan Rogers, *The Book of Stamford* (Buckingham, 1983), 62; Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, pp 104–5, 117–19, 123).

327–8 STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 f 384

By 1637 all of Grey's servants, with the exception of Nathan Ash, were apparently no longer present in Stamford. This admission of William Mewes to the town shows that his former master, Thomas Willoughby, may have continued to be resident in the town during the tenure of Grey's former servants as waits. And in 1639–40 the town waits were reformed as a company of young musicians under the mastership of Mewes.

329 Bodl.: ms. Rawlinson D 786 f 106v

An entry on f 107 identifies 'John Alyne' as the bellman.

329 Bodl.: ms. Rawlinson D 786 f 112

An entry on f 126 identifies 'qwytynggam' as Richard Qwytynggam, churchwarden.

330 Bodl.: ms. Rawlinson D 786 f 116v

The entire focus of recorded dramatic activity in Sutterton involved the feast of the Assumption. Entries concerning wax in 1521–2 and 1530–1 specify that the wax had been purchased against the Assumption. It seems likely that this purchase and those in 1525–6, 1531–2, and 1536–7 were also made against the Assumption rather than against another of the feast days dedicated to Mary since none are ever named in the records (pp 329–31).

330 Bodl.: ms. Rawlinson D 786 f 123

See above, endnote to ms. Rawlinson D 786 f 116v.

331 Bodl.: ms. Rawlinson D 786 f 133v

See above, endnote to ms. Rawlinson D 786 f 116v.

331 Bodl.: ms. Rawlinson D 786 f 141v

See above, endnote to ms. Rawlinson D 786 f 116v.

Kahrl includes in his entries for 1535–6 a payment of 2d transcribed as being for 'the merryment

In quatryng' (*Collections viii*, p 93), but the word appears to be 'mercymnt' (that is, amercement, a fine in a manorial court), and therefore I have not included the item here.

331-2 LA: Diocesan Vij/9 f 44v

The judge, Thomas Randes, MA, was commissary and official of the archdeacon of Lincoln and deputy of John Belley, LLD, vicar general (C.W. Foster, *The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I as illustrated by Documents relating to the Diocese of Lincoln*, vol 1, Lincoln Record Society 23 (Horncastle, 1926), xxi). It is not clear why, if the visitation was held in the summer of 1600, these accused were not cited earlier.

333 CKS: U1475/Q19/8 sheet 1v

The 'Thomas Asshwell' receiving payment in this entry was the English composer Thomas Ashwell (c 1478 – in or after 1524). He was a chorister of St George's Chapel, Windsor, from 29 October 1491 to 14 January 1492/3. In 1502-3 he was a lay singing-man of the choir of Tattershall College, Lincolnshire, and master of the choristers and organist of Lincoln Cathedral from summer 1506 until August 1511. On 24 December 1513 Ashwell was appointed cantor and master of the lady chapel choir of Durham Cathedral.

Another composer associated with Tattershall College was John Taverner (c 1490-1545), who was a singing-man of the choir by 1524. In 1526 he became the first master of the choristers at Cardinal College (now Christ Church), Oxford, and departed the college in 1530. He then took up residence in Boston, serving as master of the choristers for St Botolph's Church from 1530 until probably 1536 or 1537. By May 1538, a wealthy man, Taverner had retired from employment in church music and spent the remaining years of his life as a burgher and composer in his adopted town.

334 LA: THORPE ST PETER PAR/7/1 p 7

The small parish of Thorpe St Peter is situated two miles from Wainfleet on the road to Spilsby in the deanery of Bolingbroke. From 1547 the manor of Thorpe was used to support the collegiate church of Tattershall and it was paying rent to the abbot and convent of Bardney at the time of the Dissolution (Oldfield, *Wainfleet*, pp 293-4).

The entries on p 7 are undated but appear from a comparison of handwriting and notes on p 2 and at the foot of p 7 to be part of an account for the churchwardens in 1546-7. Entries indicate that the churchwardens made a partial or preliminary accounting, perhaps of the rood light and sepulchre light funds, at the Candlemas (2 February) preceding the 20 May rendering of their accounts.

334-5 LA: LCC WILLS 1520-25 f 50

The entry identifies the Minstrels' guild as being dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and it suggests that Sawyer himself may once have been a resident minstrel in Lincoln, or that he had some other association with the minstrels there. In addition to the great guild of the Blessed Virgin and the Minstrels' and Entertainers' guild, five other guilds in Lincoln were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin (Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, pp 171-3).

335 LA: Diocesan Vij/21 f 23

The court heading for this session is damaged and the names and offices of the judges are particularly affected; only one name is fully legible. Proceedings took place against these men both in their home parish of Bardney and in Timberland, where the fiddling apparently took place (see p 22).

335 LA: INV 112A/131 mb 1

There are four Toyntons in Lincolnshire: High and Low Toynton next to Horncastle and Toynton All Saints and Toynton St Peter near Spilsby (Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, Nicholas Antram (rev), 2nd ed (London, 1989; rpt 1998), 382, 545, 769). The heading of the inventory identifies the parish as being Upper Toynton next Spilsby (that is, Toynton All Saints). For a map showing the location of Cooke's residence, see Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, p 74.

335-6 LA: Diocesan Vij/20 f 157v

This event clearly was a disguising of some sort. That it happened on a Sunday, with the approval of the churchwardens, and involved a group of local men, suggests it was perhaps a mumming, a play, a morris or sword dance, or some other form of traditional entertainment, but whether one of those or something else is entirely uncertain from the entry.

The marginal heading makes clear that this event occurred in one of the two Toyntons next to Horncastle but which of the two is not made clear (see above, endnote to LA: INV 112A/131 mb 1).

336 LA: LCC WILLS 1615 f 89

The heading of the inventory identifies the parish as being Lower Toynton (that is, St Peter) (see above, endnote to LA: INV 112A/131 mb 1).

336 LA: INV 117/394 single sheet

Aside from a small amount of money and bedding, Knyght appears to have possessed only a pregnant mare and a colt. Three of his four witnesses signed with a mark because they could not write.

336-7 LA: Diocesan Vij/16 f 11v

According to his biographical notice in Brian P. Levack, *The Civil Lawyers in England 1603-1641* (Oxford, 1973), Christopher Wyvell shared the office of chancellor of Lincoln diocese with Otwell Hill from 1609 to some time in 1616, when he became sole chancellor. It seems very unusual for the diocesan chancellor, who as such was official principal to the bishop, also to act as an archdeacon's official in the same diocese. However, the court heading for these proceedings shows that it was the case here. In fact, Wyvell's successor, John Farmery, also served as the archdeacon of Lincoln's official after he became diocesan chancellor in 1621 (see p 266).

337 LA: Diocesan FUR 2 ff 108, 108v

This inventory, as are several others, is followed by the name of Martin Hollingworth as the presiding commissioner; other inventories were examined by other commissioners, such as George Mounson or the archdeacon of Lincoln or the bishop. At the time of the inventories Hollingworth was a former alderman of Lincoln. In 1564 he had been described to the privy council by Bishop Bullingham as being 'very earnest in religion, honest and politique,' and historian Francis Hill says that he often sat frequently with John Aylmer, archdeacon of Lincoln, 'to receive reports from churchwardens of the destruction of the "monuments of superstition" in churches' (Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, p 98). Hollingworth was a draper and a senior burgess who was buried in the high choir of the parish church of St Peter at the Arches. His five-page will (LA: LCC WILLS 1589/285), made 5 December 1589 and proved 12 January 1589/90, included bequests of money, silver, and holdings that show him to have been a substantial and wealthy citizen of Lincoln.

337 LA: WADDINGTON PAR/10/1 f 11Av

The term 'muzicke' often refers to waits but whether it means that here, or simply indicates one or more minstrels, is not clear. The small amount paid makes it seem unlikely that waits had been hired. The same five entries of which this payment is part are repeated verbatim immediately below it; the repetition does not suggest two different payments to musicians. This account also indicates that Waddington had four ploughmasters and that each of them was required to bring in his own 'stock' on Plough Day, presumably an amount gathered by the guild on separate occasions, though why each ploughmaster had a separate amount to present is unclear.

337-8 LA: Diocesan Vij/17 f 20/25

All that remains of the parish name is the word 'Marie.' The presentment preceding the cockfight entry, a fornication case, names one of the principals as Anne Hudson of Ulceby. There are two Ulcebys in Lincolnshire, one near the Humber, one near Alford. There appears to be only one parish with the name Mary at its end – Wainfleet St Mary – which is near the Ulceby near Alford, thus the listing of this episode under Wainfleet. The date when the cockfight occurred is not given in the entry, though it appears to have happened perhaps in early summer 1616. The manuscript is fragile and severely damaged, and the names of two defendants are missing, as is much information about the disposition of their cases. The date of the session at which they were presented is also unknown; the cases fall between a court heading for April 1616 on f 11/16 and one for 7 October on f 22/27v.

338 LA: Diocesan FUR 2 f 148

Unlike many of the other inventories in this collection the one for Welton identifies neither examiner nor site of the examination. The second entry for Welton mentions the sale of four vestments, and refers to the players as 'men,' thereby indicating that they were not school children.

338 LA: Diocesan Vij/12 p 465

Elliott lived at Foston, a parish about two miles from Westborough. Although a court heading on p 457 specifies the visitation of Loveden deanery was held at Sleaford parish church before Dr Otwell Hill, acting as commissary, beginning on 9 May 1609, and p 464 notes a session date of 28 June, Elliott cannot have been presented then since his offence did not take place until 9 July. He must have been presented at a session between 9 July and 28 July, when he was cited, and his case entered in space left blank in the 28 June booklet.

339 LA: LCC WILLS 1520-25 f 31v

The nature of the dancing is not indicated but this bequest occurs at the beginning of the will amongst other bequests to the church at Whaplode for its altar and fabric, so it seems likely that the dancers were a socio-religious guild whose dancing raised funds for the parish church.

339 E: 'Extracts from the Churchwardens Accompts of Wigtoft' p 205

The meaning of this entry is unclear but it could conceivably refer to an item used for a play king.

339 E: 'Extracts from the Churchwardens Accompts of Wigtoft' p 207

It is unclear whether this entry refers to a celebration of May or to a person, though the wording suggests the former. There are references to a May light in 1532 (p 220) and 1535 (p 226).

340 F: 'Extracts from the Churchwardens Accompts of Wigtoft' p 216

The word 'baume' appears to be a mistranscription by M.F. of 'bainne.' See similar entries for banns in 1532 (p 222).

340 LA: WITHAM ON THE HILL PAR/7/1 f 1v

In *Collections viii*, p 95, Stanley Kahrll dates this entry as November 1554 based on a reference to that year on f 2, after the end of the account; but the dates within the account itself indicate an earlier year. The account records the delivery of money to the churchwarden in 1549, then to the warden 'this yeere ... 1550' within the payments section. Following the payment to the players is one at Christmas, 4 Edward VI (that is, 1550), then one for Easter 5 Edward VI (that is, 1551). The entire account seems to cover the period from after Christmas 1549 through at least Easter 1551, and appears to be in chronological order. In most years Witham made its accounts between mid-December and Christmas week, thus this account appears to be for 1550–1.

341–2 BL: Cotton Vespasian E.xx ff 30v–1v

For a short summary of the entry, see A.H. Thompson, 'Notes on the History of the Abbey of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Oswald, Bardney,' *Reports and Papers of the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of the Counties of Lincoln and Northampton* 32 (1923), 35–96. The entry clearly shows that by 1246 a full array of popular entertainments – shows and spectacles, dancing, wrestling, and ales, sometimes rowdy – were already part of the culture of Bardney parish and that the monks of the abbey were drawn to participate in both their pleasures and their excesses.

342 LA: Bishop's Register 17 f 202v

The following extracts furnish all pertinent information from Thompson (ed), *Visitations*, vol 1, on the dating of the Bardney visitation, of which he writes, 'Only two sets of injunctions for Lincolnshire houses remain: the date of one of the visitations concerned, that of Bardney, cannot be fixed' (Thompson (ed), *Visitations*, vol 1, pp xxii–xxiii).

Thompson refers his readers to n 1, as follows: 'Master Thomas, to whom there is no previous allusion in this document, is beyond doubt bishop Gray's vicar-general, Thomas Warde, D.C.L., archdeacon of Bath (admitted 30 June, 1427) and canon and prebendary of Willesden in St. Paul's (admitted 4 March, 1427–8). See Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 164; Hennessy, *Nouv. Rep.*, p. 56 and note; and cf. *Cal. Papal Letters*, vii, 56, from which it appears he had been collated to Willesden before the end of Nov. 1427, and was then chaplain to Bishop Gray, at that time holding the see of London. He was collated to Thorngate prebend in Lincoln, 1 June, 1433 (Reg. Gray, fo. 83d.), but appears to have quitted it direct for Carlton-cum-Thurlby, of which he was possessed at Gray's visitation of the cathedral, 14 Nov. 1433, being then a residentiary (*Ibid.*, fo. 130). He died in Sept. or Oct. 1452, at which time he held Willesden, but appears to have quitted his other preferments' (Thompson (ed), *Visitations*, vol 1, pp 2–3, n 1).

Thompson emends the above slightly in 'Appendix III. Addenda et Corrigenda': 'Thomas Warde had collation of the archdeaconry of Bath 30 Jan., 1427–8, not 30 June, 1427, as stated by Le Neve (Harl. 6966, p. 40). On 13 March, 1428–9, he was inst. to the vicarage of Englishcombe, Somerset (*ibid.*). He was one of those summoned by Eugenius IV in April, 1438, to the council of Ferrara, for the reconciliation of the churches of the East and West (*ibid.* p. 50). He exchanged his archdeaconry, 10 Dec., 1449, for the church of Stone (near Dartford), Kent (*ibid.*, p. 67)' (Thompson (ed), *Visitations*, vol 1, p 215).

A further note on dating concludes his transcription of the injunction: 'These injunctions, like most of the others, are without a date; nor is there any indication of a personal visitation of the monastery by bishop Gray.... The abbot during Gray's episcopate was Geoffrey Hemmingby, elected in 1413 (*congé d'élire* 19 Oct. [*Cal. Pat.* 1413–6, p. 104], signification of royal assent, 1 Nov. [*ibid.* p. 119], confirmation of election and restitution of temporalities, 16 Nov. [*ibid.* pp. 130–1 and Inst. Repyndgon, fo. 67]). He died in 1436; the *congé d'élire* on his death was issued 5 May (*Cal. Pat.* 1429–36, p. 514)' (Thompson (ed), *Visitations*, vol 1, pp 3–4, n 2).

343–4 TNA: PRO SC 6/HENVIII/1986 ff 17v, 18, 18v

Although these accounts are not explicitly dated, they precede accounts beginning on Michaelmas 20 Henry VIII (1528). We have therefore assigned them to the previous year, 1527–8.

For Suffolk (p 343, ll.15, 30), see p 772, endnote to LA: Bj/3/6 f 125v. For Sir John Hussey (p 343, ll.20, 25), see the Introduction, p 529. Richmond (p 343, l.27) was Henry Fitzroy (1519–36), first duke of Richmond. Latimer (p 343, l.41) was Richard Neville (c 1467–1530), second Baron Latimer. The identity of Lord 'sugges' (p 344, l.2) is unknown. The lord cardinal (p 344, l.7) was Thomas Wolsey (1470/1–1530).

344 TNA: PRO SC 6/HENVIII/1986 f 35v

For Richmond, see above, endnote to TNA: PRO SC 6/HENVIII/1986 ff 17v, 18, 18v.

345–6 TNA: PRO SC 6/HENVIII/1986 ff 42, 42v, 43, 43v

The entries on ff 42v, 43, and 43v have all been administratively cancelled. The phrase 'vrsario vestmorland' (p 345, ll.6–7m; p 346, l.3) probably refers to a bearward patronized by Ralph Neville (1497/8–1549), fourth earl of Westmorland. His performers are rewarded in these accounts in the same year: see p 346, l.3. A bearward patronized by Westmorland was rewarded at Rye, Sussex, in the same year, and in Bristol in 1532; see Cameron Louis (ed), *Sussex*, REED (Toronto, 2000), 99; and Mark C. Pilkinton (ed), *Bristol*, REED (Toronto, 1997), 40. The appearance of the servant of the vicar of Barton (p 345, l.11) at Bardney Abbey is explained by the church of Barton upon Humber, as well as the rectory, manor, the free passage of the Humber, and Bardney Hall, all being part of the endowment of Bardney Abbey (*vcti: Lincolnshire*, vol 2, pp 97–104). George Hastings (p 345, l.12) (by 1486–24 March 1543/4), third Baron Hastings, was created eighteenth earl of Huntingdon on 8 November 1529.

'Srope' (p 345, l.23) was Henry le Scrope (c 1480–c December 1533), seventh Baron Scrope (of Bolton). Since the servant of Lord Scrope is jointly paid with two performers, the servant may also have been a performer or another kind of entertainer. For the lord cardinal (p 346, l.6), see above, endnote to TNA: PRO SC 6/HENVIII/1986 f 18v.

346 TNA: PRO SP 1/101 single sheet

The date of the document is given in James Gairdner (ed), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol 10 (London, 1887), 64.

Thomas Bedyll was clerk of the council in 1532 and a participant in both the king's divorce and the suppression of the smaller monasteries (L. Gaches, 'The Abbot of Crowland's Fool,' *Fenland Notes & Queries: A Quarterly Antiquarian Journal for the Fenland, in the Counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, Northampton, Norfolk, and Suffolk* 2 (1892–4), 284–5). The abbot who employed the fool was John Wells or Bridges, last abbot of Crowland (Frances M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey: A Study in Manorial Organization* (Cambridge, 1934), 159). Gaches is dismissive of this particular unnamed fool as 'a mere clown' or simpleton, but that seems an unwarranted conclusion (p 285). It seems

reasonable to think that this particular abbot was a lord of sufficient substance to have employed a jester or fool of the kind found at court. He was not only the head of a wealthy religious house but the lord of a large network of manorial estates. John Southworth convincingly argues that the abbot's young fool could not have become the court fool who replaced the aging Sexton. When Bedyll wrote his letter to Cromwell in January 1535/6, he assumed that Sexton was still in place, when in fact Sexton had been 'banished in the previous summer' (that is, 1535) and a new fool, William Summer, was in place by June 1535 (*Fools and Jesters at the English Court* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1998), 70). What became of the abbot's young fool is unknown.

347 LA: Diocesan Vj/1 f 69v

A corrody was 'a grant of money or victuals, or of other means of livelihood, made by a monastery or other religious or charitable corporation to dependents upon its bounty' (A. Hamilton Thompson, 'A Corrody from Leicester Abbey,' *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions* 14 (1926), 116, quoted in Richard I. Harper, 'A Note on Corrodies in the Fourteenth Century,' *Albion* 15 (1983), 95). In this case the abbey was being presented at the visitation for having sold such a corrody to a harper, obviously known to them and thereafter constituting a permanent musical presence. Payment by the harper would also have been a source of income to the abbey. The problem with such corrodies was that while they resulted in immediate cash for the house, they could also result in the ultimate loss of income from the property and the perpetual parasitical presence of the awardee (Harper, 'Corrodies,' pp 95–7; and Owen, *Church and Society*, p 78).

348–50 LA: Bishop's Register 26 ff 218–19, 219v–20

The last prioress of Nun Cotham, Johanna Tompson, was the person to whom these injunctions were addressed (Peacock, 'Injunctions,' p 50). The injunctions give a unique window into the life of a religious house run by and for women in Lincolnshire on the eve of the Dissolution, thus the decision to print an illustrative more rather than fewer of them. Concerning the places named in the sixth excerpted clause, Thornton was the canonry of Augustinians at Thornton upon Humber, Newsom was Newhouse or Newsome, a Premonstratensian house near Thornton, and Hull was Kingston upon Hull, a port city situated across the Humber estuary in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

352 SRO: DD/FJ 25 ff [1v, 2]

Tuke's mention of the king's opposition to further masquing and dancing on Sunday nights (ll.11–12) may be related to Aurelian Townshend's *Albion's Triumph* having earlier been performed by the king and his gentlemen in the banqueting hall at Whitehall, on Sunday, 8 January 1631/2. The masque referred to in the second extract (ll.23–5) was Townshend's *Tempe Restored*. It was performed by the queen and her ladies on 14 February 1631/2 in the banqueting hall at Whitehall (John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558–1642* (Cambridge, 1999), 259).

353–4 SRO: DD/FJ 25 single sheet, single sheet verso

This letter, written, as it says, on Easter Monday and Tuesday, comes between letters dated Holy Thursday 1632 and 16 April 1632. Tuke also speaks of Butts' comments to his wife on 'last good fryday.' Tuke refers one final time to Butts, in a letter dated 16 April 1632, lamenting there that he (Tuke) had not remembered 'so many mischances & euill things to haue hapned, as we see & hear off.' He cites Butts' death on Easter day, together with several other suicides, including a porter at Westminster the same day, a doctor of divinity in Worcestershire, 'a wench (her louer forsakeing her),' and a minister not far from Paul's, plus a listing of numerous atrocities and violent sentences of justice (on what is now f 12v

of the letter book). The play acted by Queen's College (p 353, ll.7–8, 37) was Peter Hausted's *The Rival Friends*. For more information on the fatal incident concerning Dr Butts, and biographical background concerning Thomas Tuke, see Alan H. Nelson, *Cambridge*, REED (Toronto, 1989), vol 1, 641–3, and vol 2, 920, 1248–50. The earl of Holland (p 353, ll.19, 21) was Henry Rich (19 August 1590–9 March 1648/9), first earl of Holland; 'Sanderson' (p 353, ll.19, 21) was William Sanderson (1586–1676), later a historian. 'Carleton' (p 353, l.22) was Dudley Carleton (10 March 1574–15 February 1631/2), first Baron Carleton of Imbercourt and Viscount Dorchester; 'Lucas' was Henry Lucas (c 1587–1663), who had been Dorchester's secretary when the latter was secretary of state (18 December 1628–15 February 1631/2). 'Martin' (p 354, l.3) was Edward Martin (d. 1662), William Laud's chaplain when he was bishop of London and a recent appointee as master of Queen's College (October 1631). He was criticized for licensing the publication of 'the nortorious Arminian work *An Historicall Narration*' in November 1630.

354 SRO: DD/FJ 25 f [1v]

According to Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford, 1996), 427–8, the troupe performing was the prince's players. Gurr incorrectly dates Tuke's letter February 1632.

354 SRO: DD/FJ 25 p 4

The troupe performing was probably the queen's players: G.E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol 7 (Oxford, 1968), 84, notes the troupe 'acted fourteen unnamed and undated plays at court between November 1632 and February 1632/3.'

355 SRO: DD/FJ 25 p 1

For the 'Play held at Court,' see above, endnote to SRO: DD/FJ 25 p 4. The next paragraph of the letter, however, contains a late report that the king of Sweden had been 'slyne out right ith field' by a pistol shot. What survives appears to be part of an originally longer letter; not only does it begin without a heading or salutation, the first paragraph begins, 'That said souldier,' which suggests that something previous is missing.

355 SRO: DD/FJ 25 single sheet

The one-page letter has no heading or endorsement (the date is written at the foot) and is severely damaged and faded. It has a 24mm hole on the lower left side of the text. The French dancing master was Barthélemy de Montagut (or Mountague). Possibly starting his career as a dancer in the French court, he was associated with George Villiers, marquess (and later duke) of Buckingham in the 1620s, taking part in the masques at Buckingham's York House in London. After the duke's assassination he officially became a member of the household of Queen Henrietta Maria: a warrant of denization for Montagut of 28 December 1628 (granted 21 July 1631) refers to him as a groom of the privy chamber to the queen, a post he held until 1639. By 1631 he was also the king's personal dance instructor. Besides the incident Tuke relates, Montagut was involved in a number of other contretemps: in 1619–20 he plagiarized the manuscript of a fellow dancer also associated with Buckingham, François de Lauze, titled it *Louange de la Danse*, and dedicated it to Buckingham; and in 1635 he was reported to have killed a man near Oatlands, Surrey, the queen's summer residence. See Barbara Ravelhofer (ed), *B. de Montagut: Louange de la Danse: In Praise of the Dance*, Renaissance Texts from Manuscript, no 3 (Cambridge and Tempe, AZ, 2000), 13–14, 17; and *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford, 2006), 54–7.

The troupe that performed for the king at Somerset House was the king's men. The play performed

was John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558–1642* (Cambridge, 1999), 261).

355 LA: 1 ANC 7/A/2 f 52

It is unclear whether this 'George' was the same person as 'Georg trumpiter' (p 355, l.36), 'George the lorde of good order' (p 356, l.1), or 'George Rafe trumpiter' (p 357, l.30). A payment for 'ij Goorges gownes' (p 359, l.12), if the same Georges, suggests there were at least two. 'Pellams' was possibly William Pelham (c 1530–1587), later Elizabeth's lieutenant-general of the ordnance. He may have been the 'mr pellam' mentioned later in the account (p 357, l.8) (another July 1561 entry not included in this collection reads: 'To Mr Pelham for my masters losses at rovers, 6d.' (the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Earl of Ancaster*, p 469)). He is referred to as part of the duchess of Suffolk's affinity in Melissa Franklin Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk, and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy, 1519–1580*, Studies in Modern British Religious History, vol 19 (Woodbridge, Suff, 2008), 124. He named his son Peregrine and became a Lincolnshire landowner.

355–8 LA: 1 ANC 7/A/2 ff 52v, 53, 56, 56v, 57, 57v, 58, 58v, 59

Given the specificity of the entries in the household account, it seems likely that the entries pertaining to players that lack any identification or description are the players patronized by the duchess of Suffolk (for the duchess of Suffolk, see p 772, endnote to LA: Bj/3/6/ f 125v). The players mentioned on f 52v, f 53 (p 356, ll.13–15) (where they are named), f 56 (p 357, l.3), and f 60 (p 358, l.24) were probably the duchess' players, a probability bolstered by the players on f 60v (p 359, l.7) certainly being the duchess', given the word 'your' and their being paid a much larger amount than others' troupes.

George, the 'lorde of Christmas,' from the 1560 account, is perhaps the same person who is here called the 'lorde of good order' (p 356, l.1) given the obvious revelling connotations of the two titles. The payment appears to have been made on 1 January, when the players were also paid. John Pretie (p 356, l.23) was the cofferer of Richard Bertie and the duchess of Suffolk (Melissa Franklin Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk, and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy, 1519–1580*, Studies in Modern British Religious History, vol 19 (Woodbridge, Suff, 2008), 121; and the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Earl of Ancaster*, p 459); Sir Francis Fortesque (p 356, l.27) (c 1563–29 January 1623/4) was resident at Salden, Buckinghamshire. 'Gooes the master of fense' (p 357, l.7) has not been identified.

Mr 'fraunces Gwevara' (p 357, l.17) was Francis de Guevara, who was first cousin to Katherine, duchess of Suffolk (his mother, Inez, was the sister of the duchess' mother, Maria de Salinas). 'In May 1554, [the duchess] and Bertie granted Guevara an annuity of £200 from their estates in repayment for his loan to support their relocation on the continent' (Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp 106, n 64, 109). An April 1561 entry in the Bertie's account book reads, 'To Mr. Fraunces Gwevara for his half yeares annuitie, dewe at oure Ladie daie last, 15l.' He may have lived in Louth; in a 26 January 1580/1 letter written at Louth, Guevara writes to Richard Bertie that he cannot provide requested military provisions 'he being deeply indebted, daily charged more and more "with keeping house," and having great store of children' (the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Earl of Ancaster*, pp 9, 464).

Mr Henry Carrow (or Carew or Carrowe) (p 357, l.25), who is reimbursed numerous times in the accounts for having made payments on behalf of the Berties, was a gentleman usher in the household (Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p 121; the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Earl of Ancaster*, p 459); Belleau was a residence of the Lords Willoughby de Eresby and a small village between Alford and Louth. 'Salmon' (p 357, l.31) (see also p 359, l.23) was the clerk of the provisions to Richard

Bertie and the duchess of Suffolk (the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Earl of Ancaster*, p 459). For Robert Dudley (p 357, l.36; p 358, l.8), see p 757, endnote to NELA: 1/601/1 ff 1, 2v, 3, 3v. Mr 'Rose' (p 357, l.42) is probably the 'Rose' (p 358, l.19), 'rose' (p 358, l.38), and 'Rooes' (p 359, l.17) who appears in later entries. Judging from these entries he appears to have been a lutenist and lute-maker whose daughters and son were also musicians or entertainers of some sort; for Willoughby (p 358, l.1), see p 758, endnote to NELA: 1/600/48 single mb. Arundel (p 358, l.10) was Henry Fitz Alan (23 April 1512–24 February 1579/80), twenty-fourth earl of Arundel.

358–60 LA: 1 ANC 7/A/2 ff 31v, 60, 60v, 62, 63, 64, 64v, 65v, 66

For Rose (p 358, ll.19, 38; p 359, l.17), see above, endnote to LA: 1 ANC 7/A/2 ff 52v, 53, 56, 56v, 57, 57v, 58, 58v, 59; 'mr Perigrine & mistris Suzan' (p 358, ll.19–20) were the two children of the duchess and Richard Bertie. For the probable identity of the players on f 60 (p 358, l.24) and f 60v (p 359, l.7), see above, endnote to LA: 1 ANC 7/A/2 ff 52v, 53, 56, 56v, 57, 57v, 58, 58v, 59; for Warwick (p 359, l.4), see p 757, endnote to NELA: 1/600/34 mb 3. The identity of 'mr Browne' (p 359, l.6) is uncertain. It may be the Mr Browne who was a gentleman waiter in the Bertie household, or John Browne, the duchess' chaplain (the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Earl of Ancaster*, p 459; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp 117–18).

Little Bytham is a village about 3¼ miles south of Grimsthorpe Castle. Mr Nanton (p 359, l.41) is identified earlier on f 64 of the account as Master Henry Nanton (possibly the Mr Nanton identified as the master of the horses to the Bertie household), given £6 for 'a growne of grogram and a dublet of sattine against his mariage' (the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Ancaster*, pp 459, 467). For 'Carow' (p 360, l.3) see above, endnote to LA: 1 ANC 7/A/2 ff 52v, 53, 56, 56v, 57, 57v, 58, 58v, 59; Royston (p 360, l.6), Hertfordshire, was on the great north road that went through western Lincolnshire to London, a journey which took about three days on horseback (Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln*, p 1). Rutland (p 360, l.11) is Henry Manners (23 September 1526–27 September 1563), fourth earl of Rutland. The performance and payment appear to have occurred at Belvoir Castle, where Katherine Bertie stayed during a journey. The first entry on f 66 says that Mr Eirsbie's dwelling was in Boston, where this performance occurred.

360 LA: 10 ANC 317 p 12

Bourne is a market town three miles west-southwest of Grimsthorpe.

360 LA: 1 ANC 7/A/7 f 6

Surrounding payments on ff 5v–6 suggest these trumpeters were rewarded at Greenwich. The payment may be related to other expenses in the same account. During November Bertie authorized a number of payments for expenses related to a triumph in which he participated. The location and context for the event are not specified. It must have been a colourful affair involving himself, his troupe (on foot and on horseback), and a mythological device of some sort. The payments included, for the participants, twelve staves, two vamplates (handguards used in tilting), hose and doublets for one of the boys, trumpeters' cassocks, mounted jewels, scarves, satin edged with gold fringe, belts, buckles, and buskins. For the horses, payments included buttons and 'other thinges' for the collar, silver and gilt bits, double gilt stirrups, and feathers great and small; and for the device, gold and silver paint, basket work related to the tail of the fish, shells, and other vaguely described 'things' and 'necessaries' ranging from cloth and embroidery to wire and turpentine (LA: 1 ANC 7/A/7, f 3v).

361 LA: 10 ANC/Lot 340/1 f [1]

The Mr Smith mentioned in this letter (l.29) is thought to have been John Smith (c 1580–1631), an

important early leader of the Jamestown colony and son of a Willoughby tenant. Smith had accompanied Peregrine Bertie on a trip to France in the 1590s, before his military career was cut short by his capture and enslavement. His father had a small farm in Lincolnshire and leased property from Lord Willoughby, who would become a patron of John Smith. In 1607 John Smith sailed to Jamestown as part of the first fleet; in 1609 he returned to England and was engaged in writing much of the time until 1612. For a full account of Smith's life, see Bradford Smith, *Captain John Smith: His Life & Legend* (Philadelphia and New York, 1953).

361–2 LA: 10 ANC/Lot 338 f [1]

'my Lady' (p 362, l.2) was Peregrine Bertie's (d. 1639) wife Margaret (d. 1642), daughter of Nicholas Saunderson, first viscount of Castleton (1561–17 May 1631). Mr 'Villars' (l.6) was George Villiers (28 August 1592–23 August 1628). He was introduced to the king in August 1614 and shortly after appointed Cupbearer. He was appointed gentleman of the bedchamber on 24 August 1615, when he was also knighted. He was later created first earl (1616/17), first marquess (1617/18), and fourth duke of Buckingham (1623). The 'reuells at Court' (l.5) in which Villiers was an actor were Ben Jonson's masque *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court*. The masque was performed on 6 January (and repeated on 8 January) in the banqueting hall at Whitehall (John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558–1642* (Cambridge, 1999), 249); and E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol 3 (Oxford, 1923; rpt 1974), 389–90). The lady of Northumberland (l.10) was Dorothy Devereux (d. 1619), sister of Robert Devereux (1565–1601), nineteenth earl of Essex, and wife of Henry Percy (1564–1632), thirteenth earl of Northumberland, who was then in the Tower under suspicion of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot (he was released in 1621). Their daughters were Dorothy (1598–1659), who had secretly married Robert Sidney (1595–1677), sixteenth earl of Leicester, in January 1614/15, and Lucy (1600–60), later married to James Hay, second earl of Carlisle (c 1580–1636). 'Isabella Rich' (l.11) was Isabel (d. 1655), daughter of Sir Walter Cope (1553?–1614), who had married Henry Rich, first earl of Holland, in 1612. The final 'my Lady' (l.15) was Elizabeth (1586–1654), daughter of Edward Montagu (1562/3–1644) of Boughton, Northamptonshire, created first Baron Montagu of Boughton in 1621, and wife of Robert Bertie (1582–1642), fourteenth Lord Willoughby de Eresby and first earl of Lindsey.

363 LA: HOLYWELL H.2/2 mb 2

The virginals are part of a longer list of furnishings that totals £3.

363–4 Longleat House: Portland Papers volume xxiv ff 98, 100v, 104v

For biographical details concerning Gervase Holles' life, see Holles of Grimsby in the Introduction, p 528.

John Kingston (p 363, l.42) (1554–26 May 1617), the author's maternal grandfather, was the son of John Kingston (d. 12 May 1556), a sea trader who was twice mayor of Grimsby (1544, 1554), where he resided. The John of this extract inherited the elder Kingston's holdings in Grimsby and had served as gentleman of the Horse to Edward Manners (1549–87), fifth earl of Rutland. Like his father this John too served twice as mayor of Grimsby – in 1592 and 1605. The misfortune to which he refers was 'a fall from his horse w^{ch} broke the rimme of his body and affected him with a great and incurable rupture ever after' (Gervase Holles, *Memorials of the Holles Family 1493–1656*, A.C. Wood (ed), Camden Society, 3rd ser, vol 55 (London, 1937), 209–10, 212–17, 219, 221). Presumably the education of Gervase Holles' mother – which included instruction on playing the lute – took place in Grimsby.

Richard Vyvyan (1613–65) (p 364, l.16) was the son and heir of Sir Francis Vyvyan (d. 1635) of Trelowarren, Mawgan in Meneage, Cornwall. He entered the Middle Temple in November 1631 and was knighted on 1 March 1635/6. The masque was William Davenant's *The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour* and was performed on 23 or 24 February 1635/6. Further information regarding this masque, including the text, can be found in the REED Inns of Court collection, edited by Alan H. Nelson and John R. Elliott, Jr (forthcoming). The prince elector, Charles Lewis (1 January 1617/18–28 August 1680), and Prince Rupert (18 December 1619–29 November 1682) were the sons of Princess Elizabeth (16 or 19 August 1596–13 February 1661/2), daughter of James I and VI (1566–1625), and the late Frederick V (26 August 1596–29 November 1632), elector palatine of the Rhine. The brothers had just arrived in England.

Thomas Ogle (b. c 1612) of Darras Hall, Northumberland (p 364, l.30), was the son of Lancelot Ogle (a descendant of Ralph, third Baron Ogle) and Dorothy Watson of Ellingham, Northumberland. No evidence has been found for his being a member of any of the Inns of Court. On 31 January 1641/2 Holles, who was MP at the time, complained to the House of Commons that Ogle had accosted and verbally abused him in Westminster Hall: a *Journals of the House of Commons* entry notes that Ogle's action was likely prompted by 'an old Grudge he had against Mr. Holles.' (See George W. Marshall (ed), *The Visitation of Northumberland in 1615* (London, 1878), 19; Mary Anne Everett Green (ed), *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, &c., 1643–1660 ... Cases, 1643–1646* (London, 1890), 1074; and *Journals of the House of Commons. From April the 13th 1640, In the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of King Charles the First, to March the 14th 1642, In the Eighteenth Year of the Reign of King Charles the First* (Np, 1803), 404.)

365 TNA: PRO E 36/95 p 105

Northumberland (p 365, l.21) was Henry Percy (c 1502–30 June 1537), tenth earl of Northumberland. The 'players of Lyndsey' may have been the same as either the players from 'Kyrkton' or the players from 'Kyrton in Lyndsey' (p 365, ll.29, 33), or they may have been neither. Both the latter troupes were paid different amounts than the players from Lindsey.

Glossaries: Introduction

The purpose of the glossaries is to assist the reader in working through the text. The criteria for the selection of glossary entries are discussed below under the headings Latin Glossary and English Glossary. The glossaries include words found in records printed or quoted in the Records, Introduction, Appendixes, and Endnotes. Definitions are given only for those senses of a particular word which are used in the records printed in this collection. For every word, sense, and variant recorded the glossary cites the earliest example occurring in the Records as a whole. Since this volume is arranged by locality, the examples cited are not necessarily the first to occur in the page order of the Records; the other occurrence(s) indicated by 'etc' may in fact precede the earliest occurrence in page order. Page order has only been used if there are two earliest occurrences in different documents assigned to the same year. In such cases the chronologically first occurrence which also appears earliest in page order is given. If a glossed word occurs twice in a single line, superscript numerals are used after the line number to distinguish the occurrences. Within references, page and line numbers are separated by an oblique stroke. Words occurring within marginalia are indicated by a lower-case 'm' following the page and line reference. Words occurring within collation notes are indicated by a lower-case 'c' following the page and line reference to which the collation note applies. Manuscript capitalization has not been preserved; however, if proper names are glossed, they are capitalized in accordance with modern usage. Half-brackets used in the text to indicate insertions, and italics used to indicate expansions, are ignored.

There is no glossary for the French accounts in Appendix 1. Although they were sufficiently involved to qualify for translation by REED guidelines, these documents contain no vocabulary not found in standard reference works. Bibliographical information for the appropriate dictionaries will be found below under Works Consulted.

Latin Glossary

Words are included in the Latin Glossary if they are not to be found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (*OLD*), now the standard reference work for classical Latin. Words listed in the *OLD* whose meaning has changed or become restricted in medieval or Renaissance usage are also glossed. Special attention has been paid to the terminology of drama, music, and pastimes. If a word is found in the *OLD*, but appears in the text in an obscure spelling or anomalous inflectional form for which the *OLD* provides no cross-reference, that word has been included and its standard lexical entry form indicated, without giving a definition. If the spelling variants or anomalous inflectional forms have been treated as scribal errors and more correct forms given in textual notes, the forms thus noted are not repeated in the glossary. Adverbs that are formed regularly from adjectives found in the *OLD* (eg, 'casse' from 'cassus' or 'eneruiter' from 'eneruis') are not included.

Most of the Latin words used in the records are common classical words whose spelling has changed, if at all, according to common medieval variations. The results of these common variations are not treated here as new words, nor are forms of glossed words resulting from such variations normally cross-referenced. These variations are:

ML *c* for CL *t* before *i*

ML *cc* for CL *ct* before *i*

ML *d* for CL *t* in a final position

ML *e* for CL *ae* or *oe*

ML *ff* for CL *f*, common in an initial position

ML addition of *h*

ML omission of CL *h*

ML variation between *i* and *e* in medial positions, especially before another vowel

ML variation between *de-* and *di-* as a prefix

ML *n* for CL *m* before another nasal

Intrusion of ML *p* in CL consonant clusters *mm*, *mn*, *ms*, or *mt*

ML doubling of CL single consonants

ML singling of CL double consonants

No attempt has been made to correct these spellings to classical norms; rather, scribal practice has been followed in such cases. We have also not treated as significant variations caused by the hyper-correction of 'm' to 'n' before certain stops, eg, 'quoscunque' rather than 'quoscumque.' Where the same word occurs in spellings which differ according to the list above, the most common spelling (or the earliest, when numbers of occurrences are roughly equal) is treated as standard and used for the headword. However, we have conformed to the practice of the *OLD* as regards 'i/j' and 'u/v' variation: in this glossary only the letter forms 'i' and 'u' are used. If a noun of the first declension appears primarily in texts whose writers consistently used classical orthography, its genitive singular is listed as '-ae'; otherwise the ML '-e' is used. All listed variant spellings will be found under the headword, at the end of the definition, set apart in boldface type. Where the variant spelling would not closely follow the headword alphabetically, it is also listed separately and cross-referenced to the main entry.

It is difficult to know in some cases whether certain words are being used in a CL sense or in one of the modified senses acquired in Anglo-Latin usage during the Middle Ages. In these circumstances, the range of possibilities has been fully indicated under the appropriate lexical entry. (When it seems useful to indicate the possibility that a given sense was intended in a given passage, even if no certainty exists, a '?' is added after the appropriate page and line reference under that sense.) Unclear, technical, or archaic terms, especially those pertaining to canon or common law, performance, and music, are usually given a stock translation equivalent but receive a fuller treatment in the glossary.

As a rule, only one occurrence of each word, or each sense or form of each word, will be listed; 'etc' following a reference means that there is at least one more occurrence of that word, sense, or form in the collection. The one occurrence listed is either the sole occurrence or the first chronologically. Multiple occurrences of each sense may be listed for words defined in more than one sense; in fact all possible occurrences of a given sense may be listed if it is difficult to distinguish the senses in context.

All headwords are given in a standard dictionary form: nouns are listed by nominative, genitive, and gender; adjectives by the terminations of the nominative singular or, in the case of adjectives of one termination, by the nominative and genitive; verbs by their principal parts.

In the glossary, words beginning A–L were prepared by Abigail Ann Young and those beginning M–Z by Patrick Gregory.

English Glossary

The English Glossary is not meant to be exhaustive but only to explain words, senses, or spellings apt to puzzle users not familiar with markedly provincial Late Middle and Early Modern English. Accordingly words and senses given in *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (NSOED) have nearly always been passed over, along with their obvious derivatives. Abbreviations have also been omitted if they are still current or widely known, as have forms whose only difficulty is a false word division (such as ‘acordyngt to’ for ‘according to’ and ‘setfoorth’ for ‘set forth’) and matter corrected and replaced by the original scribe. No attempt is made to gloss words left incomplete by damage to the source texts. Errors corrected in the footnotes are also ignored unless the corrected form offers some difficulty; then that form is entered in the glossary rather than the one found in the text.

Readers are also expected to recognize such spelling variations as ‘a/ai/ay,’ ‘a/au,’ ‘ar/er,’ ‘c/s,’ ‘ea/e/ei,’ ‘e/i,’ ‘ie/e(e),’ ‘i/j,’ ‘i/y,’ ‘oa/o/oo,’ ‘o/ou,’ ‘o/u,’ ‘s/z,’ ‘sch/sh,’ ‘u/v,’ and the presence or absence of final ‘e’ in the contexts where those commonly occur in older literature. They are presumed to have read enough old-spelling texts to recognize forms in which the definite or indefinite article is fused with a following noun (as in ‘thandes’ for ‘the hands’ and ‘thofficers’ for ‘the officers’; ‘agowne’ for ‘a gown’ and ‘anonest gowne’ for ‘an honest gown’). They are also expected to know the values of ‘þ,’ ‘ȝ,’ and ‘y’ used for ‘p’ (as in ‘þat’ for ‘that,’ ‘ȝer(e)’ for ‘year,’ and ‘yis’ for ‘this’) and recognize commonly occurring spellings that are nearer to their Old English or Old French originals than the modern standard forms, such as ‘fader’ for ‘father,’ ‘fower’ for ‘four,’ ‘Maister’ for ‘Master,’ ‘moneth’ for ‘month,’ ‘sixt’ for ‘sixth,’ and ‘verray’ for ‘very’; common Renaissance etymological or pseudo-etymological spellings such as ‘abhomyneable’ for ‘abominable,’ ‘exemple’ for ‘example,’ ‘hable’ for ‘able,’ ‘intituled’ for ‘entitled,’ and ‘Sa(i)nct’ for ‘Saint’; and older grammatical forms such as ‘ben’t’ for ‘be not’ and ‘holden’ for ‘held.’ Also normally left un glossed are examples of ‘his’ as a substitute for the possessive suffix, as in ‘master maior his allowances,’ and of the so-called ‘endless possessive,’ such as ‘old liberd lyuery’ for ‘old Liberd’s livery’ and ‘wymmen sake’ for ‘women’s sake.’

A slightly fuller treatment has, however, been given to certain words and phrases likely to hold special interest for users of a REED volume. These are chiefly terms for musical instruments (eg, ‘curtell,’ ‘viall de gambo’), costume and fabrics (eg, ‘gallygaskyns,’ ‘sypresse’), food and drink (eg, ‘saunders,’ ‘malvesey’), and objects and materials used in ceremony and performance (eg, ‘bale,’ ‘paggane’) and the specialized vocabularies of popular custom and pastime (eg, ‘ploughe ship,’ ‘wessell’) and the performing arts (eg, ‘bayne,’ ‘standyng play’).

Normal headword forms are the uninflected singular for nouns, the positive for adjectives, and the infinitive for verbs. Regular noun plurals formed with ‘-(e)s’ are not noticed separately when singular forms with the same stem spelling appear in the glossary; in such cases the recorded singular form is entered, but the citation given is for the earliest example of the stem spelling occurring in the Records, whether singular or plural. However, nouns occurring only in the plural or possessive, adjectives occurring only in comparative or superlative forms, and verbs occurring only in one participial or finite form are entered under the form that actually occurs.

The capitalization of headwords conforms to modern usage. A word appearing in several noteworthy spellings is normally entered under the one most often found in the text or else – when two noticed spellings are equally or nearly equally common – under the one nearer modern usage, but a marginally

less common spelling may be preferred to keep related forms together in the entry order of the glossary. Other noticed spellings are entered in their alphabetical places and cross-referenced to the main entry. In the alphabetical order of the glossary 'þ' follows 't' and 'z' follows 'y.'

As a rule the glossary cites only the earliest occurrence of each noted form or sense in the Records text or in comparable text quoted in the apparatus, and further occurrences are represented by 'etc.' unless the reader needs to be alerted that the sense in question applies in particular later passages. Two citations given without 'etc' imply that the form or sense in question occurs only twice. The figure (2) after a citation means that there are two occurrences in the same line of the text. Since the documents in this collection are arranged by locations, the occurrences cited are not necessarily the first to appear in the page order of the Records.

Where the definition repeats the headword in a different spelling, the latter is normally the entry spelling in *The Oxford English Dictionary* and *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* and further information can be found there. When that form is itself an archaism or ambiguous, a further brief definition follows. Any further citation of an authority or other succinct account of the glossarian's reasoning appears within square brackets at the end of the entry.

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Abbreviations

abbrev	abbreviation	gdve	gerundive
abl	ablative	gen	genitive
abs	absolute	Gk	Greek
acc	accusative	imper	imperative
adj	adjective	impers	impersonal
adv	adverb(ial)	indecl	indeclinable
AL	Anglo-Latin	intr	intransitive
art	article	L	Latin
attr	attributive	LL	Late Latin
CL	Classical Latin	m	masculine
coll	collective	n	noun
comm	common gender	nom	nominative
comp	compound	nt	neuter
compar	comparative	obj	objective
conj	conjunction	OF	Old French
cp	compare	OT	Old Testament
dat	dative	pass	passive voice
decl	declension	pa t	past tense
def	definite	ppp	perfect participle
E	English	phr	phrase
EG	English Glossary	pl	plural
f	feminine	poss	possessive
F	French	pp	past participle
gd	gerund	ppl	participial

pr	present tense	subj	subjunctive
prep	preposition	superl	superlative
pron	pronoun	tr	transitive
prp	present participle	v	verb
refl	reflexive	var	variant
sbj	subjective	vb	verbal
sbst	substantive	vb n	verbal noun
sg	singular		

Latin Glossary

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WITH PATRICK GREGORY

- a, ab** *prep with abl* 1. by, by means of 341/28, etc; 2. from, out of (expressing separation or release) 762/12, etc; 3. from (a point in time) 316/14, etc; **ab antiquo tempore** of old, from long ago 316/9; 4. with respect to, as regards 328/3
- abbacia, -e** *n f* abbey, religious house under the authority of an abbot or abbess 342/11
- abbas, -atis** *n m* abbot, head of a monastery 341/13, etc
- abbettamentum, -i** *n nt* instigation, abetment 609/33
- abreuiio, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to shorten 5/11
- absolucio, -onis** *n f* absolution, the formal assurance of forgiveness from sin or remission of a penalty, such as excommunication, incurred for committing a sin in ecclesiastical law 58/26
- absoluo, -ere, -ui, -utum** *v tr* to absolve, forgive a sin or the penalty or sentence for sin 313/16, etc
- accepto, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr literally* to receive or accept, *hence* to receive or accept as true or sufficient 58/29
- acomodacio, -onis** *n f* (act of) lending 350/32, etc
- aceciam** *for* atque etiam [OLD atque 4b]
- acra, -e** *n f* acre, measurement of land which varied in size by region, standardized in the late thirteenth century as 4,840 square yards 103/33 [OEDO]
- actio, -onis** *n f* (legal) action, lawsuit 341/20, etc
- actor, -oris** *n m literally* a doer, one who acts, *hence* participant; when used of a participant in a play, it is unclear whether its meaning is restricted to actors in the modern sense 5/19, 203/22m; *in idiom* **fabule actor** play actor 238/5–6
- acupictura, -e** *n f* embroidery 583/23 [*from* OLD acus ‘needle’ and pictura ‘painting’]
- ad** *prep with acc* 1. (of space) to, toward 14/30, etc; (used figuratively) 4/8, etc; (of goals) 4/2, etc; 2. (of spatial position) at 6/2², etc; (used figuratively of events or occasions) 6/3, etc; 3. (of time) at 6/2¹, etc; throughout 608/11; *in idioms*: **ad ij uices** on two occasions, twice 36/37; **ad uices** at times, on occasion 333/39, etc; 4. (of circumstances) at, eg, **ad requisicionem** 608/29, etc; 5. (expressing manner) after, in accordance or harmony with 132/26, etc; *hence* **ad arma ire** to go in arms, to be armed 606/18, etc; 6. (expressing purpose) to, for 104/5², etc; *with acc of gd or gdve* 3/11, etc; **ad opus** + *gen* for the benefit (of) 25/37, etc; 7. used pleonastically with infinitive, rendering E ‘to’: **ad fecisse** 313/13; 8. (expressing goal of action) to, for 78/32; **ad hoc** to this end 607/30, etc; (expressing admission to a status, condition, or office) 127/6, etc; 9. (with numbers, sums of money, and the like) at (a price), up to (a total) 316/22, etc; 10. expressing indirect object, as a substitute for the dative case 25/13, etc; followed by a vernacular expression 156/7, etc; 11. *in various idioms*: **ad hec** besides, in addition 5/15, etc; **ad manus** + *gen* at the hands of (expressing agency) 27/15; **ad tunc** at that time, then 35/3 (*written as one word*);

- deliberare ad proprias manus** 345/5–6, *or solvere ad manus* 121/34, etc, to deliver (*or pay*) into one's (own) hands, directly to; *see also conseruandus, ludo, manus*
- adinuencio, -onis** *n f* invention, imagining 103/17
- adinuicem** *prep phr* mutually, together 607/1, etc [*see OLD inuicem*]
- adiuuamen, -inis** *n nt* remedy, assistance 25/10
- admitto, -ittere, -isi, -issum** *v tr* 1. to admit (a person into a place), allow 3/22, 4/11; 2. to admit (a person) to a legal status or condition, eg, burgess-ship 321/5, etc; 3. to admit (a person) to an office or responsibility 319/35, etc
- adtunc** *see ad*
- aduocacio, -onis** *n f* right of presenting (a cleric) to a cure of souls, advowson 127/5m
- aisiamentum, -i** *n nt* accomodation, easement 103/34 [*OEDO* easement 2.b.]
- Albanus, -i** *n m* Alban, name of an English saint, *hence Sanctus Albanus* St Albans, a town named for him 116/15
- alderman(n)us, -i** *n m* alderman: 1. a civic officer 319/26, etc; 2. a guild officer 25/26, etc
- alea, -e** *n f* a game of chance played with dice on a board *or* the dice themselves 7/18; **alia** 7/18c
- aleator, -oris** *n m* one who plays 'alea,' dice-player 342/4
- aleger, alliger** *see EG aleger*
- alias** *adv* 1. on another occasion 609/23; 2. otherwise 320/8, etc; 3. with alternate names, alias 257/13, etc
- alimentacio, -onis** *n f* literally nourishing, *hence* sustaining, support 208/22
- aliqualis, -e** *adj* of whatever kind, any 25/24
- aliqualter** *adv* in any way 25/40
- allego, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to allege, to state or claim (something) formally in court as true or sufficient 266/17, etc
- allocacio, -onis** *n f* allowance, provision 118/43, etc
- alloco, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* 1. to allow, provide 112/12, etc; 2. to allow as valid (used of expense payments) 164/8
- altar, -aris** *n nt* (Christian) altar, referring to a specific altar in a church or chapel, or to the altar as the focal point of liturgical ministry 105/14, etc
- altus, -a, -um** *adj* high, lofty; *see choros*
- amicabilis, -e** *adj* amicable, friendly 341/21
- amodo** *adv* from now on, hereafter 320/7
- ancer** *var of* anser [*OLD*]
- angelus, -i** *n m* angel, a heavenly messenger; it is often not clear whether in these passages an image or a person representing an angel is meant 108/9, etc; **angilus** 128/19; **aungelus** 153/2
- Anglia, -e** *n f* England 608/36, etc
- Anglice** *adv* in the English language 42/13, etc
- an(n)uatim** *adv* yearly, on an annual basis 24/30, etc
- annuitas, -atis** *n f* annual payment: it is unclear whether it is for services rendered or as an honorarium 132/24
- annunciacio, -onis** *n f* announcement, annunciation, *especially* the annunciation by an angel to the Virgin Mary of the impending birth of Christ (Lk 1.26–38), commemorated liturgically on 25 March; *see festum*
- annuo** *var of* adnuo [*OLD*]
- annus, -i** *n m* 1. year 5/4, etc; 2. *in various idioms:* ~ **domini** year of the Lord, AD 342/26, etc; ~ **regni** (*with ordinal number*) literally the Nth year of a reign, expressing the regnal year 609/24, etc; *see also per*
- antiquus, -a, -um** *adj* ancient, old 316/9; *m pl as sbst* men of olden days 607/33; *nt sg as sbst* the past, past times: **ex antiquo** of old, from long ago 137/13
- apertura, -e** *n f* literally opening, *here in idiom apertura magni altaris* the opening of the high altar, apparently a regular accounting practice at Lincoln Cathedral involving receipts of funds 121/2
- apostasia, -e** *n f* 1. apostasy, renunciation of faith 5/12; 2. *hence* renunciation of a religious vocation by a monk or nun 317/11
- apostata, -e** *sbst f* runaway nun, one who has renounced her vocation by leaving her convent without permission 317/18, etc
- apostolicus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to an

- apostle, *hence* used with reference to St Peter and his successors as pope, papal 7/25, etc; *see also* **rescriptum**
- apparitor, -oris** *n m* summoner, officer of the ecclesiastical courts with special responsibility for delivering citations to appear in court to accused persons 27/3, etc
- appensus, -a, -um** *ppp pass* appended, attached (used of seals and the like) 342/25
- appono, -onere, -osui, -ositum** *v tr* 1. *literally* to place, put, (of fire) to set 607/7; 2. *by extension* (of expense or cost) to incur 108/30
- ap(p)ostolus, -i** *n m* apostle, one of the first followers of Jesus 105/39, etc; *see also* **dies, festum, uigilia**
- apprenticia, -e** *n f* the period or term of being an apprentice, apprenticeship 324/18
- apprenticius, -i** *n m* (male) apprentice, one bound to a craftsman or other master for a term of years in order to learn certain skills 323/5, etc
- appunctuacio, -onis** *n f* appointing, arranging 219/30, etc
- Aprilys** *var of* Aprilis *gen sg* [OLD Aprilis²]
- aproprio, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to appropriate (land or holdings) 103/31
- arbitrator, -oris** *n m* umpire 109/17
- archangelus, -i** *n m* archangel, one of the highest order of angels; *see* **festum**
- archidiaconalis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to an archdeacon or archdeaconry 341/7, etc
- archidiaconatus, -us** *n m* archdeaconry, district under the authority of an archdeacon 3/7, etc
- archidiaconus, -i** *n m* archdeacon, cleric appointed by a bishop to assist him principally in administering justice and in supervising parochial clergy 3/5, etc
- arcus, -us** *n m* *literally* bow (for shooting arrows), *here* a bow for playing a musical instrument 205/37
- arresto, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to arrest (an accused person) 609/28
- arga** *see* **erga**
- aries, -etis** *n m* *literally* a ram, *by extension* a sort of post, or quintain, used as a jousting target for military exercises and competitions (so-called because of its shape?) 5/17, etc; *in idiom* **arietes leuare** to put up such quintains, *hence* to hold such exercises or contests 8/7; *see also* **lignum, rota**
- arma, -orum** *n nt pl* weapons, arms 606/18, etc, used as emblematic of knightly skills and way of life 607/27, etc; *in idioms*: **exercitacio armorum** exercise of arms, knightly drill and practice, especially in a tournament or the like 608/10; **factum armorum** feat of arms, especially in a tournament or the like 608/42; *see also* **ad**
- armiger, -eri** *n m* *literally* one who bears arms: 1. squire, one training to become a knight 607/2, etc; 2. in AL used as a title, esquire 121/19
- ars, -tis** *n f* 1. skill, craft 603/11; 2. *especially* that associated with a particular trade or guild, *by extension* a craft guild 108/5, etc; *see also* **magister**
- articulus, -i** *n m* article, a charge or list of charges laid against a person in court 347/22, etc
- artifex, -icis** *n m* artisan, craftsman, member of a craft guild 318/42m
- assemblea, -e** *n f* meeting, assembly 25/30; **assembliā** 107/32
- assencio, -onis** *n fa* going up, ascension, usually referring to the Ascension of the risen Christ to heaven (Acts 1.6–11), *here* describing a representation of some kind celebrating the Virgin Mary (as it was also called **assumpcio** and most often **coronacio**, it seems likely that it somehow represented her being taken up to heaven and her crowning as queen of heaven, but it should be noted that Christ's Ascension and the Virgin's Assumption and Coronation were associated in some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Marian devotions) 118/4, 119/16; **ascencio** 119/29, 120/4; **assensio** 127/9
- assensus, -us** *n m* agreement, assent, formal consent (eg, of a governing body such as a town council or group of officials) 608/33, etc
- assideo, -idere, -edi, -essum** *v intr* *literally* to sit near, sit by, *hence* to be in company with, to join with 7/18
- assigno, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* 1. to allot or

- assign to 609/3 (*ppp pass* often used of a judge or in the formal title of a *JP* 325/26); 2. to designate, assign (someone or something) for some purpose 108/9, etc
- assumo, -ere, -psi, -ptum** *v intr in idiom with 'pro' + abl* to undertake (to do something) on behalf of (someone), *here* used in a bond 325/29
- assumpcio, -onis** *n f* assumption, usually referring to the Assumption, or taking up, of the Virgin Mary into heaven, *here* describing a representation of some kind celebrating the Virgin Mary 118/21, etc; **assumpcio** 120/31*m*; *see also* **assencio**
- atacho, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to attach, to subject (someone) to attachment, or seizure, of their person or goods 123/37*m*
- attingo, -tingere, -tigi, -tactum** *v tr* (of sums of money) to amount to, come to (a total) 580/13, etc
- aucinus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to a goose; *see* **caro**
- audio, -ire, -iui, -itum** *v tr* 1. *literally* to hear, listen 3/6, etc; 2. *by extension as legal term* to hear a case 257/7; 3. *in phr* **audimus vocem** (*literally* we hear a voice), title of a piece of liturgical music, probably an error for one of the motets 'Audite vocem de caelo' or 'Audite vocem Domini' 332/34
- auditor, -oris** *n m* auditor (of accounts) 28/32
- augmentacio, -onis** *n f* the act of increasing or enlarging 24/28, etc
- augmento, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to increase 24/35
- Augustinus, -i** *n m* Augustine, the name of several saints, *here* St Augustine of Hippo (354–430) patristic theologian and exegete 5/23 [*ocv*]
- Augustius** *var of* Augustus [*old* Augustus³ 2a]
- aula, -e** *n f* 1. hall, dining area and centre of corporate activity for a guild 158/10; ~ **communis** common hall 27/29, etc; 2. town hall, centre of town government: ~ **communis** 79/24; 3. *hence* a meeting of the town council 323/22, etc, or the town council itself 320/13
- aungelus** *see* **angelus**
- aurum, -i** *n nt* gold, a precious metal, *here* likely as coined in money 36/22; *hence* ~ **Venetum** Venice gold, a kind of gold thread originally made in Venice 585/29, etc
- autumpnus, -i** *n m* *literally* autumn, *hence* harvest, harvest-time; *see* **inductio**
- baculus, -i** *n m* staff: ~ **pastoralis** a bishop's staff, *here* one serving as symbolic of a boy bishop's office 104/29
- baga, -e** *n f* bag, *here* for storing accounting records 580/10, etc
- balliuus, -i** *n m* bailiff: 1. a civic officer 110/13, etc; 2. a royal officer subordinate to the sheriff who presided over the hundred court 608/16
- baptista, -e** *n m* baptist, one who baptizes; always in reference to St John the Baptist 24/23, etc; *see also* **dies, festum, terminus, uigilia**
- Bardeneia, -e** *n f* Bardney, name of a parish and an abbey 341/13, etc
- baro, -onis** *n m* baron, member of the lowest rank in the hereditary peerage 603/14, etc
- Bartonensis, -is** *n f* Barton, name of a church and chapelry 341/8, etc
- bassus, -i** *n m* the bass, or lowest, part of a song or other polyphonic composition 333/3
- beatus, -a, -um** *adj* happy, blessed, used as the title of a saint 5/23, etc
- bedellus, -i** *n m* beadle, a guild officer 219/13, etc; **bedallus** 219/4
- benediccio, -onis** *n f* blessing 3/6, etc
- benefactor, -oris** *n m* benefactor, *here* of a religious guild 316/13, etc
- beneficiatus, -i** *subst m* one holding a benefice, a benefited person 7/17c
- beneficium, -ii** *n nt* 1. benefit, freely bestowed gift: *with attr gen* **beneficium absolucionis** 58/26; 2. benefice, an ecclesiastical appointment, often one to a parish and involving a cure of souls 208/22
- beneplacitum, -i** *n nt* good pleasure: *in idioms ad* **beneplacitum** + *gen at* (one's) pleasure, subject to (one's) approval 132/26; **durante beneplacito** during (one's) good pleasure 580/9, etc
- Biblia, -orum** *n nt (coll pl)* Bible 26/39, etc
- billa, -e** *n f* bill, itemized statement of charges or expenses 119/3, etc

- bir(r)us, -i** *n m* beer (*here* always distinguished from ale) 28/9, etc; **birra** 32/25, etc
- Blasius, -ii** *n m* Blaise, name of a saint, *here likely* referring to a person representing the saint 108/8
- boscus, -i** *n m* wood 197/8
- Botolphus, -i** *n m* Botolph, the name of a saint:
Sanctus Botolphus St Botolph, another name for the town of Boston, so-called from the dedication of the parish church 607/3, etc
- bouinus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to an ox; *see caro*
- brasium, -i** *n nt* malt, malted grain, probably for brewing 25/38
- brauium, -ii** *n nt* prize (eg, for a contest) 5/18, etc
- burgensis, -is** *n m* burgess, one having the privileges, or freedom, of a city or town 79/24, etc
- burgus, -i** *n m* borough, an incorporated town 325/23m, etc; **Burgus Sancti Petri** Peterborough, from the dedication of the abbey there 606/20
- bussellus, -i** *n m* bushel, a dry measure containing four pecks or eight gallons 316/24
- camera, -e** *n f* 1. room, chamber 123/12, etc; 2. *specifically* one used as the site of civic administration: **comunis camera** 208/18; 3. *in idiom camera stellata* Star Chamber, the king's council sitting as a court 301/41
- camerarius, -ii** *n m* chamberlain: 1. a civic officer 324/27; 2. an officer of a guild 27/32, etc
- campana, -e** *n f* bell, *here* one rung to call worshippers to a service 24/40
- campanile, -is** *n nt* bell-tower 109/20
- cancellarius, -ii** *n m* chancellor: 1. another name for a vicar general, deputy of a bishop with primarily administrative and judicial responsibility 266/39; 2. one of the officers of a cathedral chapter 120/30, etc
- candela, -e** *n f* candle, whether of tallow or of wax 104/14, etc
- canonicalis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to a canon regular 607/4
- canonicus, -a, -um** *adj* canonical, pertaining or appropriate to a specific canon or to canon law in general 4/32, etc; *see also hora*
- canonicus, -i** *sbst m* canon regular, a priest living in a community under a rule similar to that of St Benedict (under which monasteries were organized); canons often served as members of secular cathedral chapters or collegiate churches and other colleges 104/7, etc; ~ **regularis** canon regular 607/5; ~ **residenciarius** 120/31, etc, *or* ~ **residens** 106/5, residentiary canon, one who fulfils the canonical requirement of residing in the chapter to carry out liturgical and other duties; also used of cathedral clergy in the post-Reformation Anglican church 208/17
- cantaria, -e** *n f* chantry, an altar or chapel established by an individual for the singing of masses for his own soul and those of his friends or family 127/6, etc [*ODCC* CHANTRY]
- cantator, -oris** *n m* singer, often a choir singer 343/5, etc
- canto, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to sing, chant, *here* the context is explicitly liturgical 199/14
- cant(t)us, -us** *n m* 1. a sacred or secular song, particularly a piece of polyphonic music 332/25, etc; ~ **currens** a current song, ie, a popular one 332/23; 2. chant, (liturgical) singing, or the study thereof; *see sc(h)ola*
- capellanus, -i** *n m* chaplain, *literally* a priest serving a chapel but also one serving a religious guild 24/35, etc
- capio, -ere, cepi, -tum** *v tr* 1. to take, receive 27/18, etc; 2. to take hold of, seize, capture 603/15, etc; 3. to take or require (a bond) 72/38
- capitaneus, -i** *n m* captain, leader 607/32, etc
- capitularis, -e** *adj* of or belonging to a cathedral chapter 132/15, *nt as sbst* chapter, a chapter meeting 120/28, etc; *see also domus*
- capitulariter** *adv* in the manner characteristic of or appropriate to a cathedral chapter 132/13, etc
- capitulum, -i** *n nt* chapter: 1. an organized and partially self-governing body of secular clerics serving a cathedral or collegiate church 103/14, etc; 2. a meeting of local clergy and parishioners called by an archdeacon for administrative or disciplinary purposes 5/3, 7/10, 342/10

- cap(p)ella**, -e *n f* chapel 341/8, etc
- captio**, -onis *n f* the act of taking or capturing (someone) 603/5
- carbo**, -onis *n m* charcoal *or* coal (without more context, it is often unclear which is being referred to) 197/8; **carbonus** 219/1
- cardinalis**, -is *n m* cardinal, one of a group of senior bishops forming a council that elected and advised the pope 344/7, etc
- caretta**, -e *n f* cart 103/35
- cariagium**, -ii *n nt* carriage, transport (of goods) 27/17, etc; *in coll pl* 341/32
- cario**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to carry, transport 31/5, etc
- Carmilita**, -e *n m* Carmelite; *see frater*
- carnalis**, -e *adj* 1. fleshly, carnal 103/19; 2. *hence* earthly (as opposed to spiritual) 6/30
- carnipriuuium**, -ii *n nt* *literally* removal of meat (from the diet), *hence* the beginning of Lent, often Shrove Tuesday, the day preceding Lent: **Dominica in carnipriuio** the Sunday in Shrovetide, Quinquagesima Sunday, the Sunday before Ash Wednesday 27/29, etc [*see DML* Carnipriuuium]
- caro**, **carnis** *n f* 1. flesh, meat 27/25, etc; ~ ... **aucina** goose 28/9–10, etc; ~ **bouina** beef 28/9, etc; ~ ... **cignetina** 32/40–33/1, etc, *or* ~ ... **cegnentina** 31/34–5 swan; ~ ... **gruina** crane 31/34–5, etc; ~ ... **multonina** mutton 28/9, etc; ~ ... **pulcinaria** chicken 28/9–10, etc; ~ ... **uitulina** veal 28/9–10, etc; ~ ... **uolatilis** fowl 31/34, etc
- carpentarius**, -ii *n m* carpenter 27/15
- carta**, -e *n f* *literally* sheet (of paper or parchment), *hence* legal document written on such a sheet, a charter 25/38
- castrum**, -i *n nt* (**castra**, -orum *in ct*) *originally in ct* a military camp, *hence* a fortified town *or* its castle 103/31, etc; **Nouum Castrum super Tynam** Newcastle upon Tyne, name of a town 317/12–13
- catallum**, -i *n nt* chattel, moveable property 24/29, etc
- cathedralis**, -e *adj* of or pertaining to the see of a bishop or his church; *see ecclesia*
- cathena** *var of* catena [*OLD*]
- causa**, -e *n f* 1. cause, reason 608/15, etc, *hence* excuse 25/1, etc; 2. law case, legal proceedings 341/30, etc; 3. cause, sake 107/33; **ex causis** *or* (**ex**) **certis causis** for cause 313/16, etc
- causius** *var of* cautius [*OLD*]
- cegnnetinus** *see cignetinus*
- celebro**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* 1. to celebrate the Eucharist or another divine service 7/1, etc; 2. to observe an event or occasion 607/3, etc; 3. to hold (a meeting) 342/9
- cellerarius**, -ii *n m* cellarer, a monastic officer 345/6
- cellula**, -e *n f* cell, a daughter house dependent on a monastery 747/30
- celum**, -i *n nt* the sky, *by extension* heaven; *see Domine celi & terre*
- cena**, -e *n f* supper, the latest of the three main meals of the day, usually less elaborate than dinner 129/20, etc
- censura**, -e *n f* censure, rebuke, punishment 4/32, etc
- ceretaca**, **cereteca**, **cerot(h)eca** *see cirot(h)eca*
- cereus**, -i *n m* processional candle 104/6, etc; **cerus** 104/8
- certificacio**, -onis *n f* certificate, a document introduced in court to verify facts or statements 24/23, etc
- certificarium**, -ii *n nt* certificate, a document introduced in court to verify a statement or compliance with an order (often written on the backs of citations or schedules of penance) 266/38, etc
- certifico**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to inform, *hence as legal term* to certify formally, eg, compliance with an order 27/2, etc
- ceruisia**, -e *n f* 1. ale (not distinguished from beer) 105/39, etc; (distinguished from beer) 28/9, etc; **ceruicia** 106/35, etc; **ceruitia** 220/9, etc; **seruicia** 37/19, etc; **seruisia** 29/17, etc [*cp MED* āle, bēre]
- cerus** *see cereus*
- charitas**, -atis *n f* love, lovingkindness, *by extension* charity 208/15
- chorda** *see corda*

- chorea**, -e *n f* dance, originally a round dance; often used to describe a country dance held out of doors 347/20; **corea** 342/2
- chorista**, -e *n m* member of a choir, chorister 155/6, etc
- chorus**, -i² *n m* choir, those who performed sacred music in a church or chapel, *here by extension* choir, part of a church building used by the choir 118/6, etc; **altus chorus** *literally* the high choir, probably a name for the Angel Choir of Lincoln Cathedral 125/5
- chorus**, -i² *n m* cor, a biblical measure for grain, probably used as a synonym for quarter, an E measure of varying capacity according to the substance to be measured but usually of around 8 bushels for grain 25/25 [*see OEDO* quarter *n* and *DML* corus]
- Christiani**, -orum *sbst m pl* Christian people, Christians 4/14
- cignetinus**, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to a swan; **ceagnetinus**; *see caro*
- cimiterium**, -ii *n nt* churchyard 6/11, etc
- circa** *prep with acc* 1. around, about (of motion) 25/17, etc; 2. around, about (of time) 24/25; 3. in connection with, concerning 104/36, etc; 4. after, for (of purpose) 347/37
- circiter** *prep* in connection with, concerning 132/19 (*error for OLD circa?*)
- circumcisio**, -onis *n f* 1. circumcision 103/17, etc; 2. *used figuratively* 103/19; 3. referring to the liturgical commemoration of Jesus' circumcision on 1 January (Lk 2.21) 103/20, etc; *see also dies*
- cirographus**, -i *n m* indenture 342/24 [*DML* chirographum]
- cirot(h)eca**, -e *n f* glove 104/21, etc; **ceretaca** 124/8, etc; **cereteca** 122/7, etc; **cerot(h)eca** 110/5, etc; **ciretheca** 113/18; **cirotica** 114/5, etc; **cyroteca** 764/14; **serot(h)eca** 111/26, etc; **sirot(h)eca** 111/42, etc; **sirotica** 115/21
- citharista**, -e *n m* *literally* one who plays on a lyre, *hence by extension* harper; possibly a generic term applied to players of plucked-string instruments 317/12, etc; **setherista** 37/32; **thetherista** 36/22
- cito**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to cite, issue a citation (to appear before an ecclesiastical court) 193/24, etc
- ciuetas** *var of ciuitas [OLD]*
- ciuilis**, -e *adj* peaceful, characterized by civility, civil 608/7
- clanidestinus** *var of clandestinus [OLD]*
- Clara**, -e *n f* Clare, the name of a saint, St Clare of Assisi (1194–1253), founder of the 'Poor Clares,' a women's order organized on Franciscan principles 116/33 [*ODCC*]
- claustrum**, -i *n nt* an enclosed place, *hence a* cloister 342/35 *or a* cathedral close 109/15
- clausura**, -e *n f* close, the enclosed precincts of a cathedral 158/27, etc
- clausus**, -i *n m* close: 1. closing, completion 34/7, etc; 2. the enclosed precincts of a cathedral 123/12, etc
- clericus**, -i *n m* 1. cleric, one in holy orders 3/16; especially one serving a particular parish as its minister 41/5, etc; 2. in the pre-Reformation period, often specifically a cleric in minor orders, especially one serving liturgically in a cathedral or other church 105/18, 105/22, 106/10, 108/17, 333/37 (2); 3. clerk, one of several administrative and financial officers serving the Lincoln Cathedral chapter 106/7; **clericus capituli** clerk of the chapter 105/21, etc; ~ **commune** clerk of the common fund 105/20, etc; ~ **fabrice** clerk of the fabric fund 123/13, etc; ~ **sacriste** sacrist's clerk 106/10 (*without* 'sacriste' 105/20); 4. clerk, an administrative and financial officer in a guild 28/6, etc
- cognicio**, -onis *n f* as *legal idiom* cognizance, jurisdiction 342/9
- cognosco**, -oscere, -oui, -itum *v tr* to acknowledge, accept (an obligation) 323/5, etc
- cohabitacio**, -onis *n f* *literally* act of living with or near (another person or persons), *here by extension* close association with others 4/14
- collegium**, -ii *n nt* college, organized body of clergy and priests serving a particular church 333/31
- columba**, -ae *n f* *literally* dove, *here likely* an object (perhaps a banner) representing a dove, symbolizing the Holy Spirit 105/22

- comburgensis**, **-is** *n m* literally fellow burgess, in Stamford, one of the magistrates associated with the alderman in civic government 320/5
- comes**, **-itis** *n m* 1. companion, comrade 603/8?; 2. earl, a peer ranking above a viscount but below a marquess 603/5, etc
- comitatus**, **-us** *n m* county 607/26, etc
- commedia**, **-ae** *n f* comedy, a play, usually in verse, often of a humorous or satiric nature, sometimes modelled on ancient comedy but also drawing upon scriptural and other sources, or its performance 203/22m, etc; **commodium** 192/25; **commodum** 185/18
- commissarius**, **-ii** *n m* commissary, deputy or representative of a bishop or other high ecclesiastic 341/17
- commodium**, **commodum**¹ see **commedia**
- commodum**², **-i** *sbst nt* benefit, beneficial use 320/13 [OLD]
- communa**, **-e**¹ *n f* commons, the standard daily provision of supplies, usually foodstuffs, made for each member of a chapter, college, or other community or the monetary value thereof 333/31, etc
- communa**, **-e**² *n f* common fund, part of the treasury of the Lincoln Cathedral chapter 105/20, etc; **communia** 208/17
- com(m)unis**, **-e** *adj* 1. common, communal, of or pertaining to a community, eg, a chapter, a guild, or a town 25/29, etc; hence *comm pl* as *sbst* the commons, members of a community, here town burgesses 320/6¹; 2. common, open to the public 103/35, 109/14?
- com(m)unitas**, **-atis** *n f* community, commonalty, commons (of a town or city) 78/42, etc
- communiter** *adv* commonly, generally 108/19
- compareo**, **-ere**, **-ui** *v intr* as *legal term* to appear before a judge, whether in church or secular courts 321/30, etc
- competens**, **-ntis** *adj* 1. suitable, adequate 266/18, etc; 2. relevant 342/20
- compilatus**, **-a**, **-um** *psp pass* compiled: collected or possibly composed 332/34 [OEDO compile *v.*]
- completorium**, **-ii** *n m* compline, latest of the canonical hours making up the divine office of monks and clerics, said in the evening after supper 125/6
- complex**, **-icis** *sbst comm* accomplice (to a crime) 607/16
- compotacio**, **-onis** *n f* drinking, act of drinking especially in a social group, here glossed by E 'scotale' 5/2, etc; see also EG **scotales**
- computo**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* 1. to calculate the cost of, account for spending on 106/25, etc; 2. to render an account, 27/35, etc; 3. *prp as m sbst* accountant 121/34, etc
- computus**, **-i** *n m* account, formal accounting made of the receipts and disbursements of an institution or organization 137/13, etc; *in idiom tempus huius computi* this accounting period, the period of time covered in a given account 580/5–6, etc; **compotus** 197/10
- concensus** *var of consensus* [OLD]
- concerno**, **-ere**, **concreui**, **conceptum** *v tr* to concern, have regard to 132/11m; *prp* concerning 25/40
- concilium**, **-ii** *n nt* council: 1. church council, an assembly of bishops and other clerics for the purpose of deciding theological and doctrinal issues 7/9; **generale ... concilium** general council, one held for the church as a whole 7/6; **provinciale concilium** provincial council, one held for a single ecclesiastical province 7/6
- concordo**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v intr* to be in agreement, agree 208/16 (*in pass with middle force* 24/33); *impers pass* to be agreed 112/12, etc
- condico**, **-cere**, **-xi**, **-ctum** *v tr* to agree 607/1
- condoleo**, **-ere**, **-ui** *v tr* to grieve or sorrow with (someone) 4/24
- conduccio**, **-onis** *n f* hiring (of a person or thing) 107/13
- conducticius**, **-ii** *n m* conduct, a stipendiary cleric, especially one hired to help with liturgical or chapel duties 333/38
- confectio**, **-onis** *n f* making, drawing up (eg, of a document) 342/19
- confederacio**, **-onis** *n f* alliance, compact, hence often with negative connotation conspiracy 25/33
- confederator**, **-oris** *n m* member of an alliance or

- compact, confederate, *hence often with negative connotation* conspirator 347/11
- confessio, -onis** *n f* statement, acknowledgment (in response to a charge), confession 58/30, etc
- confiteor, -fiteri, -fessus sum** *v tr* 1. to make a statement, acknowledge, confess (a charge) 607/15, etc; 2. to make (sacramental) confession 3/21, etc
- confocium, -ii** *n nt* act of nurture, cherishing 6/19
- confrater, -tris** *n m* brother: 1. fellow member of a cathedral chapter or religious guild 125/7, etc; 2. fellow member of a closely knit body of men, *here* the town corporation 319/26
- congregacio, -onis** *n f* gathering together, meeting 608/41, etc
- congregatus, -a, um** *ppf pass* gathered, met 120/32, etc
- congruus, -a, -um** *adj* suitable, fitting 107/28, etc
- conquiesco, -escere, -eui** *v intr* to be settled, put to rest (of conflicts or disagreements) 341/23
- consedo** *var of* concedo [OLD]
- conseruandus, -a, -um** *gdeve of* conseruo, to keep, preserve [OLD]: *in idiom ad pacem ... conseruandam* to keep the peace, part of the formal title of a JP 325/25
- consistorialis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to a consistory court: **locus consistorialis** the site of such a court, consistory 57/38, etc
- consortium, -ii** *n nt* fellowship, guild 220/32, etc
- constabularius, -ii** *n m* constable: 1. an officer of the peace in a county or a hundred, inferior to a sheriff 72/36; 2. a royal officer in charge of a castle and its fortifications 103/31
- Constabulus, -i** *n m* Constable, Latinization of E surname 86/6
- constitucio, -onis** *n f* decision, decree 319/39m, etc
- consularis, -e** *adj* *literally in CL* of or pertaining to a consul, consular, *here m pl as sbst* the earl's men (as opposed to those supporting the king) 603/11
- contemplacio, -onis** *n f* (spiritual) contemplation, meditative prayer 342/34
- contineo, -inere, -inui, -entum** *v tr* 1. to contain, include 103/33, etc; 2. *hence* of documents, to state (that) 607/26
- continuo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* 1. to continue (an activity or custom) 24/32, etc; 2. to extend a deadline, eg, for producing a certificate 77/25
- contrarium, -ii** *sbst nt* the contrary, *in idiom in contrarium* to the contrary, in opposition 320/12
- contratenor, -oris** *n m* countertenor, the adult male voice part above the tenor in a song or other polyphonic composition 333/4
- conuentus, -us** *n m* convent, religious house or the community living therein 341/13, etc
- conuocacio, -onis** *n f* meeting, assembly 28/5, etc
- corda, -e** *n f* string, cord, lace 109/40, etc; *hence* string (of a harp or other instrument) 204/18, etc; **chorda** 203/36
- cordulus, -i** *n m* string, cord, lace 27/13, etc; **cordula** 119/2 [*diminutive of* corda]
- corea** *see* chorea
- cornum, -i** *n nt* a horn or trumpet, originally made from animal horn, used for military signals [OLD *cornu*], *here apparently* indicating an instrument used for entertainment 321/29
- corona, -e** *n f* 1. *literally* crown, apparently a property for a play 106/34, 107/13; 2. apparently a piece of decorative embroidery shaped like a crown, forming part of a wait's livery 35/22, etc
- coronacio, -onis** *n f* *literally* coronation, ceremonial crowning, *here* describing a representation of some kind celebrating the Virgin Mary, probably involving her crowning by Christ as queen of heaven (the most frequently used term for this representation) 124/36, etc; *see also* assencio
- corpus, -oris** *n nt* 1. *literally* the body, *here in idiom malus de corpore suo* *literally* (to be) evil as concerns one's body, *hence* (to be) sexually immoral 25/7; 2. a dead body, corpse 25/17; 3. *in idiom corpus Christi* used metaphorically with reference to the Eucharistic body of Christ 121/21, etc (*also dominicum corpus* the Lord's body 7/1); *see also* dies, festum
- correctio, -onis** *n f* *as legal term* correction, punishment (of wrongdoer) 347/21
- costos** *see* custos

- crux**, **-cis** *n f* cross: 1. a processional cross 27/33, etc; 2. a cross used as a heraldic device, *here* as part of a wait's badge 172/1, etc
- culpabilis**, **-e** *adj* guilty (as a plea or verdict in a court) 208/10
- cultus**, **-us** *n m* religious practice, observance, worship: ~ **diuinus** 24/28, etc, or **diuinus** ~ 762/12 divine service, used collectively for the regular liturgical observance required in a Christian church
- curatus**, **-i** *n m* curate, any priest having the cure of souls 41/5
- curia**, **-e** *n f* court, *here* a borough court acting both as a law court 78/26 and as a deliberative body 79/23
- curialitas**, **-atis** *n f* gratuity, gift 120/4
- currens**, **-ntis** *ppp* see **cant(t)us**
- custoditor**, **-oris** *n m* keeper of a beast or beasts, either trained or simply captive, for exhibition or baiting: **custoditor ursorum** bearward 86/35, etc
- custos**, **-odis** *n m* warden, keeper: 1. officer of a cathedral or guild 105/14, etc; 2. royal officer: **custos ... lez masques et disguisinges** keeper of the masques and disguisings 584/29–30; 3. keeper of a beast or beasts, either trained or simply captive, for exhibition or baiting: **custos ursorum** bearward 82/36, etc; **costos ursorum** 85/31
- custus**, **-us** *n m* (*abl pl* found as '-ibus' and '-ubus') cost, charge, expenses 119/2, etc
- cyroteca** see **cirot(h)eca**
- datus**, **-a**, **-um** *ppf pass* dated (of a document or letter) 580/6, etc; *hence f as sbst* date (of a document or letter) 323/7, etc [*OLD* do]
- Dauiticus**, **-a**, **-um** *adj* Davidic, pertaining to King David as reputed author of the Psalms; see **psalterium**
- de** *prep with abl* 1. (expressing source, origin, or residence) from, of 341/7', etc; *as if synonymous with 'ab' or 'ex'* out of 6/6, etc; 2. (as name element, likely originally based on sense 1) of 103/32, etc; 3. (expressing motion or separation) from, away from 25/7', etc; 4. (in partitive sense) of, from 342/10', etc; 5. (expressing reason or cause) from, of 608/29, etc; 6. about, concerning 603/5, etc; 7. (expressing more remote connection) in regard to, for, of 342/13, etc; 8. (expressing instrumentality) by 25/39; 9. substituting for CL genitive 105/5, etc; *with gd or gdve phr* 7/25, etc; with titles (usually landed) 79/5, etc; with vernacular expressions 316/34, etc; 10. representing E 'of' in expressions in which CL would use an appositive 341/14, etc; 11. *in other idioms*: **de cetero** hereafter, henceforward 6/27, etc (written as one word 112/12, etc); **de eo quod** because 78/30; **de nouo** anew, afresh 125/12; *in correlation with 'in'*: **de anno in annum** from year to year 132/23; see also **queror**
- deauracio**, **-onis** *n f* gilding, *here likely* by the use of gold thread 583/27
- debeo**, **-ere**, **-ui**, **-itum** *v tr* 1. to owe, *in pass* to be due (to) 341/16, etc; 2. to be under an obligation (to do something), (I, you, he, etc) ought to (do something), should (do something) 3/14, etc
- decanatus**, **-us** *n m* deanery, an administrative division of a diocese 335/20
- decanus**, **-i** *n m* dean, the administrative head of a cathedral chapter 103/14, etc; 2. a rural dean, a priest supervising a deanery, an administrative division of a diocese 3/15
- decapito**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* to remove the head of, decapitate 609/31, etc
- decertator**, **-oris** *n m* contender, one that strives against (someone or something) 6/28
- decetero** see **de**
- decimo**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* to tithe 342/3
- dedico**, **-cere**, **-xi**, **-ctum** *v tr* to deny 78/33
- defencor** *var of* defensor [*OLD*]
- defendens**, **-entis** *sbst comm* defendant (in a lawsuit) 78/32, etc
- delibero**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* to give, hand over, deliver 78/30, etc
- deligencia** *var of* diligentia [*OLD*]
- demo**, **-onis** *n m* demon, devil 5/20, etc
- denarius**, **-ii** *n m* 1. a penny, one-twelfth of a shilling 105/15, etc; **denarij beati Petri** Peter's

- pence, an annual tax of 1d paid by English householders to the Holy See before the Reformation 342/17; 2. *in pl* money, coin 111/42, etc
- de profundis** *n pbr* (*literally* 'from the depths') title of Ps 130 (129 Vulg.), sung as part of the funeral liturgy 284/24
- Derbia**, -e *n f* Derby, name of an earldom 607/32, etc
- desertator**, -oris *n m* deserter? (*possibly* simply a spelling var of 'decertator') 6/28c
- detectio**, -onis *n f* detection, formal laying of information against a suspected party before an ecclesiastical court 266/33m, etc
- deterioro**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* *literally* to make worse, *hence* to cause damage or loss (to), to injure 350/31, etc
- deuocio**, -onis *n f* piety, devotion 3/9, etc
- deuote** *adv* piously, devoutly 4/11, etc
- deuotus**, -a, -um *adj* pious, (religiously) observant, devout 316/20
- diabolicus**, -a, -um *adj* characteristic of the devil, diabolic, fiendish 103/17
- diaconus**, -i *n m* deacon, a member of the lowest of the three major orders of clergy, the other two being bishop (episcopus) and priest (presbyter or sacerdos) 104/5, etc
- Didimus**, -i *n m* *literally* twin, applied in the New Testament as a distinguishing epithet to the Apostle Thomas 105/5, etc
- dies**, diei *n m* *or f* 1. day 606/18¹, etc; 2. day of the week: **dies dominica** 609/27, etc, *or* ~ **dominicus** 321/31, etc, Sunday; ~ **Lune** Monday 104/22, etc; ~ **Mercurii** Wednesday 107/30–1; ~ **Sabbati** Saturday 120/28, etc; 3. day as a measurement of time 27/16, etc; 4. day set aside for a special purpose 106/6, etc; ~ **paraceues** *literally* day of preparation, Good Friday, Friday before Easter 35/30; 5. a saint's day: ~ (**Sancte**) **Anne** (St) Anne's Day 120/30–1m, etc; ~ **Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli** 79/14–15 (*or* ~ ~ **Bertholomei** 82/39) St Bartholomew the Apostle's Day, 24 August; ~ ... **Sancti Iohannis** St John's Day, 27 December 155/5; ~ **Sancti Iohannis Baptiste** St John the Baptist's Day, 24 June 25/3, etc; ~ **Sancti Oswaldi** St Oswald's Day, 5 August 344/9–10, etc; 6. feast day, festival, celebration (religious or secular): ~ **festiui** 5/22, etc; ~ ... **sancti** 5/26–7; ~ **sol(I)empnes** 5/24, etc; ~ ...
- Circumcisionis Domini** Circumcision Day, 1 January 103/24–5, etc; ~ ... **Corporis Christi** Corpus Christi Day, the Thursday after Trinity Sunday 32/10–11, etc; ~ **Epiphaniæ** Epiphany, 6 January 104/35–6, etc; ~ **Natalis Domini** Christmas, 25 December 104/5, etc; ~ **Pasche** Easter Day, Sunday after the full moon on or following 21 March 6/33, etc; ~ **Pentecostes** 34/5, etc, *or* ~ **Sancti Spiritus Paracliti** 32/10–11, etc, Pentecost, Whitsunday, Sunday fifty days after Easter
- dieto**, -are, -aui, -atum *v intr* to stay, sojourn 333/31
- diffamator**, oris *n m* one who defames, defamer 59/39 (*in form* **diffamato**(.) *due to ms damage*)
- dileccio**, -onis *n f* affection (*here* that between a lord and his liege followers) 606/15
- diminucio**, -onis *n f* lessening, loss 341/27 [*cp OLD* *deminutio*]
- dimitto**, -ittere, -isi, -issum *v tr* 1. to release, set free: **dimitti immunes** *literally* to be set free exempt (from), *hence* to be exempted (from) 6/29–30; 2. *hence* to dismiss or release (an accused person) from court without further charges, punishments, or citations pending, usually upon payment of court expenses and/or a fine 313/10, etc
- directus**, -a, -um *ppf pass* directed to (of letters or the like) 606/22
- dirige** *v imper used as sbst* dirge, the Office for the Dead, so called from the opening of the antiphon (from Ps 5.8) 25/17 [*cp OEDO* *dirge n.*]
- dissolucio**, -onis *n f* *literally* easing, slackening: *here in idiom* **dissolucio ieiuniorum** *literally* fast-breaking, apparently an early morning meal taken before breakfast 27/20, etc
- districcio**, -onis *n f* stricture, punishment 7/11
- districtus**, -a, -um *adj* strict, stringent 6/23
- diuersus**, -a, -um *adj* various, divers 609/23, etc
- diuinus**, -a, -um *adj* 1. divine, pertaining to or

- suitable for God 4/5, etc; 2. *nt pl as sbst* godly matters or concerns; *hence by extension* divine service, an unspecified liturgical service 3/11, 193/23, or the sacraments 313/15; *see also officium, prex*
- diuisim** *adv* individually, separately 208/6
- doctor, -oris** *n m* *literally* a learned person, *hence* doctor, one holding the highest academic degree in one of the superior faculties (eg, theology or law), often used as a title with names 57/39
- doctrina, -e** *n f* teaching, *hence often in ML* (Christian) doctrine, sound teaching 4/27, etc
- domina, -e** *n f* lady 609/16; as honorific for the Virgin Mary 120/32m; as honorific for royalty, peeress, or peer's wife 366/2, etc
- Domine celi & terre** *n pbr* 'Lord of heaven and of earth,' the title of an antiphon by Richard Davy 332/35
- dominicus, -a, -um** *adj* 1. of or pertaining to the Lord 7/1 (*see also dies*); 2. *f sg as sbst* Lord's Day, Sunday; *see carniptium*
- dominus, -i** *n m* 1. the Lord, title of God or Christ 4/1, etc (*see also annus*); 2. lord: honorific for church dignitaries (eg, bishop, dean, ecclesiastical officials) 341/12, etc (*see also officium*); honorific for secular dignitaries (royalty, peers) 24/26, etc; 3. sir: honorific for priest 104/21, etc, or knight 103/32
- domus, -us** *n f or m* (**domo** *found as abl sg*) 1. building, house, home 607/17, etc; used metaphorically 6/6, etc; - **capitularis** chapter house, the site of chapter meetings 120/32, etc [*OVCC*]; - **Dei** God's house 103/14-15 (*or - ... oracionis* house of prayer 6/14, etc) a church; 2. religious house 342/2, etc
- dormiens, -entis** *prp* *literally* sleeping, used of warrants or the like, dormant, ie, drawn up but left blank as to particulars such as names until needed 580/6, etc
- dorsum, -i** *n nt* dorse, the back of a sheet of paper or parchment 34/31
- ducissa, -e** *n f* duchess, whether a peeress in her own right or the wife of a duke 185/20, etc
- durans, -antis** *prp in abl abs* during 607/3, etc [*cp OEDO* during, *pres. ppl.* and *prep.*]
- dux, -cis** *n m* duke, highest rank of the hereditary peerage 609/15, etc
- Eboracum, -i** *n nt* York, name of a city 343/34
- ecclesia, -e** *n f* church: 1. a specific church or church building 762/12, etc; 2. *in various idioms*: - **cathedralis** cathedral, a bishop's seat 118/4, etc; - **parochialis** parish church 341/15, etc; **matrix** - 107/29 or **mater ecclesia** 6/24, etc, mother church, *here apparently* the cathedral as mother church of the diocese; 3. the church as a corporate or spiritual body 7/4; **sancta mater ecclesia** holy mother church, the church viewed as a spiritual mother 341/10; 4. the church as a worshipping community, a congregation, *here in idiom in facie ecclesiae* in the presence of the congregation 77/42
- ecclesiasticus, -a, -um** *adj* ecclesiastical, of or pertaining to the church 5/6, etc
- econtra** *adv* on the contrary, conversely 6/14, etc
- educacio, -onis** *n f* act of leading or bringing out 237/6
- effusio, -onis** *n f* spilling, shedding, *hence sanguinis effusiones* bloodshed 6/26
- egredior, -edi, -essus sum** *v intr* *literally* to go out, *hence* to run away 317/11
- elapsus, -a, -um** *ppp* (*with pass sense*) elapsed, past (of time) 103/32
- elemosina, -e** *n f* alms, charitable gift 350/37; **elimosina** 25/20
- elemosinaria, -e** *sbst f* almonry, department of a religious house that dispensed alms and often also conducted a school 350/37
- eleuacio, -onis** *n f* act of raising or lifting: referring to putting up quintains 5/17; referring to the elevation of the Host by the priest during the prayer of consecration 321/30
- Elizabeth** *n indecl* Elizabeth, name of various saints, especially Elizabeth the kinswoman of the Virgin Mary and mother of John the Baptist; it is not always clear whether in these passages an image or a person representing the saint is meant 109/35; **Elizabet** 109/5, 109/28
- elongo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v intr* to go apart or away from, *hence se elongare* to absent oneself 78/32

- emendacio, -onis** *n f* repair, act of mending 104/29, etc
- emendo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* 1. to mend, repair 27/2; 2. to amend (one's behaviour) 25/6
- epiphania, -e** *n f* epiphany, revelation, *here* the revealing of Christ to the gentiles (Mt 2.1–12) 107/5m; *see also* **dies, festum**
- episcopatus, -us** *n m* *literally* the office or function of a bishop, *hence* the area under a bishop's authority, diocese 4/22
- episcopus, -i** *n m* 1. bishop, member of the highest of the major orders of clergy, the other two being deacon (*diaconus*) and priest (*presbyter* or *sacerdos*) 3/5, etc; 2. boy bishop, a boy, originally a choirboy in a cathedral or other collegiate church or a student in an almonry school, chosen to act as a mock bishop in liturgical and other observances on the feast of St Nicholas or of the Holy Innocents 155/8; – **puerorum** 104/12, etc
- erga** *prep* 1. *of relationship* towards, with regard to 208/15; **arga** 72/36; 2. *of purpose* for (referring to a future event) 113/11, etc
- erogo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to bestow, grant 203/23
- error, -oris** *n m* error, mistake, *by extension* error in doctrine or faith 4/29
- Eucaristia, -e** *n f* Holy Communion, Eucharist, one of the seven sacraments of the medieval church 7/7
- examino, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* 1. to examine, scrutinize 28/32, etc; 2. to examine (a person or a case) judicially, used of a judge 208/8
- exercitacio** *var of* *exercitatio* [OLD]; *see* **arma**
- excessus, -us** *n m* excessive behaviour, acts of misconduct, crime 342/2
- excommunico, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to excommunicate, impose the penalty of excommunication on someone 59/38, etc
- existo, -ere, exiti** *v intr for* *ex(s)isto* [OLD]
- exonero, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* 1. to discharge (someone) from court without further fine or punishment 72/31; 2. to discharge a debt or bill 187/35, etc
- expedicio, -onis** *n f* expedition, dispatch 203/27
- expeditus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* 1. spent (of sums of money) 219/30, etc; 2. consumed, used (of commodities) 36/13, etc
- expensa, -e** *sbst f* that for which money is spent, expense 342/21, etc; *also in idiom* **expense facte** expenses incurred 105/5, etc
- expertus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* experienced, *hence* knowledgeable, learned 797/29
- extendo, -dere, -di, -sum** *v tr* *literally* to extend, stretch out, *by extension as legal idiom* to postpone (a case) 59/23
- extermino, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to put (something) out of bounds, *hence* to put an end (to) 4/13
- extirpo** *var of* *ex(s)tirpo* [OLD]
- exto, -are, -iti** *v intr for* *ex(s)to* [OLD]
- extraho, -here, -xi, -ctum** *v tr* *literally* to draw (something) out of (a place), *hence* to extract (money) from 3/23
- extranius, -a, -um** *adj* *literally* external, other, foreign: *hence m as sbst* stranger, one from another town or district 31/17, etc; **extraneus** 333/21
- extunc** *adv* from then on, thenceforward 320/10, etc
- fabrica, -e** *n f* *literally* fabric, building, *hence* fabric fund, one of several funds that were part of the treasury of the Lincoln Cathedral chapter 109/19, etc
- fabula, -e** *n f* play; *see* **actor**
- facies, -ei** *n f* *literally* face, surface 163/40; *see also* **ecclesia**
- factum, -i** *n nt* deed, feat 341/31, etc; *see also* **arma**
- factura, -e** *n f* the act of making or constructing 106/33, etc
- faitura, -e** *n f* the act of making or constructing 34/27 [back-formation from *of* *faiture*?]
- familia, -e** *n f* 1. household, *here* applied to all lay persons under the authority of an abbey 342/11, etc; 2. *hence* family: **famila** 208/21
- famula, -e** *n f* female servant 256/42 [*f form of* **famulus**]
- famulus, -i** *n m* servant, especially one who is a member of the 'familia,' the extended household

- or 'family' that comprises everyone living under the authority of the head of the house, household servant 268/11
- fatigacio, -onis** *n f* baiting (of animals) 231/7 [cp *OLD* *fatigo* 2 and 3]
- felo, -onis** *n m* a felon, one who has committed a felony 609/35
- felonia, -e** *n f* felony, a serious and premeditated crime reserved to royal courts, in particular to the assizes 609/29, etc
- feodum, -i** *n nt* 1. fee, payment, especially a regular payment, often annual, for services 28/11, etc; 2. court fee assessed on accused persons for church court officers and their acts 334/19, etc
- ferio, -ire** *v tr* literally to strike, beat, hence to punish 6/27
- festivus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to a festival or feast, festive; see **dies**
- festum, -i** *n nt* 1. festival, feast day 341/32, etc; **festum stultorum** feast of fools, an observance held on the feast of the Circumcision, 1 January, involving a modified liturgy and seasonal misrule by minor clergy 103/23, etc; 2. a specific feast day or festival (secular or religious): **festum Annunciacionis Beate Marie** the Annunciation, Lady Day, 25 March 323/33–4; ~ **corporis Christi** feast of Corpus Christi, Thursday after Trinity Sunday 121/35, etc; ~ **Epiphanie** the Epiphany, 6 January 105/6; ~ **natalis Domini** Christmas, 25 December 27/2; ~ **natiuitatis sancti Iohannis (Baptiste)** feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist 607/28–9, etc; ~ **Omnium Sanctorum** feast of All Saints, 1 November 584/31; ~ **O Sapientiae** feast of O Sapientia, 16 December, so called because of the start of the antiphon for that feast 208/28; ~ **Pentecostes** Pentecost, Whitsunday, Sunday fifty days following Easter 105/22–3, etc; ~ **Sancte Anne** feast of St Anne, 26 July 118/21–2, etc; ~ **sancti Andree Apostoli** feast of St Andrew the Apostle, 30 November 580/9, etc; ~ **sancti Bartholomei** feast of St Bartholomew, 24 August 606/14–15, etc; ~ **sancti Iohannis** feast of St John, 27 December 104/12; ~ **sancti Martini (in hieme)** feast of St Martin (in winter), ie, Martinmas, 11 November 316/15, etc; ~ **(sancti) Michaelis (Archangeli)** feast of (St) Michael (the Archangel), Michaelmas, 29 September 316/23, etc; ~ **sancti Stephani** feast of St Stephen, 26 December 104/9–10; ~ **Sanctorum Innocentium** feast of the Holy Innocents, 28 December 104/12; ~ **Translacionis ... beati Hugonis** feast of the Translation of St Hugh, 6 or 7 October 105/13–14; 3. feast, celebratory meal 209/4, etc
- fibula, -e** *n f* pin, buckle, here a fastening of some kind for a banner 583/31, etc
- fidedignus, -a, -um** *adj* worthy of confidence or trust 3/6; *m sg as sbst* trustworthy person 108/16
- fides, -ei** *n f* 1. belief, conviction, hence religious faith 319/28, etc; 2. oath: *in idiom* **facere fidem** to swear an oath 59/25, etc; 3. allegiance, loyalty 603/14, etc
- filius, -ii** *n m* son: 1. *literally* 4/4, etc; 2. *by extension* (describing the relationship between the Persons of the Trinity) the Son 103/15; 3. of a symbolic or spiritual relationship between a bishop and the clergy of his diocese, especially his administrative subordinates 3/5, etc; applied to all Christians as spiritual sons of their 'mother,' the church 341/10
- finis, -is¹** *n f* end, finish 603/7, etc
- finis, -is²** *n f* payment in settlement of an obligation or a fine 321/6, etc
- fistulator, -oris** *n m* *literally* one who plays upon a 'fistula,' piper, probably a generic term for one who plays a wind instrument 347/20; **fistolator** 230/7
- flos, -oris** *n m* a flower: **Flos Florum** The Flower of Flowers, a cantilena motet composed by Guillaume Du Fay (1397–1474) 332/25
- focalis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to a hearth, hence *nt as sbst* a fire (for cooking or warmth) 27/26, etc
- focaria, -e** *n f* 1. hearth, fireside (used by metonymy for home); 2. concubine (ie, a woman who shares one's hearth and home); it is unclear which sense is intended at 3/12 and 4/9
- folium, -ii** *n nt* *literally* leaf (eg, of a branch), hence leaf, folio (of a book) 332/40, etc

- forma**, -e *n f* 1. form of words, eg, that used to dismiss a person excused by poverty from any court fees 100/30m; 2. tenor, purport, *especially* purport or terms of an order or agreement 5/15, etc
- franchesia**, -e *n f* franchise, *literally* an immunity or privilege granted to a town, *here by extension* the territory affected by such immunity 207/6
- Francia**, -e *n f* France 325/23
- frater**, -tris *n m* *literally* brother: 1. a fellow member of the same community, *here* a religious fraternity or guild 24/38, etc; 2. *hence* friar 103/34; **fratres Carmelite** Carmelite friars (*see* *ODCC*) 152/38; ~ **limitatores** friars limiter, members of a mendicant order whose activities were limited to a specific place (*here* Boston) by licence 37/31; **fratres utriusque ordinis** *literally* friars of either order, ie, Franciscans and Dominicans 3/20–1, etc
- fraternitas**, -atis *n f* brotherhood, guild, often a religious confraternity or guild 24/23, etc
- Frestoniensis**, -is *n f* Frieston, name of a parish and priory near Boston 342/25
- frumentum**, -i *n nt* *literally* corn, any cereal crop, *here by extension probably* wheat 347/33, etc
- furrura**, -e *n f* garment lined or trimmed with fur 107/14
- gallo**, -onis *n m* gallon, a liquid measure equal to four quarts, *here* chiefly used for ale 196/3, etc
- gardianus**, -i *n m* warden, guardian: 1. an administrative officer of a guild, *here* with responsibility for pageants, a pageant warden 318/6, etc; 2. churchwarden 266/11, etc
- gardura**, -e *n f* border or trim (of a garment) 583/21
- garulacio**, -onis *n f* chatter, foolish talk 108/18
- Gaude** *v imper used as sbst* name of an antiphon or other piece of liturgical music; there are too many pieces beginning 'Gaude' for it to be identified 332/34
- generalis**, -e *adj* 1. general, common, communal 203/28; 2. general, applicable to all 7/6, etc
- generosus**, -i *n m* gentleman 72/39, etc
- gentaculum** *see* **iantaculum**
- gero**, -rere, -ssi, -stum *v tr* 1. *literally* to bear or carry: **gerens datum** bearing the date (of an order or other document) 323/7, etc; 2. *with refl and adv* to behave in a certain way 58/32; 3. *in idiom* **pacem gerere** to keep the peace, often a condition of a bond to keep the peace 72/35; 4. *in idiom* **rem gerere** to carry on, perform 603/12
- gestator**, -oris *n m* jester, an entertainer: *possibly either* one making use of mimetic gestures or a teller of tales 345/8 [*DML* *gerere*, 2 *gestator*, *gestus*]
- gilda**, -e *n f* guild, an association or confraternity of people having some common purpose and brought together for mutual benefit and the pursuit of that purpose, eg, a religious or craft guild 24/23, etc
- gimnasiarcha**, -e *n m* schoolmaster 208/5; **gimnaziarcha** 208/27
- gracemania**, -e *n m* graceman, administrative officer in a guild 108/7 [*see* Introduction, pp 415, 455]
- gracia**, -e *n f* 1. mercy, forgiveness, favour: **de gracia** 608/29 or **ex gracia** 120/4, etc, by (one's favour), graciously; 2. *hence* grace, divine favour 3/5, etc; 3. *by extension of sense* 2 grace, a divine gift operating in human beings to sanctify, regenerate, and strengthen (often used in conventional salutation at opening of a letter) 3/6, etc; 4. thanks 208/24
- graciose** *adv* in a pleasing or agreeable manner, graciously 607/27
- gracius** *var of* *gratius* [*OLD* *grate*]
- gram(m)atical**, -is, -e *adj* of or pertaining to grammar in its ancient sense, ie, including what would now be classified as literary criticism; *see* **sc(h)ola**
- grammaticus**, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to grammar in its ancient sense, ie, including what would now be classified as literary criticism; *see* **sc(h)ola**
- grex**, -egis *n m* *literally* flock, herd, *here used metaphorically* for a Christian congregation or other community under the care of a bishop or other pastor 4/25, etc

- grossus, -a, -um** *adj* big, large, *here in idiom in grosso* 27/15 or *in grossum* (written as one word) 32/11 including everything, inclusive (of payments or charges)
- gru** *n indecl* literally a grunt *in phr ne gru quidem* literally not even a grunt, ie, not a sound 352/23 [LSJ γρῦ]
- gruinus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to a crane; *see caro*
- guerra, -e** *n f* war 608/9, etc
- gula, -e** *n f* literally throat, *by extension* appetite, gluttony 5/1
- habeo, -ere, -ui, -itum** *n tr* 1. to have, possess (whether literally or figuratively) 3/12, etc; 2. to hold, conduct 341/24, etc; 3. to have (a person in a given office or capacity) 25/25, etc; 4. to have (to do something) 347/15, etc; 5. to regard, consider (something as) *with predicate adj: ratum habere* to regard (an action) as valid 132/15–16; 6. to have (something brought into a given condition or state) 125/13
- habitus, -us** *n m* literally style of dress, *hence* (religious) habit 607/2, etc
- hastiludium, -ium** *n nt* literally a sport with spears, *hence* hastilude, joust, tournament 607/2, etc
- hercia, -e** *n f* hearse, a triangular frame to hold candles 25/16
- Hibernia, -e** *n f* Ireland 59/10m, etc
- hippodidasculata, -e** *n f* office of under-teacher or usher, ushership 208/14
- hippodidasculus, -i** *n m* a second or under-teacher, usher 208/6, etc
- histrio, -onis** *n m* 1. entertainer (of an unspecified kind), but probably one whose entertainment included music of some kind 317/1, etc; **istrio** 109/20; the pejorative usage in sources such as Grosseteste's Statutes is influenced by the patristic sense of 'histrio' for a performer in obscene farces or ritual drama 7/17; **hystrio** 7/17c [see OLD, DMT, and REED *Devon* LG histrio]; 2. such an entertainer in the employ of a town, town wait: **histriones istius ciuitatis** 152/32, etc; **histrio ville** 78/19; 3. such an entertainer associated with, and perhaps synonymous with, **mimus** 27/34, etc, or **ministrallus** 107/23
- homagium, -ii** *n nt* homage, act of allegiance by a tenant or vassal to his lord 606/15
- homo, -inis** *n m* 1. literally human being, person 3/7, etc; 2. used as a synonym for 'uir,' often referring to hired labourers, porters, and the like man, male human being 5/25, etc; 3. *in pl idiom with names of communities or the like* locals, townspeople, parishioners 103/34, etc
- honor, -oris** *n m* 1. honour 24/26, etc; 2. (feudal) honour, a lordship made up of several manors 582/18, etc
- hora, -e** *n f* hour: 1. literally hour, hour of the day 208/1: **hora iija** the third hour, about 9 AM 117/9; 2. *in idiom hora canonica* canonical hour, one of the set times for worship according to monastic or other community rules, or the form of service, part of the divine office, to be said at one of those set times 3/8; *used absolutely* 3/10
- horilogium, -ii** *n nt* a clock, probably a mechanical one 140/4, etc; **horelogium** 166/32, etc; **orilegium** 132/4; **orilogium** 133/1, etc; **orrilogium** 118/8
- hospitale, -is** *n nt* hospital, charitable institution founded to care for the sick or needy 109/16
- huiusmodi** *n phr* 1. *functioning adjectivally or adverbially* of this kind, in this way, such 5/18, etc; 2. *functioning substantively* this, such things 3/13 etc
- humilis, -e** *adj* humble, lowly (as embodying a Christian virtue) 58/31
- humiliter** *adv* in a humble manner 4/11
- huto, -ere** *v tr* to bait (an animal, *here* a bull) 316/16
- hyems** *var of* hiems [OLD]
- hystrio** *see* histrio
- iantaculum, -i** *n nt* breakfast, the first formal meal of the day 121/35, etc; **gentaculum** 129/19
- ieiunium, -ii** *n nt* fasting; *see* dissolucio
- Ieremias, -e** *n m* Jeremiah, an OT prophet or the biblical book named for him 4/26

- im(m)ediate** *adv* immediately, at once 5/27, etc
- imperpetuum** *adv* for in perpetuum [*OLD* perpetuus]
- impetio, -ere, -ii, -itum** *v tr* literally to attack, hence to bring legal proceedings against 608/17
- impetro, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* 1. to obtain (a request or prayer) 6/5; 2. to bring suit (for), sue (for) 342/22, etc
- impono, -onere, -osui, -ositum** *v tr* 1. to place or lay upon, here used of a cloth badge to be appliquéd onto the waits' coats 35/22; 2. to fix, impose 603/7
- inposterum** *adv* for in posterum [*OLD* posterus]
- incensans, -ntis** *sbst m* one who censures, hence a thurifer 105/24
- indentura, -e** *n f* indenture, an indented legal document, here one governing the terms of an apprenticeship 323/6, etc
- indeotus, -a, -um** *adj* not devout, impious 3/10
- indictatus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* indicted 609/29
- inductio, -onis** *n f* act of bringing or leading in: **inductio Maij** bringing in May, presumably a pastime involving bringing in a maypole 3/17; **inductio ... Autumpni** bringing in autumn, a parallel festivity celebrating the harvest 3/17
- inferi, -orum** *sbst m pl* the lower, ie, infernal, regions, hence Hell 4/30
- infra** *prep* within: 1. of space 608/36, etc; 2. of time 609/3, etc
- infrascriptus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* written within 342/33, etc
- ingeniosus, -a, -um** *adj* clever, talented, often with reference to handiwork or structure 127/9
- ingrossum** *see* grossus
- inhebeo** *var of* inhiheo [*OLD*]
- inhibicio, -onis** *n f* prohibition, order forbidding some activity 6/23, etc
- inhonoro, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to dishonour, treat without respect 6/28, etc
- Innocentes, -ium** *sbst m* the (Holy) Innocents, the children of Bethlehem killed by Herod in an attempt to kill the infant Jesus (Mt 2.16–18), commemorated liturgically on 28 December; *see* festum
- inobediens, -ntis** *adj* disobedient 347/20
- inposterum** *adv* for in posterum [*OLD* posterus]
- inprimis** *adv* for imprimis [*OLD*]
- inquinacio, -onis** *n f* stain, dirt, contamination 4/2
- inquirō, -rere, -siui, -situm** *v intr* 1. literally to make inquiry, investigate (eg, a crime or complaint) 3/19, etc; 2. hence to hold an inquest or other inquiry 78/34
- inquisicio, -onis** *n f* 1. inquiry 3/13, etc; 2. inquest, a judicial inquiry 78/30m
- instans, -ntis** *ppr* (of dates) present, instant 606/14, etc
- instrumentum, -i** *n nt* 1. literally tool, hence **instrumenta ioci** the tools of play, here referring to the gear of a puppet play 78/31; 2. by extension musical instrument 33/39
- intantum** *adv* for in tantum [*OLD* tantum]
- integre** *adv* wholly, entirely 341/26
- interludium, -i** *n nt* interlude, a form of popular pastime or entertainment; sometimes used as synonym for 'ludus'; possibly primarily visual but a wide range of activities could be described by the word 333/13
- intromitto, -ittere, -isi, -issum** *v tr* literally to admit to or introduce, hence in idiom **intromittere se** (with 'de' + *abl*) to involve oneself with, concern oneself with 347/15–16
- ioculator, -oris** *n m* juggler, entertainer 7/17
- iocus, -i** *n m* (*nt in pl*) 1. in CL jest, joke (often verbal) 6/13, etc; 2. hence in AL, amusement, sport, pastime; *see* instrumentum
- Ioseph** *n indecl* Joseph, name of several saints, especially Joseph of Nazareth, husband of the Virgin Mary, here likely a person representing saint 108/8
- Isidorus, -i** *n m* Isidore of Seville (c 560–636), archbishop of Seville and encyclopedist 5/19
- istrio** *see* histrio
- Iudas Machabeus, Iude Machabei** *n m* Judas Maccabee, political and military leader of the Jewish revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes, cited here for his cleansing of the Jerusalem Temple in 165 BCE 4/1 [*ODCC* JUDAS MACCABAEUS]
- junior, -ius** *compar adj* junior, lesser, hence the

- younger of two persons having the same name or surname 265/20, etc
- iurator**, **-oris** *n m* juror, member of a jury 609/23
- iuratus**, **-a**, **-um** *ppf pass* sworn: used of a burgess oath 218/10, *or* that required of an accused party in an ecclesiastical court 334/19, etc, *or* that required of an apprentice 208/36m, etc, *or* that required of a town officer 319/19, etc
- iuro**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* to swear an oath, eg, the oath required of an accused party in an ecclesiastical court 347/22
- iusta**, **-e** *n f* joust 603/10, etc
- iusticiarius**, **-ii** *n m* judge, justice (eg, of the peace or of assizes) 608/15, etc
- iusto**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v intr* to take part in tournaments or jousts, to joust 606/18, etc
- kalende**, **-arum** *n f pl* calends, the first day of a month; in the Roman dating system, all other days of a month were designated by counting backwards from three fixed points, its nones (the fifth or seventh day), its ides (the thirteenth or fifteenth day), and the calends of the following month 342/26 [Cheney, pp 145–6]
- la**, **le**, **lee**, **lez** forms of the Romance definite art usually used to signal the beginning of an *ε* word or phr in an otherwise *l* passage: 316/34, etc; although **la**, **le**, and **lee** are formally singular and **lez** is formally plural, they are not always in agreement with the nouns they modify, eg, **le Maryners** 79/24, etc, *or* **lez ... orlege** 132/19; sometimes found as name element, eg, 104/21; sometimes found as place-name element, eg, 103/33
- laborarius**, **-ii** *n m* labourer, workman 333/14
- laboratus**, **-i** *n m* labour, service 321/5
- lagena**, **-e** *n f* gallon 106/35 [cp *OLD* lagona]
- laicalis**, **-e** *adj* of or pertaining to the laity, laical 108/18
- laicus**, **-i** *n m* layman, one who is not in orders of any kind 3/18, etc
- Lancastria**, **-e** *n f* Lancaster: 1. place name, *here* used as a personal name element 607/31, etc; 2. name of an earldom 609/14
- laqueus**, **-i** *n m* some sort of tie or fastener: cord, lace, ribbon 583/29, etc
- latro**, **-onis** *n m* 1. *literally* bandit, robber 6/14; 2. *hence* a thief 25/7
- le**, **lee** *see* **la**
- lectio**, **-onis** *n f* *literally* (public) reading, act of reading aloud, *hence* one of the readings established for a liturgical service 333/1
- legalis**, **-e** *adj* lawful; *see* **moneta**
- legenda**, **-e** *subst f* a book of readings, often one appointed for liturgical use or for use in the refectory of a religious house: **legenda sanctorum** legend of the saints, such a book comprising saints' lives, *possibly here* referring to a sanctorale, a book of daily office readings and other propers for the saints' days of the liturgical year 332/37; **legenda temporalis** a temporal, a book of daily offices for the liturgical year, exclusive of those for saints' days 332/38–9
- Leicestria**, **-e** *n f* Leicester, name of an earldom 188/37 and a county 72/32
- lemniscus**, **-i** *n m* ribbon, *here* glossed by *ε* 'tasselles' 583/33
- leta**, **-e** *n f* leet court or a session thereof 171/39, etc
- leudatum**, **-i** *n nt* something played, *apparently here* a polyphonic song 333/1 [from *CL* ludere?]
- leuo**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** 1. *literally* to lift up, raise, put up (an object) 8/7, etc; 2. *in legal idiom* to raise or levy a sum of money (eg, an assessment or a bond) 320/14, etc; *see also* **aries**
- lez** *see* **la**
- liber**, **libri** *n m* book 137/13, etc; **liber officialis** office book, a court book containing the records of office cases 336/8
- liberata**, **-e** *n nt* livery: 1. clothing of a set pattern provided by a city or other corporate body for various officers, often including waits 112/13m, etc; 2. *hence* those loyal to a particular person or group, a faction 25/33 [cp *OEVO* livery *n.* 3a]
- liberatura**, **-e** *n f* livery, clothing of a set pattern provided by a city or other corporate body for its officers (including waits) or by a monarch for his or her servants 35/9m, etc
- libertas**, **-atis** *n f* *literally* liberty, freedom, *hence collectively* the liberties of a borough, ie, its

privileged legal and administrative status, and especially its right to self-government and its own courts, enjoyed only by those residents who were burgesses, *or* the territory to which they apply 207/6

libitum, **-i** *n sbst nt* will, pleasure 155/7 [*OLD* libita]

libra, **-e** *n f* 1. pound (measurement of weight) 104/6, etc; 2. *hence* pound (currency denomination) 341/21, etc

licencia, **-e** *n f* permission, freedom (to do something), *hence* formal permission, licence 606/19, etc

licencio, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* to allow, permit, license 3/24

lignum, **-i** *n nt* literally wood, *by extension* a stump or post 5/17

ligo, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* literally to tie, bind, *hence* to restraint 5/11

limitator, **-oris** *n m* limiter, one that acts within limits; *see* **frater**

Lincolnia, **-e** *n f* Lincoln: name of a city 103/14, etc; a county 608/25, etc; and an earldom

Lincolna 302/3; **Lyncolna** 304/9

Lincolniensis, **-i** *n f* Lincoln: name of a diocese 3/5, etc, and an archdeaconry 132/13, etc

linura, **-e** *n f* lining (ie, for clothing) 583/22

liquide *adv* clearly 208/9

littera, **-e** *n f* literally a letter of the alphabet, *hence in coll pl* letter, epistle 341/10; **littere ... patentes** letter patent, a type of formal communication (eg, a royal decree) sent in the form of a letter not closed by a seal 606/21, etc

logia, **-e** *n f* hut, shed 607/8

Londonia, **-e** *n f* London 59/2m

lot(t)us, **-i** *n m* lot, portion, *hence* due, customary payment; *see* **scot(t)um**

luculencius *compar adv* more clearly 32/2

ludibrium, **-ii** *n nt* 1. literally playful or frivolous behaviour, usually derisive or insulting, *hence* some scurrilous or otherwise improper performance 351/5; 2. applied particularly to the seasonal misrule of the minor clergy at cathedrals 762/11, etc

ludificatus, **-a**, **-um** *ppf pass* put on, performed 125/13

ludimagister, **-tri** *n m* schoolmaster 208/20

luditor, **-oris** *n m* player 82/29, etc

ludo, **-dere**, **-si**, **-sum** *v tr* to play, with various significances: 1. to play a sport or game, engage in a pastime (exact sense unclear) 103/34, 193/23, 350/30?; 2. to play a play or interlude 122/23, 185/18, 319/28, 320/8, 333/13, 350/30?; 3. **ludere (ad)** to play (at) a sport or game of chance, *hence often* to gamble (at) 7/18 (2)

ludus, **-i** *n m* game, sport, play, pastime; with various significances (which are sometimes difficult to distinguish): 1. game, sport 5/17, 5/18, 5/20, 5/21; 8/7?, 8/8, 109/17; 2. (folk) game, popular pastime 5/22, 6/11, 8/7?, 342/35?, 350/31?, 351/5?; 3. the seasonal misrule of the minor clergy 3/16, 3/17, 4/12, 108/18; 4. play on a religious or historical theme or subject (often based on the Bible or saints' lives) 104/22, etc; 5. play or representation of an unspecified kind, sense unclear 6/4, 79/16, 83/7, 125/11, 342/35?; 350/31?, 351/5?

lumen, **-inis** *n nt* light: 1. a candle or group of candles to be burned in honour of a saint in a church or chapel and often brought there processionally 24/29, etc; 2. processional candle 27/34, 30/10

lumenare, **-is** *n nt* light, a candle or group of candles to be burned in honour of a saint in a church or chapel and brought there processionally 107/35

Luna, **-e** *n f* the Moon; *see* **dies**

lusio, **-onis** *n f* performance (of a play) 192/24

lusor, **-oris** *n m* player, participant in a sport, pastime, play, interlude, or other entertainment: 1. used absolutely, exact sense unclear 333/21, etc; 2. players under royal, noble, or other patronage, with the nature of the entertainment often unspecified 38/3, etc

lusus, **-us** (*2nd decl gen form at* 124/40) *n m* 1. play on a religious theme or subject (often based on the Bible) 122/23, etc; 2. play or representation of an unspecified kind, sense unclear 127/9

Lyncolna *see* **Lincolnia**

Machabeus, -i *see* **Iudas Machabeus**

magister, -tri *n m* 1. one who has authority or rank, master: ~ **choristarum** master of the choristers, one in charge of their performance and education 775/18, etc; also used as a title of respect with names or titles of office, etc 120/29, etc; 2. master, one who is in command of a given situation 125/21²; 3. schoolmaster, teacher 105/21¹, etc; 4. **artium** ~ a master of arts, one holding the highest degree obtainable in the arts faculty, and the prerequisite for entering one of the other faculties, *here* one acting as a surrogate judge 58/24

maior, -ius *compar adj* greater (in size, dignity, or worth) 607/12, etc

maior, -oris *n m* mayor 110/13, etc

maledico, -cere, -xi, -ctum *v tr* to speak ill of, *hence* to curse, anathematize 6/31

manerium, -ii *n nt* manor, *usually* a tract of land held of the Crown by a tenant in chief, *but here* a royal holding 580/15, etc

manucapio, -ere, manucepi, -tum *v tr* to act as a pledge or guarantor, to offer (someone) bail 72/32, etc

manuceptor, -oris *n m* guarantor, one who acts as a pledge for another's performance of a bond, task, or other obligation 325/28

manus, -us *n f* 1. *literally* hand 25/22; 2. *hence* expressing possession or ownership 25/9, etc; 3. *by synecdoche* a person; *see* **purgo**; 4. *in idiom ad manum mortuam* in mortmain, applied to lands or tenements held by a religious order or the like 316/21 [*OE*DO mortmain *n.*]; *see also* **ad, per**

manutencio, -onis *n f* maintenance, support 25/33

marca, -e *n f* mark, currency denomination equal to 13s 4d 342/21, etc

marcator *var of* mercator [*OLD*]

Maria, -e *n f* the name Mary: **beata Maria** the Blessed Virgin Mary 24/27, etc; referring to a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary 107/30, etc; a person or image representing the Virgin Mary in a procession or other event 108/8, etc

mariscus, -i *n m* marsh 82/38, etc

mater, -tris *n f* mother: 1. *literally* 6/17, etc;

2. ~ **spiritualis** one's spiritual mother, *ie*, the church 6/30; *see also* **ecclesia**

Mathatias, -e Mattathias, Jewish priest, father of Judas, Jonathan, and Simon Maccabee, whose resistance against the Seleucid occupation of Judea is related in the OT Books of Maccabees 4/4 [*see* *ODCC* MACCABEES, BOOKS OF]

matrix, -cis *n f* mother; *see* **ecclesia**

matutine, -arum *subst f* matins, one of the canonical hours making up the divine office of clerics; before the Reformation, in spite of its name, matins was the night office, being said at midnight or 2 AM under strict Benedictine observance 104/9, etc

mediatus, -a, -um *ppf* situated in the middle, *hence* half-done, half-finished 124/36 [*DML* *mediare* 11b]

medietas, -atis *n f* half 31/21, etc

memorandum, -i *subst nt* a note, memorandum 28/33, etc

memoria, -e *n f* 1. recollection, memory: **tempus cuius ~ non existit** *literally* a time of which no memory exists, time out of mind 316/15; 2. memorial, commemoration 6/3

memoro, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to remind (of), recall to mind, note 136/18, etc

miles, -itis *n m* knight 603/9, etc [*see* *OE*DO knight *sb* 4a]

militaris, -e *adj* 1. of or pertaining to a knight or soldier, knight-like, military 607/27, etc; 2. *hence as m* *subst* knight 86/6

mimus, -i *n m* *originally in* *LL* performer, actor, especially in the often obscene farces and pantomimes of the later Roman stage [*see* *OLD*], influencing its pejorative usage in theological and canonical sources 7/17; *hence in* *AI* performer, but probably one whose performance included music; used without specification, exact sense unclear 333/21, etc; with a gloss indicating a particular kind of musician, ~ **alias trumpputers** 33/37–8, ~ **alias waytes** 35/9; with a named royal, noble, or other patron, such a performer under his or her patronage 343/20–1, etc; with the name of a town, such a performer in its employ, likely a town wait

- 343/34, etc [cp *OLD* *mimus* and REED *Devon LG mimus*]
- ministerium**, **-ii** *n nt* (Christian) ministry 4/31
- ministrallus**, **-i** *n m* *literally* a servant (ultimately from LL 'ministerialis'); minstrel, performer, musician, often used either of a musician who is a member of a household or in the employ of a town (often a synonym of **histrio** and **mimus**): 1. used without specification **minstrellus** 107/23, 322/14; **ministallus** 79/14; 2. a minstrel, probably a musician, who is a member of a household or under patronage 79/5, etc; **mynstrellus** 35/18; 3. a minstrel in the employ of a town, probably a town wait 112/14, etc; **minstrellus** 319/19; **mynstrellus** 319/18m, etc
- ministrator**, **-oris** *n m* servant 33/37
- miraculum**, **-i** *n nt* miracle, wondrous act or sign; *hence here possibly* a performance recounting such events *or* a reference to secular misrule by the minor clergy 3/17, etc
- misericordia**, **-e** *n f* *literally* mercy; *hence as legal idiom in* ~ (to be) in mercy, ie, subject to a fine, called an amercement, levied at the mercy, ie, the discretion, of the judge rather than at a fixed rate 231/9; *with preposition omitted* 78/29m
- missa**, **-e** *n f* mass, liturgical celebration of the Eucharist 7/1
- modicum** *adv* little, to a small degree or extent 103/18
- modius**, **-i** *n m* bushel (dry measure) 25/15, etc
- modus**, **-i** *n m* means, manner 3/18, etc; *see also* **uia**
- monachus**, **-i** *n m* monk 607/4, etc
- monasterium**, **-ii** *n nt* monastery, religious house for a community of monks 342/11, etc
- moneta**, **-e** *n f* money, currency 25/37; *in idiom legalis* ~ **Anglie** legal English currency 325/29–30
- monialis**, **-is**, **-e** *sbst f* nun 317/11
- mortificatus**, **-a**, **-um** *ppf pass* amortized, alienated in mortmain (*see manus*) 25/36', etc
- multoninus** **-a** **-um** *adj* of or derived from sheep; *see caro*
- musicio** **-onis** *n m* musician 219/4
- musicus**, **-i** *sbst m* musician 747/28, etc; glossed as 'the wates' 42/13; **musicu uille** town musicians, ie, the town waits 325/14–15
- mynstrellus** *see ministrallus*
- natalis**, **-is** *sbst m* Christmas, the Christmas season 111/42, etc; **aurora** ~ **domini** dawn of Christmas day 110/23, etc; *see also dies, festum, tempus*
- natiuitas**, **-atis** *n f* *literally* birth, *by extension* Christmas: **aurora natiuitatis Domini** the dawn of Christmas day 111/6; *see also festum, terminus*
- nauculus**, **-i** *n m* *literally* small ship, boat, *here* ~ **No(i)e** Noah's little ship, a model representing Noah's ark, used in a procession 27/12, etc; **naucula** 33/12, etc; **nouicula** 34/5
- nauis**, **-is** *n f* 1. *literally* ship 607/11; 2. model representing a ship 79/25, etc; 3. *in idiom* ~ **ecclesie** nave of a church, main central body of a church building between the chancel and the west doors 105/39, etc
- nerfus** *var of neruus* [*OLD*]
- Noa**, **-(i)e** *n m* Noah, the OT patriarch who, according to Gen 6–9, built the ark and thereby saved himself, his family, and all the species of the world's non-aquatic animals when the rest of mankind was destroyed in the flood 27/12, etc
- nobilis**, **-e** *sbst m* noble or distinguished person 129/19
- nocturnum**, **-i** *sbst nt* nocturn, one of the seven parts into which the Psalter was divided according to tradition by St Jerome 347/24 [*OEDO* nocturn *n.* 2]
- nomyny** *var of nomine* [*OLD* *nomen*]
- Northhumbrelandia**, **-e** *n f* Northumberland, name of an earldom 79/14
- notacio**, **-onis** *n f* act of providing musical notation or the notation itself 332/23, etc
- notarius**, **-ii** *n m* notary, person authorized to draw up and attest to various public and legal documents, thus giving such documents an authoritative status at law; often notaries

- served as registrars of ecclesiastical courts:
 ~ **publicus** notary public 58/25, etc
- nouicula** *see nauiculus*
- nouus, -a, -um** *adj* new 27/19, etc; *see castrum, denugacitas, -atis* *n f* frivolous behaviour, frivolity or triviality 103/16
- nullatenus** *adv* by no means 103/25, etc;
nullatinus 342/36 [*cp OLD* *tenus*]
- numerositas, -atis** *n f* abundance, large number 608/2
- nunc** *adv* literally now, hence used as quasi-*adj* current, present 609/4, etc
- nuncius, -i** *n m* 1. messenger, 189/15?; 2. hence with 112/16¹ or without 112/16² **communis**, town crier; 3. representative (of a group) 189/15?; legal representative, proctor 338/2, etc
- nundine, -arum** *n f pl* fair 606/37, etc
- obediencia, -e** *n f* obedience, here used with special reference to the obedience owed ecclesiastical laws and canons or to one's ecclesiastical superiors 103/22
- obfuscatus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* darkened, obscured 332/37
- obiiceo, -icere, -eci, -ectum** *v tr* 1. to bring a charge (against) 56/33, etc (*with acc of charge and dat of person*); 2. hence *ppf pass* as *nt sbst* charge 268/2
- oblacio, -onis** *n f* 1. alms, offerings, gift 6/33, etc; 2. hence the mass, especially but not exclusively one offered for the souls of the departed 25/3, etc
- obligo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to bind legally, oblige; *in pass* to bind or obligate oneself or to be bound or obligated, either to keep certain conditions or for the compliance of another, under pain of the forfeit of a sum of money 328/2, etc
- obolium, -i** *n nt* halfpenny 25/20
- obsequium, -ii** *n nt* duty, service, hence *in pl* with **diuinum** religious service, divine worship 4/9, etc
- ocasiono, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to interfere with (someone), molest; here probably legal to hinder by process of law 608/17, etc
- occupacio, -onis** *n f* activity, business (*in coll pl*) 118/43
- ocrea, -e** *n f* leather legging or boot 78/11
- octaua, -e** *n f* octave, the eight-day period following a major festival, here of Corpus Christi 36/23
- officialis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to a bishop's judicial office; *see liber*
- officiarius, -i** *n m* officer, functionary 316/25, etc
- officium, -ii** *n nt* 1. office, position of responsibility or authority 4/24, etc; especially a bishop's judicial office often exercised through subordinate judges **ex parte officii** on behalf of the office 94/37; 2. used collectively for staff and apparatus needed for the on-going work of a household office, department 580/11, etc; 3. **diuinum officium** divine office, set of daily prayers and scriptural readings to be said by religious at the canonical hours 108/19–20, etc
- onoro, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to reward (someone with something) 230/19
- operatus, -a, -um** *adj* worked, formed 27/28, etc
- opus, -eris** *n nt* work, labour 109/19, etc; hence **ad opus + gen** for the use (of) 25/37, etc; **opera sancta** holy works 5/27; working, making 27/27, etc
- oracio, -onis** *n f* 1. speech, oration 208/3; 2. prayer 6/4, etc
- ora pro nobis** *vb phr* pray for us: a litany response, here in a mock funeral 271/37, etc
- ordinacio, -onis** *n f* 1. regulation, management 25/12, etc; 2. a specific regulation, an order 25/34, etc
- ordino, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* 1. to order, direct 25/30, etc; 2. to order, arrange, provide 608/34, etc
- ordo, -inis** *n m* 1. order (as opposed to disorder), orderly arrangement 4/8; 2. one of the orders or groups of persons within the church, here the order of clergy (as opposed to laity) 762/12; 3. religious order 3/21, etc; 4. order, ruling, decision 328/7
- orilegium, orilogium, orrilogium** *see horilogium*

- ostensio, -onis** *n f* 1. act of showing, demonstration 3/10; 2. display, show 127/9; **ostencio** 126/12
- otiositas, -atis** *n f* idleness, laziness 5/29
- Oxoniensis, -is** *sbst m* Oxford, *here* the name of an earldom 186/15
- pacifice** *adv* peacefully, peaceably 608/5, etc
- pagina, -e**¹ *n f* page, *here* used by metonymy for the letter written thereon 4/30
- pagina, -e**² *n f* pageant, a scene or episode within a longer play, *here by extension* pageant wagon 237/6
- pal(l)acium, -ii** *n nt* palace: 1. a bishop's official residence within his see 109/16; 2. ruler's residence, **Pallacium de Westmonasterio** Westminster Palace 532/35
- pannus, -i** *n m* cloth, a piece of cloth 78/11, etc
- papa, -e** *n m* pope, the bishop of Rome 341/17
- papirus, -i** *n m* paper, a piece of paper 33/4, etc
- paraceue -es** *n f* preparation (from Gk παρασκευή); *see* **dies**
- Paracletus -i** *n m* the Paraclete, *here* an epithet of the Holy Spirit 32/11, etc [OVCC PARACLETE]
- parcarius -i** *n m* a park-keeper, parker 151/41
- parcella, -e** *n f* 1. bundle, parcel 333/5; 2. detail, item in an account 121/36, etc; 3. *hence* a statement or list of items, an itemized account 332/25, etc
- parochia, -e** *n f* parish, the smallest distinct unit of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and Christian ministry, each parish having its own church, priest, warden, and tithes 6/25¹, etc
- parochialis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to a parish 341/18; *see also* **ecclesia, sacerdos**
- parochianus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to a parish, parochial, *hence m or f as sbst* parishioner, member of a parish 3/11, etc
- pars, -tis** *n f* part: 1. portion 607/4, etc; 2. one's part or side, *hence ex parte* on one's behalf 606/22, etc; 3. aspect or standpoint 7/8, etc; 4. role in a play or the like 350/31, etc; 5. one of the musical divisions of a polyphonic composition, often corresponding to the voice by which it was intended to be sung 332/34, 332/36, 333/2
- particulariter** *adv* in detail, item by item 32/2, etc
- particulus, -i** *n m* detail, item, particular (eg, of accounts or receipts) 580/11, etc
- paruiloquium -ii** *n nt* a short conversation, a discussion 203/22
- Pascha, -e** *n f* Easter, festival celebrating the resurrection of Christ, kept on the Sunday after the full moon on or next following 21 March 609/14 (*in nt form Pascha, -atis*), etc; *see also* **dies, septimana, terminus**
- paschalis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to Easter: **tempus paschalis** Eastertide 105/5, etc
- passagium, -ii** *n nt* passage, right or ability of passage, *hence commune* ~ right of way 103/35
- passio, -onis** *n f* affliction, suffering, *hence* the Passion of Christ 103/18; *see also* **septimana**
- pastor, -oris** *n m* 1. shepherd, *hence* one representing a shepherd 152/39, etc; 2. spiritual pastor, *here* bishop 4/24
- pastoralis, -e** *adj* *literally* of or belonging to a shepherd, pastoral, *by extension* of a bishop (as pastor to his diocese); *see* **baculus**
- patens, -ntis** *adj* open; *see* **littera**
- pater, -tris** *n m* father: 1. ~ **noster** Our Father, the first words of the Lord's Prayer, *here as indecl phr* the title of a play 110/16, etc; 2. **sancti patres** the holy fathers, the fathers of the church, the early Christian writers 7/19
- pax, -cis** *n f* 1. peace, civic order, a state characterized by peaceful relations among neighbours or fellow townspeople 325/25, etc; **gerere pacem ... domini regis** to conduct oneself in accordance with the king's peace 72/35–6; 2. peace, the absence of war 608/9, etc; *see also* **sessio**
- peccamen, inis** *n nt* sin, offence against God or divine law 6/7, etc
- peccatum, -i** *n nt* sin, offence against God or divine law 5/24, etc
- pecia, -e** *n f* piece, eg, of string 27/13 (2)
- pecunia, -e** *n f* 1. money, wealth 7/6; 2. *in pl* (ready) money, coin, cash 195/41, etc
- pedagogus, -i** *n m* schoolmaster 185/16, etc
- pencio -onis** *n f* pension, fixed or regular payment for services 204/19 [OVDO pension *n*]

- penitencia**, **-e** *n f* penance, act of contrition or restitution imposed by ecclesiastical authorities upon persons guilty of canonical offences 347/22, etc
- peniteo**, **-ere**, **-ui** *v intr* literally to repent, be penitent, hence to do penance 321/31, etc
- Pentecostes**, **-es** or **-is** *n f* Pentecost, Whitsunday, Sunday fifty days following Easter 106/5; see also **dies**, **festum**, **septimana**
- per** *prep* with *acc* 1. (of an agent or instrument) through, by, by means of 3/13, etc; *in the idiom per manus* + *gen* of person by the agency of (someone), by (someone) 333/12, etc; 2. (of stages of a journey or passage) through, by way of 4/29; 3. (used distributively) per, for each, for every (following a number expressing a rate, eg, of expense or payment) 583/21, etc; *as in the idiom per annum* by the year, annually 103/37, etc; 4. throughout, in or to every part or constituent member of (an area, region, or community, eg, diocese, church, etc) 4/22, etc; 5. during, throughout, for; on, at (a period of time) 5/4, etc; 6. in accordance with, according to 609/33, etc
- percipio**, **-cipere**, **-cepi**, **-ceptum** *v tr* to receive, get (something due one) 106/5
- peregrinacio**, **-onis** *n f* pilgrimage 25/24
- pergamenum**, **-i** *n nt* parchment 333/5
- persona**, **-e** *n f* 1. person, individual 27/20; *in idiom in persona* + *gen* in the person of, indicating the individual through whom one acts or receives by proxy 265/17; 2. a beneficed member of the clergy, a parson 104/6, etc
- personalis**, **-e** *adj* personal, of or relating to an individual person 341/20
- personaliter** *adv* in person, personally 606/21, etc
- picturacio** **-onis** *n f* the act of painting 583/27
- pixis**, **-dis** *n f* a box: **communis** ~ common box, ie, a common fund 25/29
- placea**, **-e** *n f* a piece or plot (of land) 103/33
- placitum**, **-i** *n nt* judicial plea or suit 8/9; **placitum transgressionis** a plea of trespass 78/28
- plegius**, **-ii** *n m* 1. guarantor, one who acts as a pledge for another's performance of a task or obligation 78/29; etc; **plagijs** 172/2; 2. *by extension* a pledge or bond given by a guarantor 319/36, etc
- pluries** *adv* many times, often 5/5, etc
- pomum**, **-i** *n nt* fruit tree or specifically apple tree, hence apple 197/4
- popularis**, **-is** *sbst comm* member of the common people, hence a lay person as opposed to member of the clergy 351/5
- populus**, **-i** *n m* 1. people, inhabitants 608/7; 2. lay people as opposed to clergy 3/21, etc; 3. the people as opposed to kings or rulers 72/36
- porrigo**, **-igere**, **-exi**, **-ectum** *v tr* to deliver 606/22
- portarius**, **-ii** *n m* porter, one who carries something 164/4
- portator**, **-oris** *n m* porter, one who carries something 316/36, etc; **portitor** 27/33, etc
- potacio**, **-onis** *n f* drinking, act of drinking, especially in a social group 107/33, etc
- potus**, **-i** *n m* drink 219/15, etc
- prandium**, **-ii** *n nt* dinner, the second and most elaborate of the three main meals of the day 122/24, etc
- precaucio**, **-onis** *n f* forewarning, prevention 6/7
- precentor**, **-oris** *n m* precentor, member of a cathedral chapter responsible for directing the singing of choir services; administratively, the precentor is second to the dean 125/7, etc
- preconizacio**, **-onis** *n f* summoning, a formal call made in a church court summoning a cited party three times by name in an audible voice to appear before the court 268/4
- preconizo**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* 1. to announce, proclaim 607/4; 2. to summon (someone) formally to appear in a church court 73/16, etc
- predicacio**, **-onis** *n f* preaching 3/20, etc
- predicator**, **-oris** *n m* 1. preacher 3/22; 2. hence friar preacher, a Dominican friar 607/13
- predico**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* 1. to make mention of, declare 603/14; 2. hence preach 3/21, etc
- prefero**, **-ferre**, **-tuli**, **-latum** *v tr* to state (something) earlier 317/23
- preiudicium**, **-ii** *n nt* prejudice, harm, detriment 103/36

- prelatus, -i** *n m* prelate, a senior church dignitary 7/4
- premissus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* aforementioned, foregoing 5/5, 6/12; *hence nt as sbst* what has gone before, the foregoing, the aforementioned 342/4, etc
- premunio, -ire, -iui, itum** *v tr* forewarn 25/6
- preoccupo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to occupy beforehand, to take possession of previously 607/10
- preordino, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to arrange beforehand 607/7
- prepositura, -e** *n f* office of the provost 125/23
- prepositus, -i** *n m* provost, an administrative officer in a cathedral chapter 106/7, etc
- presbiter, -eri** *n m* priest, member of the second of the three major orders of clergy, the other two being bishop (episcopus) and deacon (diaconus) 104/11
- prescriptus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* aforewritten, above-written 267/23
- presencialiter** *adv* face to face 3/15
- presens, -entis** *adj* present: 1. existing at the present time 342/32; *in idiom in presenti* at the present time 127/6–7; 2. existing in the same place, at hand 4/30, etc; *as sbst comm pl* the present document or letter 108/20 [*OLD* praesens]
- presento, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to present: 1. to present (a candidate) to a church or other ecclesiastical benefice 127/5; 2. to present the name(s) of the accused or the facts of a case, used of a secular jury 609/25; 3. to present (someone) as in violation of canon law, used of churchwardens, sidesmen, and/or parish clergy 266/19, etc
- presumo, -ere, -psi, -ptum** *v tr* to take upon oneself (to do something), used of violators of rules or orders 5/6, etc
- pretextus -us** *n m* (legitimate) reason 608/41
- prex, precis** *n f* prayer: **preces diuine** divine service 208/4
- princeps, -ipis** *n m* prince, the king's son 79/13
- prior, -oris** *n m* prior, either the deputy of an abbot or head of a priory 341/16
- priorissa, -e** *n f* prioress, either the deputy of an abbess or head of a priory 317/22
- pro** *prep with abl* 1. on behalf of, for the sake of, for 4/25, etc; 2. on account of, on the basis of, for 7/6; 3. in payment for, for (goods or services) 104/35, etc; 4. in exchange for (a sum of money) 347/31, etc; 5. in view of, as befits: *in idioms pro eo quod* because 105/20, etc; **pro parte sua** for his part 32/1, etc; 6. in accordance with 104/14; *in idiom pro posse nostro* to the best of our ability 4/28; 7. for the purpose of 347/15; + *gdve* 609/2; 8. for, in order to obtain 5/18, etc; 9. by way of, as 6/32, etc; 10. in the case of, for 35/10²; 11. (of time) for, on, for the duration of 319/35, etc; **pro tunc** then, at that time (*written as one word*) 125/22; *see also tempus*
- probatus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* approved, allowed (used of accounts or expenses) 28/32
- processio, -onis** *n f* 1. (liturgical) procession 6/24, etc; 2. civic or guild procession in honour of a religious festival 107/30, etc
- processus, -us** *n m* (legal) process, suit 36/21
- procuracio, -onis** *n f* procuration, a payment made by a parish in lieu of providing entertainment, food, and drink for a bishop, archdeacon, or other official visitor 341/7, etc
- procuramentum, -i** *n nt* procurement, instigation 609/33
- proficuus, -i** *n m* revenue, profit 326/17
- proludium, ii** *n nt* preliminary bout 603/10 [Souter]
- prophanare, prophanari** *vars of profano* [*OLD*]
- propheta, -e** *n m* a prophet: one of the authors of the prophetic books of the OT 103/15; one of the OT prophets represented in some way at matins on Christmas morning 110/6, etc
- prophetia, -e** *n f* prophecy, the writings of the OT prophets, *here apparently* a section from a prophetic book notated for chanting or singing 332/40
- prosequor, -qui, -cutus** *v tr* to proceed in an action or claim in a court of law, to prosecute 78/29
- protunc** *see pro*
- prouincialis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to a province,

- a district of ecclesiastical administration; *see concilium*
- psalterium, -ii** *n nt* psalter, a collection of Psalms: **psalterium Dauidicum** the psalter of David 347/24
- puer, -eri** *n m* 1. *literally* boy, youth 344/34, etc; 2. choir-boy, chorister 104/12, etc; 3. school-boy 189/6, etc; 4. almonry boy, one attending the almonry school of an abbey 350/37; *see also episcopus*
- pulcinarius, -a, um** *adj* of or pertaining to pullet or chicken; *see caro*
- puluis, -ueris** *n m* dust, powder: **puluis saxi** *literally* stone powder, *possibly either* brimstone, sulphur *or* polishing or scouring powder 27/19
- purgo, are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* 1. to cleanse, purify 4/2, etc; 2. *in refl sense* to clear oneself from an accusation by means of an oath with or without compurgators 347/12¹, etc; the number of compurgators is expressed by **manus** in the abl sg with an ordinal or distributive number, eg, **ad purgandum se iij^a manu** 340/40
- quadrans, -ntis** *n m* farthing, a quarter penny 78/30m, etc (*in form qua.*)
- quartèrium, -ii** *n nt* *literally* quarter, one fourth part of any measure: 1. as a measure of capacity of grain, probably a quarter of a chaldron, 8 or 9 bushels 25/38, etc; 2. as a measure of weight, a quarter of a hundredweight, 28 lbs 196/2, etc; 3. as a measure of length, a quarter of an ell, 11¼ inches 34/29, etc [*see OEDO* quarter n 1a, 3b, 5a]
- quaternum, -i** *n nt* (from cl. 'quaterni' four each, four apiece) 1. *literally* quire, strictly a gathering of four sheets folded to produce eight leaves or sixteen pages, *hence* possibly any gathering of sheets 333/6; 2. a booklet formed from a single quire (often used to keep annual accounts or other financial records) 27/35, etc
- queror, -ri, -stum** *v tr* *literally* to complain (about), *hence intr with de* to make a legal complaint about, bring a suit against 78/28; *prp as sbst*
- querens** plaintiff, complainant in a suit 78/28m
- questio, -onis** *n f* (legal) dispute, question requiring legal determination 341/2, etc
- questuarius, -ii** *sbst m* pardoner 33/22, etc
- quindena, -e** *n f* *literally* fifteen-day period, but probably a two-week period, fortnight 48/4
- quouismodo** *adv* in any way you please, in any way 108/24, etc
- ragardum** *see* **regardum**
- ratus, -a, -um** *adj* 1. valid, fixed, certain; *see habeo*; 2. *f as sbst* proportion: **iuxta ratam** in proportion, proportionally 582/4, etc [*see OLD* ratus and Latham rata]
- realis, -e** *adj* actual, real, (of agreements) binding 341/21 [Latham]
- recensitus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* recounted, related 607/33 [formed from *OLD* recensio (?)]
- receptor, -oris** *n m* receiver, a financial officer in a cathedral chapter 189/3; **receptor generalis** receiver-general, another name for the same officer 203/27–8
- recognosco, -oscere, -oui, -otum** *v tr* to acknowledge, confess 193/25
- recordator, -oris** *n m* recorder, a judge, usually an expert jurist, appointed by a borough to preside in its courts and offer legal advice 208/2, etc
- recreacio, -ionis** *n f* recreation, refreshment 27/30, etc
- rector, -oris** *n m* rector, priest having responsibility for and authority over a parish and entitled to enjoy its tithes 3/19, etc
- redditus, -us** *n m* rent, revenue from land 25/35, etc
- redonacio, -onis** *n f* act of giving back 155/7
- reformacio, -onis** *n f* reform, restoration, amendment 319/27
- reformato, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to correct, reform 27/1, etc
- regardatus, -a, -atum** *ppf pass* paid or given in reward 333/12, etc
- regardum, -i** *n nt* reward, gratuity, customary payment 118/3, etc; **ragardum** 160/33; **rewardum** 79/36
- regina, -e** *n f* queen: 1. the reigning monarch 82/29, etc; 2. wife of the king 36/22; 3. summer queen, one presiding in a summer game 38/14; *see also Salve Regina*

- registrarius, -ii** *n m* registrar, court official, usually a notary, who recorded proceedings before church courts and kept the various court records 266/39
- regius, -ii** *sbst m* royalist, king's follower 603/10
- regnum, -i** *n nt* 1. reign; *see* **annus**; 2. kingdom, realm 603/8, etc
- regula, -e** *n f* (monastic) rule, *here* the Benedictine Rule 342/38
- regularis, -e** *adj* regular, in accordance with a rule, *here* of a monastic rule 342/37; *as m pl sbst* regulars, monks living under a rule 342/2; *see also* **canonicus** [ODCC]
- releuamen, -inis** *n nt* relief 203/24
- relibero, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to hand over again, deliver again 320/36m
- religio, -onis** *n f* religion, worship, *here* likely in reference to the established church 59/40
- religiosus, -i** *sbst m* member of a religious order 607/2, etc
- remunerator, -oris** *n m* giver of reward, prize-giver 109/17
- reparacio, -onis** *n f* repair, mending 109/40, etc
- resquisicio, -onis, n f** request 608/29
- rescriptum, -i** *n nt* rescript, *originally* a reply on a point of law from a Roman emperor or magistrate; *here* **rescriptum apostolicum** a papal rescript, a decree from the pope 7/25 [*see* **OEDO** rescript]
- residencia, -e** *n f* fact of dwelling or residing, *hence* residence, a requirement that cathedral canons holding prebends or other endowments reside at the cathedral to perform liturgical ministry there 105/15; **magna residencia** major residence, at Lincoln Cathedral, a period in residence of at least 243 days (unless absent on chapter business) 105/12 [LeNeve, p 133]
- residenciarius¹, -i** *sbst m* residentiary, a cathedral canon in residence, 126/39; also used of cathedral clergy in the post-Reformation Anglican church 208/11, etc; **residenciarius** 192/21
- residenciarius²** *see* **canonicus**
- respondeo, -dere, -si, -sum** *v intr* *as legal term* to answer, reply to 347/18, etc
- responsorium, -ii** *n nt* responsory, chant usually sung alternately by two persons or groups, based on scriptural texts 104/9 [ODCC RESPONSORY]
- resurreccio, -onis** *n f* *literally* arising, *hence* the Resurrection, Christ's rising from the dead (Jn 20.1–18) 106/35, etc; *see also* **dies**
- retardacio, -onis** *n f* hindrance, delay 25/33
- reticulum, -i** *n nt* *in CL* a mesh bag or hair-net; *here* apparently a net cap, *glossed by E* caul 583/33 [*see* **OEDO** caul n1]
- reuencio, -onis** *n f* revenue 208/17, etc
- rewardum** *see* **regardum**
- rex, -gis** *n m* king: 1. a monarch of England 603/5, etc. 2. one of the Magi as a character in a play 104/36, etc 3. as a character, probably King Nebuchadnezzar, in a play 56/1, etc (*see* Introduction, p 421)
- riota, -e** *n f* riot, public disturbance involving three or more persons 25/33
- rota, -e** *n f* wheel: 1. that of a vehicle 27/14, etc; 2. as a device to which a quintain is mounted allowing it to rotate 5/17, etc; *see also* **aries**
- sabbatum, -i** *n nt* sabbath, the day of rest; *see* **dies**
- sacerdos, -otis** *n m* priest, a member of the second of the three major orders of clergy, the other two being deacon (diaconus) and bishop (episcopus) 3/7, etc
- sacramentum, -i** *n nt* 1. oath 25/29, etc [OLD]; 2. sacrament, one of the seven rites believed to have been instituted by Christ and viewed by the church as channels of divine grace 7/2, etc [ODCC SACRAMENT]
- sacrista, -e** *n m* sacrist, one responsible for the communion vessels, plate, and other sacred or valuable objects belonging to a church or other religious institution 104/14, etc
- salarium, -ii** *n nt* regular payment for services, salary, stipend 25/32, etc
- saluber, -bris, -bre** *adj* conducive to health, *here* spiritual health 5/23
- saluo** *adv* safely 320/36m
- Salve Regina** *vb phr* (*literally* Hail, O Queen) title of one of the four major Marian antiphons 332/40
- salus, -utis** *n f* *in CL*, health, well-being; often used

- in conventional good wishes in epistolary salutations 606/15, etc; in Christian usage, salvation 5/28; hence used in salutations in a play upon both senses 3/6, etc
- salutatio, -onis** *n f* greeting, salutation, here apparently the angelic greeting to the shepherds in Lk 2.8–14, referred to in Lectio 8 of Christmas matins 108/31m, etc
- sanctifico, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to sanctify 6/29
- sanctitas, -atis** *n f* holiness, sanctity 24/33
- sanctus, -a, -um** *adj* 1. holy or blessed used of things 5/27, etc; institutions 341/10; or persons 7/19; with names as a title Saint 606/14, etc; 2. *m or fas sbst* holy one, saint 6/2, etc
- Sarum** *n indecl* Salisbury, name of a city and diocese 341/12
- saxum** see **pulis**
- scandalum, -i** *n nt* scandal, discredit 7/3, etc
- sc(h)edula, -e** *n f* literally a sheet of paper, here schedule, a set of penitential procedures or formulae to be imposed on those guilty of canonical offences 45/36, etc
- sc(h)ola, -e** *n f* school, here a grammar school 208/14, etc; hence **schola grammatica** 192/23–4 or **scola gramaticalis** 185/16–17, etc, or in *coll pl* **scole gramaticales** 105/21, grammar school; in *coll pl* **scole cantus** song-school, a school teaching ecclesiastical singing and music 105/22 [see *OEDO* song-school]
- scholasticus, -i** *sbst m* scholar, student 208/7, etc
- scolaris, -is** *sbst m* scholar, a student, here of a grammar school 203/26
- Scotia, -e** *n f* Scotland 325/23
- scot(t)um, -i** *n nt* scot, a customary assessment made by town governments: **admitti ad scot(t)um et lot(t)um** to be admitted to scot and lot, ie, to be subject to such assessments and therefore to be admitted to the freedom of a city 321/38–9, etc
- scriptura, -e** *n f* writing, words and letters in written form 332/38
- scrutinium, -ii** *n nt* scrutiny, searching 41/9m
- scurilitas, -atis** *n f* offensive or scurrilous behaviour, especially that characterized by offensive humour 6/4, etc
- scutum, -i** *n nt* literally shield, here a scutcheon (either from its shape or because it bears the arms of the town) 320/33, etc
- secularis, -e** *adj* secular, as opposed to sacred, as legal term civil, ie, not ecclesiastical 8/10
- seculum, -i** *n nt* the world, as a symbol of what is worldly or earthly, here in *gen pl* **Seculorum** the title of a composition by Richard Davy 333/3
- senior, -ius** *compar adj* the elder of two persons having the same name or surname 302/3
- sepedictus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* often said 35/10
- septimana, -e** *n f* 1. week 347/24; ~ **passionis** Passion Week, Holy Week, the week before Easter Sunday 132/21; 2. a feast day and its octave: ~ **Pasche** Easter week, the week beginning with Easter Sunday 104/22, etc; ~ **Pentecostes** 608/26, etc, or ~ **Pentacostes** 107/31 Whitsun week, probably the feast of Pentecost and its octave
- sericum, -e** *sbst nt* silk 583/30, etc
- serimonium, -ii** *n nt* ceremony, ritual, here used as a synonym of **ludus**, hence possibly ritual representation 125/11
- serot(h)eca** see **cirot(h)eca**
- seruicia** see **ceruisia**
- seruicium, -ii** *n nt* 1. service, especially personal service 747/29 (in *abl form* **seruicium**); 2. (liturgical) service, rite 105/17
- seruiens, -ntis** *sbst m* servant 105/24, etc
- seruio, -ire, -iui or ii, -itum** *v tr* to serve, to perform: **seruire apprenticiam** to serve an apprenticeship 324/18
- seruisia** see **ceruisia**
- seruus, -i** *n m in cl* (male) slave, here (male) servant 343/20, etc
- sessio, -onis** *n f* session, sitting (of a court) 267/22; **generales sessiones pacis** general sessions of the peace, ie, of the court of quarter sessions 72/35
- setherista** see **citharista**
- sigillum, -i** *n nt* seal, a device impressed on a piece of wax used to authenticate an official document 342/24
- sinodus, -i** *n m* synod, a local council, here specifically a diocesan council made up of the bishop and other clergy, meeting to discuss

- and decide issues of doctrine and conduct 5/3;
synodus 7/10
- siro(h)eca, sirotica** *see* **cirot(h)eca**
- smigma, -atis** *n nt* literally soap, a detersive paste, hence probably a scouring agent 34/6, etc [see LSJ σμίγω, *OLD* smegma, *OEDO* smegma]
- societas, -atis** *n f* partnership, association, hence fellowship, here in reference to a craft guild 320/8
- socius, -ii** *n m* fellow, associate, partner 31/23, etc
- solacium, -ii** *n nt* literally comfort, solace, by extension recreation, entertainment 607/26
- solempnitas, -atis** *n f* solemn celebration, religious festival, solemn service 103/21, etc
- solidus, -i** *n m* shilling, one-twentieth of a pound 105/15, etc
- sol(l)em(p)nis, -e** *adj* 1. ceremonious, formal, pertaining to or suitable to a celebration 609/15; 2. solemn, ceremonious, partaking of religious rites; *see* **dies**
- soror, -oris** *n f* sister, a female member of a guild 24/38, etc
- sotulare, -is** *n nt* shoe 104/21
- specialis, -e** *adj* special, particular 7/25, etc
- spectaculum, -i** *n nt* spectacle, show, usually unspecified but probably dramatic 342/1, etc; the hostility shown to 'spectacula' in canonical sources probably arises from the term's associations with gladiatorial shows and the like [*OLD*]
- spelunca, -e** *n f* literally cave, cavern, hence lair, den 6/14
- spiritalis, -e** *adj* spiritual 103/19; *see also* **mater spiritus, -us** *n m* spirit: here in idiom **Spiritus Sanctus** the Holy Spirit, the third Person of the Trinity 32/11, etc
- statutum, -i** *n nt* statute, regulation, law 7/5, etc
- stella, -e** *n f* star, here a representation of the star of Bethlehem 106/33, etc
- stellatus, -a, -um** *adj* covered with stars, starry; *see* **camera**
- stipendium, -ii** *n nt* wages 29/35, etc
- sto, stare, steti, statum** *v intr* 1. literally to stand, stand still 125/9; hence **stet** let it stand, **stet** 22/29, etc; 2. to stand (in a particular position), stay 79/25, etc; 3. to remain, stay (in a given state), continue in force 347/31; 4. to stand by, adhere to: in idiom **stare mandatis ecclesie** to conform to the church's regulations 58/27
- Strugullia, -ie** *n f* Chepstow, Monmouthshire 314/16, etc
- stultus, -i** *n m* fool; *see* **festum**
- subdecanus, -i** *n m* subdean, official in a cathedral chapter subordinate to the dean 120/30, etc
- submitto, -ittere, -isi, -issum** *v tr* (used absolutely or with refl pron) to submit oneself (to the judgment or sentence of a court), used of defendants pleading guilty in a church court 340/41, etc
- subpedagogus, -i** *n m* usher, assistant teacher 189/6
- subsanno, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to mock, deride 8/2 [*see* *OLD* sannio]
- subscriptus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* written below 341/22, etc
- subuiccomes, -itis** *n m* undersheriff 36/21
- succentor, -oris** *n m* succentor, the deputy of the precentor 105/22, etc
- Suffolcia, -ie** *n f* Suffolk, name of a dukedom 185/20, etc; **Suffochia** 343/15, etc
- suffragium, -ii** *n nt* prayer, especially intercessory prayer 6/6
- super** *prep* with *acc* or *abl* 1. (with verbs of watching and the like) over, from above (figuratively) 3/15, etc; 2. on, on top of, upon (of location) 8/7; as a place-name element 317/13; 3. about, concerning 3/13, etc; 4. upon, by virtue of (an account) 33/4, etc; 5. (of money, paid) for, with respect to, (spent) on 29/35, etc
- superuenio, -enire, eni, entum** *v tr* to come in from outside, to visit 333/22, etc
- superuisor, -oris** *n m* supervisor, overseer 125/22
- suppedito, -are, -aui, -atum** *tr* suppress, subdue 5/2
- supportacio, -onis** *n f* support, sustainance 316/19, etc
- supporto, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to bear, support, here to provide funds to meet (expenditure) 125/20, etc
- supradictus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* said earlier, stated above 25/35, etc
- supranominatus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* named above 4/12

suprascriptus, -a, -um *ppp pass* written earlier or above 5/15

surrogatus, -i *n m* surrogate, deputy judge in the church courts 41/7, etc

suspendo, -dere, -di, -sum *v tr* 1. to suspend, temporarily remove from a position or privilege, as a punishment 313/14; 2. to suspend a lay person from reception of the sacraments for a limited time 265/16, etc

suspensio, -onis *n f* 1. hanging 607/15; 2. suspension of a lay person from reception of the sacraments for a limited time **suspensio** 58/1

synodale, -is *sbst nt* synodal, synodal due, a payment made by subordinate clergy at bishops' or archdeacons' visitations 342/17

tabula, -e *n f* table: ~ **rotunda** round table, an event held in emulation of the legendary King Arthur and his knights 608/41

tangens, -ntis *ppp* touching, concerning 25/40

tantomodo *adv* only 112/13

taurus, -i *n m* bull, *here* one intended for bull-baiting 316/16, etc

taxillus, -i *n m* ('talus' + diminutive suffix) knuckle-bone, a small die or playing piece in the shape of a die 7/18

templum, -i *n nt* *literally* temple, *here* the Temple in Jerusalem with reference to its desecration by the Seleucid army and subsequent cleansing by Judas Maccabeus as related in 1 Macc 4 4/1; *see also* **Iudas Machabeus**, **Mathatias**

temporalis *see* **legenda**

tempus, -oris *n nt* 1. time, occasion *with gen or other specification defining the nature of the occasion* 342/19, etc; 2. period of time 580/5, etc; 3. the octave or liturgical season associated with a major festival: **tempus Pachale** Easter time, probably the feast of Easter and its octave 105/5, etc; **tempus Natalis Domini** Christmas time, probably the feast of Christmas and its octave 343/11; 4. *in various idioms: in attr phrs* **pro tempore** 137/3, etc; *or* **pro tempore existens** 112/15, etc; *or* **qui ... esse pro tempore** 108/21; *or* **qui pro tempore esse** 341/24, etc, for the time being; **tunc temporis**

then, at that time 24/31 *see also* **a**, **computus**, **memoria**

tenementum, -i *n nt* tenement, holding, freehold interest other than in land 606/16, etc [*see Black's Tenement*]

teneo, -ere, -ui, -tum *v tr* 1. *literally* to hold, hold on to, *hence tenere uicem* to take a part or role 4/3; 2. to have, to hold (property) 606/17; 3. to keep, observe 609/4; 4. to hold, conduct (an entertainment or other event) 78/26, etc; 5. *in pass idioms* to be obliged (to) 3/16; to be bound or obligated 606/16

tenor, -oris *n m* 1. tenor, tone, slant (of meaning, eg, in a document) 108/20; 2. the adult male singing voice with a range between that of the bass and the counter-tenor, *hence* the tenor part of a song 333/3

tentorium, -ii *n nt* frame for a tent or similar structure, scaffold 607/7

termino, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr as legal term* to determine, decide 257/7

terminus, -i *n m* term: 1. limit, ending 608/31; 2. term, a set period of time, 608/34, etc; 3. a law term: ~ **Pasche** the Easter law term 609/23-4, etc; ~ **Trinitatis** the Trinity law term 303/5; 4. an accounting term or quarter: ~ **Natiuitatis Sancti Johannis Baptisti** Midsummer term 121/2-3 [*see* Cheney, pp 98-105]

terra, -e *n f* 1. the ground, earth 607/18; **terremotus** earthquake 117/7; 2. land as a commodity 103/33; *in pl idiom* **terre** lands, holdings in land 606/16, etc; *see also* **Domine celi & terre**

thema, -atis *n nt* theme text, properly a scriptural quotation taken as the theme or topic of a sermon, *but here* applied to obscene verse 260/3; **thoma** 260/2

thesaurarius, -ii *n m* treasurer 125/8, etc

thetherista *see* **citharista**

timpanista, -e *n m* one who plays on a drum or other percussion instrument, percussionist, drummer 581/24, etc

toga, -e *n f in ct* the Roman toga; *by extension* robe, gown (referring to contemporary dress), *here* livery clothing for town waits 78/19, etc

- torchia, -ie** *n f* processional torch or candle 28/13, etc
- torneamentum, -i** *n nt* tourney, tournament 606/14m
- torno, -iare, -iaui, -iatum** *v intr* to joust, to hold a tourney 606/14, etc
- totum, -ius** *subst nt* the whole of something, the total: *here in idiom in toto* in all, in total 186/16, etc
- transgressio, -onis** *n f* crime of trespass 78/33; *see also placitum*
- translacio, -onis** *n f* translation, the formal transfer of a saint's relics from one site to another, or the festival commemorating the same 105/25, etc; *see also festum*
- transmissiua, -e** *n f* message, letter 333/14
- Trinitas, -atis** *n f* Trinity; *see terminus*
- tripidio, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to dance, to dance a 'tripudium' 25/14, etc
- tripudium, -ii** *n nt* *originally* ancient Roman ritual dance, *in AL* apparently a dance containing formal or set elements 109/20
- truffa, -e** *n f* trick 108/18
- tubicinarius, -ii** *n m* trumpeter, one who plays the 'tuba' (probably one who plays any straight wind instrument not having a reed mouthpiece) 582/2, etc
- tunica, -e** *n f* tabard, coat: as part of the livery of a town wait 35/23; as part of the livery of a royal musician 583/20, etc
- turibilum, -i** *n nt* thurible, censer 28/13, etc
- turnum, -i** *n nt* tourn, an official tour 125/23
- Tyna, -e** *n f* the river Tyne; *see castrum*
- uaco, -are, -aui, -atum** *v intr* 1. *literally* to be empty, void: *hence* (of offices or positions) to be vacant 127/8; (of legal documents) to be void 72/36m; 2. to give one's time to, devote oneself to, spend time on (*with dat*) 6/3, etc
- uadia, -ie** *n f* wage, stipend 208/20
- uago, -are, -aui** *v intr* to wander as a vagrant, roam 342/37
- uallettus, -i** *n m* yeoman, servant in a royal or noble household 584/29
- ualor, -oris** *n m* value, worth: *in idiom ad ualorem* to or at the value (of) 316/22
- ueluetum, -i** *n nt* velvet, a fabric with a smooth, soft piled surface 583/21
- uenetus, -a, -um** *adj* Venetian, of or pertaining to Venice; *see aurum*
- uerniculum, -i** *n nt* varnish, resinous substance used to give a hard, shining surface to an object 163/40, etc
- uersus** *prep* 1. to, toward 72/36; 2. (of purpose) for, toward 203/24
- uersus, -us** *n m* (Biblical) verse 332/40
- uertus** *see uirtus*
- uespere, -arum** *n f pl* vespers, one of the canonical hours making up the divine office of clerics; vespers was usually said before dark, in the late afternoon or early evening 607/6, etc
- uestimentum, -i** *n nt* (liturgical) vestment 350/38, etc; **uestamentum** 350/30
- uestura, -e** *n f* clothing, *here* always used of livery 78/11, etc
- uexillum, -i** *n m* banner: 1. military standard 603/12; 2. processional banner 6/25, etc; **uexilla** (*1st decl*) 118/7, etc; 3. a flag or pennant probably depending from a trumpet and bearing the royal arms or another heraldic device 583/16, etc
- uia, -e** *n f* 1. way, route, road 607/10; 2. way, manner: *in idiom uiis et modis* by ways and means, the name of a citation issued when a summoner was unable to serve the original citation personally, apparently authorizing him to use any appropriate means to deliver the citation 60/1, etc; *shortened to uiis* 257/8, etc; *as indecl in idiom per uiis*, by (a citation of) ways and means 257/9, etc
- uicarius, -ii** *n m* vicar: 1. one who acts as a deputy for a rector who cannot discharge his duties in a parish 3/19, 345/11; 2. assistant or deputy for a member of a cathedral chapter, often in carrying out choir duties, vicar choral 104/11, etc
- uicancellarius, -ii** *n m* vice-chancellor, deputy of an ecclesiastical chancellor 155/8
- uicomes, -itis** *n m* sheriff, an officer of the Crown within a given county, or city-county, having particular responsibilities for the county court and other aspects of the administration of justice 608/16, etc

uicis (*gen*) *n f* (*nom sg lacking*) 1. occasion, time 342/13, etc; *in various idioms*: **alia uice** on another occasion 196/34; **ijabus uicibus** on two occasions, twice 196/33; **ija uice** on a second occasion, the second time 115/32; **una uice** once 321/29; 2. one's part or function (by implication, a part filled in rotation or turn), *hence in various idioms*: **uice mutua** mutually, in turn 342/25; **uices sue** his deputy; *see also ad, teneo*

uicium, -ii *n nt* vice, moral fault or weakness 5/1
uictualia, -ium *sbst nt pl* victuals, necessary supplies, especially foodstuffs 27/25, etc

uictuaria, -orum *sbst nt pl* victuals, necessary supplies, especially foodstuffs 31/20, etc

uigilia, -e *n f* 1. vigil, eve (of a liturgical festival): **uigilie sanctorum** eves of the saints, ie, of saints' days 6/2²; *specifically* ~ **Sancti Iohannis Bapiste** St John's Eve, Midsummer Eve, 23 June 24/28–9, etc; ~ **Sancti Thome appostoli** St Thomas' Eve, 20 December 117/7–8; 2. watch, wake, a night-time observance to which various popular customs became attached 6/2¹

uigor, -oris *n m* *literally* strength, vigour, *hence uigore* + *gen* by virtue of, by power of 581/5, etc

uilla, -e *n f* vill, town 607/17, etc

uiola, -e *n f* viol, a bowed stringed instrument with frets 203/36, etc [*see* Ian Woodfield and Lucy Robinson: 'viol,' *Grove Music Online*, L. Macy (ed) (Accessed 13 April 2009), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>]

uirga, -ae *n f* yard, unit of measurement for cloth 583/20, etc

uirtus, -utis *n f* 1. *literally* strength, power, *hence in idiom uirtute* + *gen* by virtue of 580/6, etc (*also in uirtute* + *gen* 103/22); **uertus** 584/9; 2. (Christian) virtue 5/9

uisio, -onis *n f* that which is seen, a sight, *here* view, spectacle, display 118/6

uisitacio, -onis *n f* 1. act of visiting, visit 6/24; 2. visitation, inspection of a parish or religious

house and its inhabitants by the ecclesiastical authorities 341/15, etc

uisitator, -oris *n m* visitor, *here* one appointed to visit (ie, to inspect) grammar schools 208/9

uisus¹, -a, -um *ppp pass of uideo* [OLD]

uisus², -us *n m* *literally* sight, that which is seen, *hence* spectacle, display 118/21, etc

ulna, -e *n f* ell, a measure of length equal to 45 inches 33/14, etc

unacum *prep phr* for una cum [OLD]

unanimis, -e *adj* being in concord or accord, *hence* (of agreement or a decision) unanimous 120/33, etc

unanimiter *adv* unanimously 132/21

uncia, -e *n f* ounce, unit of weight 35/24, etc

uolo, -are, aui, atum *intr* *literally* to fly, *here figuratively uolare permittere* of a horn to let fly, ie, to sound or blow 321/29–30

ursarius, -ii *n m* bearward 343/25, etc; **ursurius** 333/21

ursus, -i *n m* bear (used for baiting or other entertainment); *see* **custos, custoditor**

utlagatus, -i *n m* outlaw 609/29, etc

uulgariter *adv* commonly, usually 332/25

uulgo *adv* commonly, in the vernacular, *hence* in English 5/3, etc

wappentakium, -ii *n nt* wapentake, a subdivision of certain shires corresponding to the hundred of other counties, *here* a judicial court of such a subdivision 609/23 [*see* *OEDO* wapentake]

warrantum, -i *n nt* warrant: 1. justification

103/37; 2. order 580/6, etc; *see also* **dormiens**

Westmonasterium, -ii *n nt* Westminster 580/6, etc

Wigornia, -e *n f* Worcester, the name of an earldom 195/18

Worcestria, -e *n f* Worcester, the name of an earldom 86/6 (*in form Worcest(...)* due to MS damage)

zelator, -oris *n m* zealous supporter, zealot 762/13

zelus, -i *n m* eagerness, ardour, zeal 4/4

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abilytye *n* ability; *here* wealth, means 177/21;

abelytic 141/29; **abylytie** 149/36

abuue *adv* above 139/15

acknoweled *v* acknowledge 301/26

adewe *adj phr* a due 318/3

adged *ppl adj* aged 49/25

advice *n* judgment, consent 279/27, 604/33;

aduise 157/31; *in phr* **thaduyce** the judgment and consent 145/16

Aester *n* Easter 177/18

agenste *prep* against, *in senses* 1. in anticipation of 165/31, etc; **aganst** 154/21, 190/32; **aganste** 154/15; **agayn** 236/1; **agynst** 331/31; 2. in opposition to **ayenst** 23/28

agreid *pp* agreed 134/24, etc; **agred** 39/34, etc;

agreide 39/5; **agrett** 146/29; **agreyd** 152/5, etc;

agreyde 165/5, etc

agud *see* **gud**

agynst *see* **agenste**

albes *see* **awlbe**

aleger *n* alegar, sour ale or malt vinegar 197/6;

alliger 196/14

alle *see* **ayell**

almaner *adj phr* all manner (of), every kind of 155/20

alselong as *conj phr* as long as 138/6

alyuerey *see* **lyuerey**

ambre *n* aumbry, cupboard 234/19

ambyguetie *n* ambiguity, a matter of doubt 144/4

ames *n* amice: a white square or oblong, usually of linen, silk, or fine wool, with two tapes attached for fastening it about the chest, worn round the neck by clergy and their attendants

with an alb (*see* **awlbe**) at the mass and sometimes as a head covering in outdoor processions 163/4

amonges *prep* amongst 350/9; **amongst** 266/35;

emong 346/30; **emonges** 348/23, 348/28

anensse *prep* anent, in anticipation of 330/1

apapur *see* **pauper**

aperell *n* apparel, clothes 336/25

apperteninge *prp* appertaining 40/38;

appertenyng 155/21

arried *pp* arrayed, fitted out 49/6

arryeyng *vb n* arraying, fitting out 135/4

asouryng *prp* assuring 361/21

assemble *n* assembly 20/36, etc

assulted *v pa t 3 sg* assaulted 50/8

aswele as *adv phr* as well as 89/35–6

a trubbled *see* **trubld**

attes backe *prep phr* at 's back, ie, at his back 310/9

atyr *n* attire, dress 600/19

aughtto be *v phr pr 3 sg* ought to be 768/16

auncent *adj* ancient 148/31; **auncien** 766/16;

in phr **thancyent** the ancient 141/16, 147/5;

thauncyent 136/13, 152/26

auncientes *n pl* ensigns 52/31

avner *n* avener, chief officer of a stable, having charge of the fodder for the horses 87/9, 87/11

awaitt of *adv phr* await on, attend on 153/36

awantage *n* advantage 124/1

awlbe *n* alb: a white ankle-length garment, usually of linen, silk, or fine wool, with ample open sleeves reaching to the wrists, cut full and gathered in pleats with a knotted girdle or a

- narrow clasped waist belt, worn with an amice (see *ames*) by clergy and their attendants at the mass 163/4; *albes* *pl* 338/24
- awne* *adj* own 134/29, etc; *n'own* 595/11 [*OED* *noun*(e), *n'own*]
- awther* *conj* either 146/20, etc
- axsepttans* *n* acceptance 361/22
- ayell* *n* ale 161/5, 163/2; *alle* 182/8
- ayenst* see *agenste*
- ayer* *n* air 310/38, 454/28
- able* *n* bauble, jester's wand 271/21, etc; *babble* 289/22
- backsyde* *n comp* backside, back yard or other premises 326/2
- baines* see *bayne*
- baise* *adj* bass 203/13
- bake* *n* back 139/7
- balance* *n sg for pl* balances, scales 23/24
- bale* *n* bailey, outer court of a castle 212/31; *in phr* *bale close* *in same sense* 213/4
- baliefe* *n* bailiff 245/36
- balletes* *n pl* ballads 40/13
- baly* *n* bailie, bailiff 247/20; *bayly* 245/17; *balyeis* *pl* 80/41, 81/15
- bandore* *n* bandora, a wire-strung plucked instrument used as a bass to the cittern 215/15, 335/29; *banddores* *pl* 215/12
- bane* see *bayne*
- bankets* *n pl* banquets 13/32
- banddores* see *bandore*
- barne bishopp* *n comp* boy bishop (see *childe bischope*) 176/22
- barriers* *n pl* palisades enclosing jousting-grounds; *hence here* jousts or tournaments 362/26
- Barr Yate* *n comp or phr* Bar Gate, the main gate of Lincoln 211/20; *Baryate* 212/7; *Barr Yates* *pl* *in same sense* 212/14
- barwarde* see *berward*
- batailplace* *n comp* battle place; a site in Lincoln originally used for judicial combats and later for mock combats and other games 103/33; see Appendix 5, pp 599–600
- battyd* *pp* (of a bear or bull) baited, worried with dogs 81/6, etc; *betted* 83/24; see also *beyr battyng, vnbattyd*
- bayly* see *baly*
- bayne* *n* public announcement or proclamation, and by extension the criers of such an announcement 223/36, etc; *bane* 224/4, etc; *baume* (*antiquary's transcription error for bainne?*) 340/7; *baunne* (*minim error for bainne?*) 340/16; *bayn* 235/40, 340/19; *baines* *pl* 305/7; *bayns* 102/2 [*OED* *ban sb* 1, *banns sb pl* 2]
- baynerdes* *n pl* bann criers (see *bayne*) 37/33
- be* *prep* by 123/36, etc
- beare* *n* beer 227/4, etc
- beder* *n* beadle 207/13
- bee* *v* be 90/27, etc; *ben* *pr* 3 *pl* are 319/1; *beying* *pp* being 181/24, 194/37; *ben* *pp* been 175/10, etc; *beyn* 165/38, 766/18; *byne* 145/6; see also *aughtto be*
- beerward* see *berward*
- beffor* *prep* before 159/8; *be foyr* 97/5
- beif* *n* beef 196/38, 204/5; *beiff* 196/11; *beyfe* 83/22
- ben* see *bee*
- ber* *v* bear, carry 154/14, 154/37
- berars* *n pl* bearers, carriers 162/16, etc; *berares* 180/42; *berrars* 167/39
- berdes* *n pl* beards 366/19
- berward* *n comp* bearward, bear keeper 79/15; *barwarde* 82/13; *beerward* 238/21; *berwarde* 82/20; *berwod* 82/21; *berword* 82/28
- beryng* *vb n* bearing, conduct 137/33
- beslich* *v pr* 1 *sg* beseech 361/29; *besching* *pp* beseeching 361/24
- bests* *n pl* beasts, herd animals 21/5
- besynes* *n* business 146/33
- Bethelam* *n* Bethlehem 152/37, etc; *Betheleem* 160/10, 163/37; *Bethleem* 161/3; *Bethlem* 159/20
- betted* see *battyd*
- betwyx* *prep* betwixt, between 142/40, 145/15; *betweixt* 70/25; *bytwyx* 112/33
- beyfe* see *beif*
- beying, beyn* see *bee*
- beyr battyng* *vb n comp* bearbaiting 82/13

- bischap, bischop(e)** *see* **childe bischope**
bishopp *see* **barne bishopp**
Bissy *adj* busy, officious; *as a nickname* 309/32;
Buesye 309/28
blacks *n pl* black clothes worn as mourning
 354/34 [*OED* *black sb* 5a]
bluid *n* blood 89/31
bocher *see* **bovcher**
boith *see* **booth**
bolders stone *see* **boundere**
booght *pp* bought 149/22
boonefire *n comp* bonfire 250/35
booth *adj, pron, and conj* both 145/17, 146/32;
boith 190/27; **bouth** 135/13
borowght *see* **bowro**
borowmaisters *n comp pl* boroughmasters,
 aldermen 23/31
boroyd, boroyng *see* **bowro**
boucher *see* **bovcher**
bouk *n* book (of the gospels, used for taking
 oaths) 154/26; **bovckes** *pl* books of music,
 part books 221/22
boundere *n* boundary 60/29; **bownderes** *pl* 61/34;
in comp **bownder stone** boundary stone
 279/40, 299/29; **bolders stone** 284/34; *see*
also **loodes stone**
bouth *see* **booth**
bovcher *n* butcher 80/28, etc; **bocher** 230/14,
 etc; **boucher** 81/13; **bowcher** 80/26, etc;
buccher 83/21
bovckes *see* **bouk**
boweres *n pl* bowyers, bowmakers 318/5
bowll *n* bull 80/26, etc; **bovlls** *pl* 81/40; **bovylls**
 81/5
bownderes, bownder stone *see* **boundere**
bowro *v* borrow 143/32; **borowght** 135/6;
boroyd *pp* 135/4; **boroyng** *vb n* 147/38
bowshoote *n comp* bowshot 283/40
Boxsauce *n comp* saucebox, person addicted
 to making saucy remarks; *as nickname*
 592/37
breathern, bredern *see* **broder**
breid *n* bread 161/5
brenne *v* burn 349/40
bretharne, brether, brethern(e) *see* **broder**
bribinge *ppl adj* dishonest, thievish 93/18 [*OED*
bribing ppl a 1]
Brige *see* **Hy Brige**
broder *n* brother, fellow member of a guild or of
 a city or town council 140/14; **breathern** *pl*
 211/19; **bredern** 318/2, 318/39; **bretharne**
 83/25; **brether** 153/26, etc; **brethern** 134/28,
 etc; **bretherne** 136/5, etc; *see also* **out brother**
or suster
broderer *n* embroiderer 35/22
brodering *vb n* embroidering, embroidery 34/30,
 38/8
brother hed *n comp* brotherhood, ie, body of
 members of a guild 155/21
brough *n* borough 83/24; **broughe** 319/4
broughtfurth *vb phr* brought forth, produced
 180/4; **broughfurth** 181/23
buccher *see* **bovcher**
Buesye *see* **Bissy**
bullard *n* participant in bull-running 593/7, etc;
see Appendix 4, pp 588–9 [*OED* *bullard sb*]
bull teame *n comp* bullteam, ie, bullchain, chain
 used to tether a bull for baiting 254/27, etc
 [*OED* *team sb* 9, 10]
burse *n* bourse; *here apparently* a market stall 23/22
busshoppe *n* bishop 171/12, 171/18; **bushop**
 213/22; **bushope** 348/7; **busshop** 356/8;
bushops *poss* 213/25; *see also* **barne bishopp,**
childe bischope
bustage *n* things kept in a box(?) *or* things broken
 up(?) 135/4m [*OED* *buste, bust; or burst v* 7a
 and *bust v*³]
butire *n* butter 196/13, 196/36
butteth *v pr* 3 *sg* abutteth, adjoins 61/31
byhoff *n* behoof, benefit 138/41
byne *see* **bee**
byquethed *pp* bequeathed 134/35; **byquethyd**
 134/38
byschop(e) *see* **childe bischope**
bytwy *see* **betwy**
byyng *vb n* buying 319/1

C *abbrev for* *l* centum, *used in E context for* (a)
 hundred 204/29, etc
cais *n* case, ie, plight 89/36

cais *n* *see* **casse**

cais *n*³ *pl* keys 236/6

callyd *pp* called 123/42, etc

camme *v pa t 3 pl* came 229/16

canape *n* canopy 171/21, 171/28; **canapie** 65/32;

cannapie 212/34; **canpye** 97/39

Candylmes *n comp* Candlemas, the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple 334/31;

Candylmesse 334/28

canues *n* canvas 33/15

canpye *see* **canape**

capitall burgeses *n pbr pl* capital or chief burgeses, senior members of a town council 324/35; *see also* **comburgesse**

carach *see* **caroch**

Careing Sunday *n pbr* Care Sunday, Passion Sunday, the fifth Sunday in Lent 257/3

careyng *prp* carrying 236/35

caroch *n* carriage 212/7, etc; **carach** 213/11;

caroche 211/39, etc

carteclowtes *n comp pl* cartclouts, cartcloths 32/12

cartell *n* slanderous writing, libel 287/29, 287/30 [OED *cartel sb 2*]

casse *n* case, ie, 1. box or chest 219/23; *hence*

2. set of instruments kept together in a box or chest **cais** 22/19

castyng *vb n* mortaring or daubing with other waterproof covering(?) 188/28

catell *n coll* cattle, herd animals 20/2; **cataell** 19/30; **catall** 20/9

caykes *n pl* cakes 173/28, 196/36

cease *v* halt, stop 61/7, etc; **cessed** *pa t 3 sg* ceased 263/38; **sease** *imper sg* 310/14; **ceasing** *prp* 54/25

celfes *see* **them selves**

cerryeres *n pl* carriers, porters 318/20

Cesill *see* **Cicylye**

cessed *see* **cease**

cetezens *n pl* citizens 168/25

cety(e) *see* **cite**

chamberland *n* chamberlain 177/21, etc; *in pbr* **chamberland peare** chamberlain peer, former chamberlain (of a city) 184/37; **chaumberlen pere** 135/8, 148/40; **chaumberlenpers** *pl* 152/14; **chamberlyn fellowe** *in same sense* 165/9

chap *n* crack, fissure 187/13 [OED *chap sb 1*]

chapitor *n* 1. chapter (of a book in the Bible) 190/4; 2. *in comp* **chapitour house** chapter house, room or building where the governing body of a cathedral or monastery meets 348/22, 349/27

chapylen *n* chaplain, priest who performs services in a chapel 145/7

charyte *n* charity, brotherly love 348/23; **charite** 350/9

chaumberlen pere, chaumberlenpers *see* **chamberland**

chauntres *n pl* chantries 145/6

chean *n* chain 165/14, 165/21; **cheane** 252/34, 253/16; **chenes** *pl* 202/2

cheare *n*¹ chair 57/13

cheare *n*² cheer, good wishes 361/31

cheis *n* cheese 173/28

chenes *see* **chean**

cherche *3erd* *see* **curtch yarde**

cher cole *n comp* charcoal 196/12

chest *see* **chist**

childe bischope *n comp* boy bishop: a boy chorister who dressed as a bishop and performed a church service, usually on either St Nicholas' Day or the feast of the Holy Innocents 232/16, etc; **child bishop** 231/25, 233/23; **child bischope** 234/5, etc; **child byschop** 231/33, 231/39; **child byschope** 232/1, 232/39; **childe bischap** 233/42; **childe byschop** 232/9, 233/17; **chyld byschop** 231/16; **chylde bischop** 233/10; **chylde bischope** 232/23, 233/35

Childermas *n comp* the feast of the Holy Innocents 84/26; **Childermes** 233/42

childerne *n pl* children 99/21, 337/14; *in pbr* **chylderne of honour** children of noble birth who attended the sovereign 170/13, 170/23

chippe *see* **Noeshipp**

chist *n* chest 60/11, 218/16; *in pbr* **chest of viols** set of viols tuned to various ranges, kept together in one chest 335/29

Chrimes, Christenmas, Chrystmes *see* **Cristynmes**

Christus Corpys gilde *n pbr* Corpus Christi guild 98/5

- chuys** *v* choose 317/40
- chyld byschop, chylde bischop(e)** *see* **childe bischope**
- chylderne of honour** *see* **childerne**
- Cicylye** *n* Sicily 412/26; **Cesill** 115/34
- cite** *n* city 123/36, etc; **cety** 168/40; **cetye** 173/13, 173/17; **sittie** 221/19
- cittron** *n* cittern 335/30(2); **scittr** 57/12; **sithern** 215/18; **sittorn** 219/23
- clarycordes** *n coll pl* clavichord 332/14; **clavigoldes** 40/4; **clavigoulds** 39/21
- claslyth** *n* closet(?) 188/26(2)
- cloeth** *n* cloth 91/27; *pl in phr* **clos of haros** cloths of arras, tapestry hangings 236/2; *see also* **footcloaths**
- cloffes nayles** *n* clench-nails, bent nails used to fasten hangings securely(?); *or* clout-nails, ie, cloth nails, nails for fastening up pieces of cloth(?) 231/17, 231/25 [*OED* clought *pa pple*, clout(e), clow *sb*²]
- closed** *pp* closed 155/26
- cloudne** *n* clown, ie, jester or comic actor 295/18; **cloudnes** *poss* 295/1
- clymmed** *pp* stuck (with glue or other adhesive) 294/17, 294/21 [*OED* cleam, cleme *v* 1]
- cobord** *n* court cupboard, sideboard with flat surface for setting out serving-dishes and hutch for housing and displaying plate 313/12(2)
- cokys** *n pl* cooks 318/25
- coler** *n* collar, ie, chain of office 321/12, etc; **coller** 165/13, etc; **color** 177/30, etc
- colladacion** *n* collaudation, speech in praise 280/1
- cologinge** *vb n* colloguing, practising flattery or deceit 309/34
- color** *n* colour, specious excuse 19/38; **collor** 93/32; **cullor** 326/17 *see also* **coler**
- Coloyne** *n in phr* **iiij kyngs of Coloyne** the three kings of Cologne; the three Wise Men who brought gifts to the infant Jesus, so called because their relics were believed to be kept in a shrine at Cologne Cathedral 97/37–8
- comburgesse** *n* fellow burges, member of town council 326/33, etc; **comburgeses** *pl* 324/35; **comburgessez** 318/39; *see also* **capitall burgeses**
- comen, commovn, commown** *see* **comyn**
- commaundry** *n* commandery, an estate that at one time belonged to one of the military orders (*here* to the Knights Templars) 19/18, 19/34
- commys syon of sewers** *n phr* a body of persons appointed by the Lord Chancellor to recommend and oversee the digging of drainage channels for reclaiming marshlands 263/32–3, 264/1–2 [*OED* commission *sb*¹ 3d]
- comoner** *n* commoner, ordinary member of a city or town council 165/10, etc
- comovn, comown** *see* **comyn**
- companezwun** *n* companion 89/29
- compastryng** *vb n* composturing, manuring 19/31 [*OED* compasture, composture *v*]
- complett** *adj* complete 314/17
- comyde** *see* **er be comyde**
- comyn** *adj* common 137/33, etc; **comen** 165/5, etc; **commovn** 81/8, 81/32; **commown** 80/40, etc; **comovn** 81/7; **comown** 81/16
- comyns** *n pl* commons, common people 145/5
- concell** *n* council 134/12, etc; **counceyll** 156/29, 158/34; **counseyll** 318/2
- concideryd** *pp* considered, judged 136/26
- condiscended** *pp* condescended, granted 315/8
- conferencye** *n* conference, consultation 270/15
- conizans** *n* cognisance, badge or other heraldic emblem 276/21, 276/22; **conizaunce** 281/15; **conysaunce** 167/12; **cullisense** 75/32
- constatvte** *v* constitute, establish 221/20
- conterfeatid** *see* **counterfett**
- contre** *n* 1. country 83/22; **contreth** 350/11; **contrey** 264/2; **countre** 66/19; 2. county **cuntrie** 212/29
- contye** *n* county 168/40
- conysaunce** *see* **conizans**
- coop** *see* **cope**
- coople** *n* couple, pair 22/4, 314/28
- cootes** *n pl* coats 249/20
- cope** *n* an ankle-length cape, open at the front and fastened at the neck, usually with a real or vestigial hood, often made of rich material and decorated (*see* **orfrey**), worn by clergy or singers for church services and processions

- 176/22, etc; **coop** 163/27; **copis** *pl* 38/28; **coppes** 167/18
copyd *pp* copied, imitated 152/14
copz *n pl* cups 150/5
corner capp *n comp* a soft four-cornered cap worn by clergy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and nowadays by Anglican bishops 279/31, etc; **corner cap** 275/13; **corner cappe** 272/1; **cornered capp** 289/33
cornittes *n pl* cornettoes; long, narrow wind instruments with seven holes (not to be confused with modern cornets) 215/21, 215/22
Corpys *see* **Christus Corpys gilde**
corriers *n pl* (*or sg poss?*) carrier(s), leather-dresser(s) 196/33
couerlyd *n* coverlet 332/13
coullor *see* **color**
counceyll, counseyll *see* **concell**
counterfeat *adj* counterfeit, false 289/33; **counterfeyt** 287/1
counterfett *v* counterfeit, impersonate, pretend 274/19, 296/15; **counterfaite** 289/31; **counterfeite** 271/8; **counterfeyt** 286/20; **counterfyett** 278/27; **conterfeaitid** *pa t 3 sg* 289/12; **counterfayted** 292/5; **counterfeiting** *prp* 298/30; **counterfaicting** *vb n* impersonation 292/15
coutre *see* **contre**
coveiniteth *v pr 3 sg* covenants, agrees 314/33
cremysyn, cremysyng *see* **crymesyn**
creyeng *vb n* crying 340/16
Cristynmes *n comp* Christmas 231/18, etc; **Chrimes** 252/28; **Christenmas** 200/41, etc; **Chrystmes** 18/24, 224/14; **Cristenmas** 199/22; **Cristynmas** 234/29, etc; **Crystynmes** 232/23, etc
crose *n* 1. cross 315/32; 2. cross-bearer, crucifer **crose** 171/12; *in comp* **crose clothe** cross-cloth, cloth for veiling a cross in Lent or hanging from it as a streamer 315/35; **crose clothe** 315/33, 337/13; **crose stones** stones set crosswise in the ground to support a maypole(?) 197/37
crymesyn *adj* crimson 170/9, 170/14; **cremysyn** 141/6; **cremysyng** 143/33; **crymsin** 583/26
Crystynmes *see* **Cristynmes**
cukle headed *ppl adj comp* cockle-headed, scatterbrained 65/34 [*OFD* cockle *a*]
cullisense *see* **conizans**
cullor *see* **color**
cuntrie *see* **contre**
currens *n pl* currants 196/4, 196/13
curtch yarde *n comp* churchyard 50/9; **cherche zerd** 432/18
curtell *n* curtal, a large woodwind instrument resembling a bassoon 203/13; **curtle** 42/20; *in phr* **dobble curtal** a curtal with a double bore 41/32
cyluer *n* silver 165/21, etc

decessyde *v pa t 3 sg* deceased, died 168/36; **decessyd** *pp* 141/13, 144/2
deceys *n* decease, death 145/4; **deceyse** 145/3; **deceysse** 145/9
decon *n* deacon's vestment, dalmatic 55/19
decre *n* decree, ecclesiastical edict 304/24
defaut *n* default 139/12; **defaute** 141/26
degre *n* degree, rank 149/43
deid *n* deed, act 89/36, 190/27
delygent *adj* diligent 145/7, 165/7
demeane *see* **seased in his demeane as of fe**
denner *n* dinner 97/9, etc; **dener** 160/20, etc; **dennar** 216/20
denyssen *n* denizen, outsider who has been admitted to civic rights 123/38
deseste *v* desist, stop 49/38
devid *v* divide, parse out 275/20
devuldge *v* divulge, publish 93/24
devulgating *vb n* divulging, publishing 287/24
dewryng *prep* during 134/30, etc
di. *abbrev for* *t* dimidium, *used in E context for* (a) half 237/13, etc; **dj.** 366/22, 366/24
dirige *n* dirge, funeral lament 271/32, etc; **diridge** 302/14
disfraunchesed *pp* disfranchised, deprived of civic rights 327/4, 327/15
disguysinges *n pl* disguisings, mummings, performances by disguised persons 584/30; **disguysinges** 348/33
dismised *pp* dismissed, discharged 76/9

- disseis** *n* disease 154/20; *see also* **dyseysyd**
divelish *adj* devilish 259/7
divell *n* devil 271/15, etc; **divelles** *poss* 295/1
dj, *see* **di**.
dobble curtal *see* **curtall**
doen, doith *see* **dowe**
doer *n* door 167/4
dongion *n* dungeon 190/21
dooble mair *n phr* double mayor, ie, a mayor who served two terms(?) 202/13m
doon, dooth *see* **dowe**
dortor *n* dorter, dormitory 348/22; **dortre** 350/7
dossyn *n* dozen 173/28, 173/30; **dossen** 197/4
douches *n* duchess 227/39
dowe *v* do 165/7; **doith** *v pr 3 sg* doth, does 191/17, 193/7; **dooth** 141/8, 146/21; **doen** *pp* done 346/35; **doon** 348/17, etc; **downe** 167/22
dowes *n pl* doves 154/37
dracon *n* dragon 98/4 [Spelling influenced by *l* draco, draconis]
dresse *v* prepare, set up 154/4; **dressed** *pp* decorated 210/5; **dressyng** *vb n* preparing, setting up 153/35, 154/18; *see also* **redresse**, **vndresse**
drinking *vb n* a drinking-party or banquet accompanied by drinking 10/32, etc;
drynking 101/11
droome *n* drum 57/33
dryngke *n* drink 182/10; **drynge** 180/28
Duche *adj* Dutch or German 23/27
dyosyse *n* diocese 142/19; **dyaces** 134/36
dyseysyd *pp* diseased 141/2; *see also* **disseis**
- after** *prep* after 89/28; *see also* **thairefter**
eftis *adv* eft, again 317/31
eft sone *adv comp* eftsoon, again 23/37
either *pron* each (of two persons) 211/27
Electour *see* **Prince Electour**
emong(es) *see* **amonges**
enforme *v* inform 91/8, etc; **enfourme** 91/1;
enfourmed *pp* 90/37
enshuinge *prp* ensuing, following 325/37
enterlud *n* interlude, dramatic performance 293/29; **enterlute** 35/30
er be comyde *v phr pr 3 pl* are becomed, have become 165/12–13, etc
- erres** *n* arras, tapestry 334/41; *see also* **cloeth**
Eschequer *n* Exchequer, the department of state that received and held revenues and fines due to the Crown 303/40
esson *n* essoin, excuse for not performing a duty 209/29, 211/8
esteym *v* esteem, judge, prize 190/40; **estme** 361/23
euere *adj and pron* every, each one 123/38, 124/1; **eueryche** 350/4; **evere** 55/38, etc
evyne *n* even, *in senses* 1. eve (of a holy day) 168/38; 2. evening **euing** 361/32
ewe hogg *n comp* young female sheep that has not yet been shorn 57/11; *see also* **hogge sheepe**
evidence *n* evidence; *here probably* title deeds 234/18
Eyngland *n* England 180/34
- facion** *n* 1. fashion, mode 211/3, etc; **fasion** 361/34; 2. behaviour, conduct **facion** 23/32
fale *n* fall 49/26; **favle** 49/27
fastens *n pl* Shrove Tuesday, the day before the Lenten fast 84/28
favllt *n* fault 81/15; **fate** 361/15; *see also* **ffawtye**
fe *see* **seased in his demeane as of fe**
fearme *see* **ferme and to fearme let**
feates of actiuitie *n pl* displays of athletic skill 368/5, 368/16
fell forth *v phr pa t 3 pl* fell out, quarrelled 90/30
fensor *n* fencer 213/36
ferme *n* farm; a tract of land or enterprise leased out for profit, or the right to such a lease 142/20, etc; **ferme** 314/9; **fferme** 134/24, etc; *see also* **to fearme let**
fermer *n* farmer, one who rents a tract of land or an enterprise for profit, paying a fixed periodic fee 19/18, 19/34; **fermor** 20/39, 21/1
Ferthys Cote Bryge *n phr* Firthcote Bridge, a bridge in Lincoln 188/25
festifall *adj* festival 326/39
fetherbed *n comp* featherbed, feather mattress 40/37
fett *pp* fetched, taken 281/35
feyth *v pr 3 sg* faileth, fails 149/33
ffadur *n* father 144/37

ffawtye *adj* faulty, at fault 319/10; *see also* **favltt**
fferme *see* **ferme** and **to fearme let**
fferther *see* **furder**
ffeystynge *vb n* fastening, securing 329/17
fficher *n* fisher, fisherman 136/22(2); **ffycher**
 136/22
fflower de luce *n pbr* fleur-de-lis 165/15
fforfetur *n* forfeiture 151/12
fforfyt *v* forfeit 149/34; **fforfyth** 149/33; **forfyth**
 144/8; **fforfyteyng** *vb n* 148/6
ffraunches *n* 1. franchise, citizenship 179/27;
ffraunchese 136/27; **ffraunchesse** 180/17;
francys 188/28; 2. enfranchisement, right to
 grant citizenship **fraunches** 148/29
ffraunchest *pp* franchised, admitted to citizen-
 ship 175/1, etc; **franchest** 123/38; **fraunchest**
 548/28, etc
ffrendge *n* fringe 583/28; *see also* **fringed**
Ffrerie *see* **Whit Ffrerie**
ffreyd *pp* frayed, driven away by fear 135/5
ffurnychyne *vb n* furnishing, fitting out 152/7
ffurth(e) *see* **furth**
ffycher *see* **fficher**
fish howse *n comp* building for storing and
 drying fish 61/31–2
folys *n pl* fools, ie, jesters 346/29
footcloaths *n comp pl* footcloths 214/22; **foot**
cloaths 211/28; **foote cloaths** 211/29,
 211/31–2
forfyth *see* **fforfyt**
forgeven *pp* forgiven 181/27
foyr *see* **beffor**
Franch *n* French 766/18
franchest *see* **ffraunchest**
francys *see* **ffraunches**
fraternite *n* fraternity, ie, guild 154/11, etc
fraunches *see* **ffraunches**
fraunchest *see* **ffraunchest**
fringed *pp* fringed, trimmed 211/34; *see also*
ffrendge
frere *n* friar 19/17, etc; *see also* **Whiett Freris**
fromhensfurth *adv pbr* from henceforth, from
 now on 177/25; *see also* **hensfurth**
furder *adj* further 293/22; **fferther** 136/28
furme *n* form 165/37, 199/38

furth *adv* forth 172/18, etc; **ffurth** 140/20;
ffurthe 167/24; **furthe** 239/13, etc; *in comp*
furth cummyng forthcoming 177/26; *see also*
broughtfurth, **hensfurth**, **leidfurth**

gadere *see* **gether**

gallygaskyngs *n pl* galligaskins, wide, loose
 breeches 21/39

gambo *see* **viall de gambo**

gam sportis *n comp pl* game sports, ie, probably,
 field sports 123/39

garded *pp* guarded, ie, trimmed 211/2

Gascoigne *adj* Gascon 179/26, etc; **Gascoign**
 185/6, etc; **Gascoiygne** 194/39; **Gascoyngn**
 179/1

gaterynge *see* **gether**

gaynyng *vb n* gaining, ie, cultivating 19/31 [*OED*
 gain *v*³]

gayt *v* get 143/30

geder, **gederd**, **gederyd**, **gederyng**, **gedyr** *see*
gether

gerd *n* escort, train(?) 168/39; **gyrth** 123/36 [*cp*
OED gird *v*¹ 5c, girth *v* 2]

gerdell *n* girdle 336/25; *sg for pl in pbr to kyng*
gyrdyl two kings' girdles (for characters in a
 play or pageant)(?) 339/35

gether *v* gather, collect 173/13, etc; **gadere**
 432/14; **geder** 146/34; **gedyr** 145/32; **gederd**
pp 144/10, 144/11; **gederyd** 146/34; **getherd**
 160/12; **gethered** 86/28; **gaterynge** *vb n*
 330/30; **gederyng** 142/31, 146/29m;
getheryng 155/20

geue *v* give 293/19, 297/25; **geve** 264/7; **gyff**
 135/24, etc; **geue** *pr 1 sg* 39/19, etc; **gyffe**
 334/41; **gyffes** *pr 3 sg* 80/40, 81/7; **gyvys**
 80/30; **gyff** *subj pr 3 sg* 141/26, etc; **gevinge**
prp 49/3; **geuen** *pp* 22/5, etc; **geven** 153/34,
 etc; **gevenne** 240/5, 240/13; **gevin** 357/30;
gevyn 167/18; **giffen** 198/31; **gyffen** 80/40;
gyffyn 139/16, 152/25

geyft *n* gift 139/16

gif *conj* if 89/36, 89/38

giffen *see* **geue**

gil *see* **Sanct Petur gil**

githern *n* gittern 215/19

- glas(s)e** *see* **hower glasse**
- goale** *n* gaol, prison 90/38
- Golyes** *n* Goliath, ie, a painting of Goliath or another giant for use in a procession(?) 35/34
- Good** *n* God 165/32
- Goorges** *n pl poss in phr the ij Goorges gownes* the two Goorges' gowns, ie, gowns for two men named George, presumably performers 359/12; *see* p 797 (endnote to LA: 1 ANC 71A/2 f 52)
- graceman** *n comp* chief active officer of a guild 134/28, etc; **gracemen** *pl* 144/6, 147/31; *see* Introduction, pp 415, 455
- grantit** *pp* granted 89/40
- graves feastes** *n phr pl* graves' feasts, yearly dinners of the elected officials of Louth 248/15
- grawne** *adj* green(?) 366/9
- grayne** *see in* **grayne**
- greit** *v pr 1 pl* greet 89/26
- grese** *n* grease 36/3
- gret** *adj* great 135/23, 190/22; **grete** 19/19, 56/32; **grett** 177/37; **grette** 349/7, 349/31; **gretyst** *superl* 181/16
- gruyng** *prp* accruing(?) 155/21
- gud** *adj* good 137/25, etc; **guid** 89/38, 90/1; *in phr* **agud** a good 139/7
- gyffe, gyffen, gyffes, gyffyn** *see* **geue**
- gyltynge** *vb n* gilding 331/24
- gyrdyl** *see* **gerdell**
- gyrth** *see* **gerd**
- gyvys** *see* **geue**
- haith** *v pr 3 sg* hath, has 175/10, etc; **haithe** 99/14, 198/40; **hayth** *pr 3 pl* have 743/7
- halden** *pp* holden, held 318/40
- haldome** *n* halidom, holy relic(s) 154/25
- halyday** *n comp* holy day 432/15; **holly daies** *pl* 98/33
- hamer men** *n comp pl* hammermen, smiths 318/32
- handill** *n* handle 156/1
- happynnit** *v pa t 3 sg* happened 89/33
- hard** *v pa t 3 sg* heard 53/43, etc; **harde** 212/21; **hard** *pp* 62/16; **harde** 52/6
- harnos** *n* harness 215/36
- Harod's coate** *n phr* Herod's coat 97/31; *see also* **Harrowes clothes**
- haros** *see* **cloeth**
- Harrowes clothes** *n phr pl* Herod's clothes 237/21
- harrowlld** *n* herald 56/8; **harroldes** *pl* 254/23
- haulf** *n* half 202/19
- hayle** *n* pavilion, usually one open at the sides 170/12; **haylle** 169/35 [*OED* hale sb³]
- hayth** *see* **haith**
- heare** *n* hair 361/22
- heare** *adv* here 216/5; **heir** 89/37; **her** 238/29, 768/16
- heariormentes** *see* **ornamentes**
- heid** *n* head 89/30
- heir** *see* **heare** *adv*
- hendes** *n pl* hands 264/4
- hensfurth** *adv* henceforth, from now on 177/18; **hensfurthe** 167/19; *see also* **fromhensfurth**
- Henslay is** *n poss* Henslay's 89/35
- her** *see* **heare** *adv*
- here** *pron pl poss* their 600/19, 600/27
- hers** *n* hearse, a triangular frame shaped like a harrow and used to carry candles in processions 154/14, etc; **hersse** 166/18, 166/19
- hertlie** *adv* heartily 89/26
- hery** *adj* hairy 366/19
- heteroclitcs** *n pl* grammatical or other anomalies 290/1; **heteroclitcs** 284/31; **hydroclitcs** 279/38
- heyght** *n in phr* towards the heyght to the height, to the highest degree 169/34 [*OED* height, highth sb 19]
- hey qwere** *see* **quier**
- heyth** *n* heath 20/42, etc; **heythe** 19/30, 21/15
- hit** *pron* it 171/27; **hyt** 169/31
- hogge sheepe** *n comp* young sheep that has not yet been shorn 22/1; *see also* **ewe hogg**
- holde to þy pygace** *ppl phr* considered your equal 432/16 [*MED* pigace n]
- hole** *adj* whole, entire 234/22, etc; **hooll** 318/40; **holy** *adv* wholly 167/19
- Holefernes** *n* Holofernes, Assyrian general slain by Judith in the apocryphal Book of Judith; *here* a character in a play or pageant 56/7
- holly daies** *see* **halyday**

holy, hooll *see* **hole**

honormentes *see* **ornamentes**

hordenyt *see* **ordenyd**

hors *n pl* horses 600/19; *in phr* **horssys of estate** horses of estate, horses kept for royal processions and ceremonies 171/31–2

hower glasse *n comp* hourglass, commonly used by preachers to time their sermons 287/2;

hower glase 289/35

hows *n* house 188/25; *in comp* **howsrowme** houseroom, storage space 182/9; *see also* **scolle howse**

huche *n* hutch, box-like carriage or wagon 236/6

hus *see* **ws**

Hy Brige *n phr* High Bridge, the main bridge in Lincoln 153/27–8

hyt *see* **hit**

hydroclites *see* **heteroclites**

iaffelinges *n pl* javelins, pikes 211/33; **iafflinges** 214/23

Iarlande *n* Ireland 180/35

ientrye *n in phr* **vppon his ientrye** upon his gentry, on his (supposed) standing as a gentleman 311/7

ierkinge *n* jerkin 311/4

iettes *v pr 3 sg* jets, ie, struts, swaggers 65/30

inamiled *pp* enamelled 212/22

incontyne *adv* straightaway, immediately 23/33 [By-form of *OED* **incontinent** *adv*]

incurredgment *n* encouragement 48/13

indighte *v* indict 309/39

in grayne *n phr* dyed in grain, dyed in kermes or cochineal 210/40, 211/28

inhabitauncez *n pl* inhabitants 166/2; *in phr* **thenhabytauntes** the inhabitants 134/33

iniurit *pp* injured 89/31

inmagin *v* imagine, suppose 361/17

in primes *adv phr used for I* in primis, in the first place 336/25

instanted *pp* urged, importuned 143/36 [*OED* **instant** *v* 1]

instermentes *n pl* instruments 215/11;

instreuments 57/20

interceid *v* intercede 89/39

interrogotrie *n* interrogatory 289/8

in vitall *n phr(?)* apparently the name of a gift given to Henry VIII 170/3; **in vytall** 170/39

invyntore *n* inventory 55/13; *in phr* **thinventarie** the inventory 99/7

iorneman *n comp* journeyman 217/2

irenmongeres *n pl* ironmongers, dealers in iron-ware 318/27

is *see* **Henslay is**

Isralytes *n poss* Israelite's; *here* of a character in a play 187/24

ith field *prep phr* **i'th'** field, ie, in the field 796/25; *similarly* **ith manger** **i'th'** manger, ie, in the manger 352/10

iuelles *n pl* jewels, badges of office 138/40

iuiryes *n pl* juries 16/38

iuntly *adv* jointly 144/6

iusticies *n pl* justices 43/42

Jnglysh *n* English 766/18

jurring *vb n* butting 594/43 [*OED* **jur** *v*]

Kateryns, Katheryns *see* **Scaynt Katheryns**

kat of ye montteyns *n phr* cat of the mountains, catamountain; any kind of large wild feline; *or by transference*, a wild man or someone impersonating one 109/18

kawsye *n* causeway 188/27

keip *v* keep, *in senses* 1. maintain 183/26; **keep** *pp* 16/33; 2. observe **keipt** *pp* 193/35; 3. store

keipt *pp* 194/28; **kepyn** *vb n* storage 139/20

kell *v* kill 83/21

kine *n* cow, ox 21/38; *in phr* **kine calfe** cow calf, ox calf 21/40 [plural form used as singular]

kitching *n* kitchen 260/6

klue *n* some measure of height 212/22

kyng gyrdyl *see* **gerdell**

kyrchuffe *n* kerchief, veil 91/22, 91/23

kyrtell *n* kirtle, gown 366/17

la *see* **le**

Laches *n* Lachish(?) 187/25 [See *Vulg.* 4 *Regum* (κῑν 2 *Kings*) 18.14, 17]

ladable *adj* laudable, praiseworthy 158/34

Ladi *n* Lady (as title) 224/33; **ladis** *pl* gendewomen

- 361/18; *in phr* **our Ladey** our Lady, the Virgin Mary 329/36, 330/2; *poss in phr* **owr Lades** Day our Lady's Day, the feast of the Assumption 330/23, 331/31
- laeces** *n pl* laces 310/22
- laisor** *n* leisure, opportunity 361/19
- laith** *see* **layth**
- lake** *n* lack 139/26
- lake** *v pr subj 3 pl* lack 141/28
- lat** *adj* late, former 99/9; **layt** 167/5
- lathe** *see* **layth**
- lattyng** *see* **to fearme let**
- lawarde** *see* **Loord**
- layng owt** *vb n phr* laying-out, outlay, expense 180/22; **laynges owt** *pl* 182/4
- layt** *see* **lat**
- layth** *n* stand, scaffold 236/29, 236/35; **laith** 236/40; **lathe** 237/13 [*OED* *lathe sb*³ 1]
- le** *def art m F* used in *L* text to introduce a vernacular noun 316/38, etc; *sg for pl* 79/24, etc; **lee** 79/13, 79/15; **la f** 103/33, etc; **lez** *pl* 36/23, etc; *pl for sg* 132/19
- ledyng** *vb n* leading, ie, soldering 329/17
- lefull** *adj* lawful 350/8; **lefellye** *adv* 319/7 [*OED* *leeful a*]
- lefyd** *see* **levyd**
- leidfurth** *ppl phr* laid forth, laid out, spent 186/33
- Lentyn** *n* Lent 91/23; *in phr* **ij Sunday Lentyn** the second Sunday in Lent 232/32
- lest** *adj used as n* least 140/15
- letton** *pp* let, leased out 167/2; *see also* **to fearme let**
- levetenaunt** *n* lieutenant, deputy 767/24; *in phr* **lorde lewttenant** lord lieutenant, chief magistrate of a county 207/21; **lieuetenant** *in same sense* 212/29
- levyd** *pp* levied 80/30; **lefyd** 81/7
- lyff** *n* leaf, folio 768/15
- leyve** *v* allow the use of 152/9, 152/11; **leyue** 139/20 [*OED* *leve v*¹]
- lez** *see* **le**
- lieuetenant** *see* **levetenaunt**
- Lincolmschyre** *n comp* Lincolnshire 89/27
- liueray cloake** *see* **lyuerey**
- loder(s) stone** *see* **loodes stone**
- loggetes** *n pl* loggats, a game played by throwing pieces of wood at a stake fixed in the ground 326/1
- loked too** *pp phr* looked to, investigated 263/40
- long** *v* belong; **longith** *v pr 3 sg* 143/33; **longyng** *prp* 140/20, 317/41
- loodes stone** *n comp* loadstone; *properly* a magnetic stone, *but here apparently* a landmark stone 296/30; **loders stone** 275/21; **loder stone** 290/3; *see also* **boundere**
- Loord** *n* Lord 165/32; **lawarde** 180/34; *see also* **levetenaunt**
- lorde lewttenant** *see* **levetenaunt**
- lorde of mysrule** *n phr* a man chosen to preside over revels, which commonly involved practical jokes and inversion of the normal social hierarchy 348/32; **lord(e)s of mis(-)rule** *pl* 9/12–13, etc; **lord of rule and misrule** *in similar sense* 593/36; *see also* **sommer lord**
- lord of Christmas** *n phr* man chosen to preside over Christmas revels 356/23; **lorde of Christmas** 355/27–8
- Lord Pleasure her** *n phr* Lord Pleasurer: title of man acting the part of a summer lord (*see* **sommer lord**) in a play, punning on 'pleasure her' meaning 'gratify her' (often with sexual overtone) and 'Lord Treasurer' 278/30, 281/34–5; **Lord Pleasure her** 278/39
- lowes** *n pl* laws, *apparently with pun on* 'lows,' calls of cows and calves 259/28
- lowre** *n* louver(?) 188/27
- lude** *adj* lewd, vulgar 48/33
- luyt** *n* lute 40/11
- lyff** *n* life 145/3; **lyffe** 138/5, etc
- lyfyng** *n* living, landed estate 19/31
- lyk** *adj* like, similar 81/8
- lykeuise** *adv comp* likewise 89/31
- lyn** *n* line, ie, cord, rope 161/10; **lyne** 97/14; **lyndes** *pl* 97/15 [*OED* *line sb*² 1]
- lynges** *n pl* links 181/17, etc; **lynghes** 165/15; **lynghtes** 165/21, 165/27
- Lynsey coste** *n phr* the district or parts of Lindsey, a division of Lincolnshire 169/34 [*OED* *coast sb* 6]
- lynyn** *adj* linen 332/14

lythe *v pr 3 sg* lieth, lies 167/2

lyuerey *n* livery 136/13, etc; **lyuereis** *pl* 177/17, etc; **lyuereyz** 149/21; **lyuerez** 148/38; **lyveres** 201/43; *in comp* **liueray cloake** livery cloak 210/35; *in phr* **alyuerey** a livery 165/31

Mabb *n* Mab, traditional name for the queen of the fairies 280/2, 292/11; *in phr* **Booke of Mabb** supposed source of a mock preacher's text, with irreverent pun on the Book of Job 275/19, etc; **Booke of Mabb** 272/5

mad *pp* made 273/40

Maday fare *n phr* May Day fair 244/4

mainteigne *v* maintain 277/5; **mayntyene** 151/24; **mainteigned** *pp* 61/9; **mayntened** 157/30; **mentained** 61/38, 62/6; **mayntenying** *vb n* 147/6

mair(e) *see* **mayre**

maiste *v pr 2 sg* mayest 309/24

mak *v* make 170/2, 295/40; **makyne** *vb n* making 330/1, 330/7

male *n* mail, ie, bag or satchel 230/27, etc

malvesey *n* malmsey, a kind of strong sweet wine 200/42, etc; **malvesy** 200/26

maraltie *n* mayoralty, office or term of office as mayor 134/14, etc; **maralty** 188/16, etc; **maraltye** 174/42, etc; **marialtie** 148/26; **mayraltie** 135/21, etc; **mayraltie** 147/4, 151/23

marcatt *n* market, offering of goods for sale 89/32; *in comp* **markit stede** marketstead, marketplace 239/37–8

marcer *n* mercer; dealer in silks and other costly fabrics, or else in small wares such as pins, ribbons, and laces 306/6, 318/9

marcie *n* mercy 279/34

marialtie *see* **maraltie**

markit stede *see* **marcatt**

marte *see* **Pasche marte**

Mary *n* an image of Mary; either St Mary the Virgin or her reputed sister Mary wife of Cleopas, the mother of Sts James the Less, Simon, and Jude 143/33; **Maryes** *pl* images of those two women saints, the daughters of St Anne 143/32; *in comp* **Marycart** Mary cart,

cart for carrying an image of St Mary the Virgin 97/10; **Marye cartt** 97/4

materes *n* mattress 332/13

Mathyes *see* **Saint Mathyes Day**

mawrice dauncers *n comp pl* morris dancers 227/5, 227/6; *see also* **moresse dawnce**

mayntened, mayntenying, mayntyene *see* **mainteigne**

mayraltie, mayraltie *see* **maraltie**

mayre *n* mayor 169/32, etc; **mair** 168/23, 202/12m; **maire** 81/14; **mayr** 123/35, etc;

meyer 165/18, 166/1; **mayres** *poss* 171/1; *see also* **dooble mair**

meanit *pp* complained 89/26 [OED mean *v*² 3]

meik *adj* meek, submissive 154/11

meit *adj* meet, fitting, suitable 89/40, 181/7

meite *see* **met**

menstrill *n* minstrel 160/5

mentained *see* **mainteigne**

mentenance *n* maintenance 62/5

mes *n* mass 138/7; **messe** 600/23; *in phr* **Saint Anne messe** St Anne's mass, St Anne's feast day 160/10

meself *pron refl* myself 346/29; **my sealf** 361/21; **my sealf** 361/16

Mester *n* Master (man's title) 188/28

Mestres *n* Mistress (woman's title) 142/10, 142/38

met *n* meat, ie, food 97/2; **meite** 237/13

metropolist *n used as adj* metropolitan, pertaining to an archbishop 482/2

meyer *see* **mayre**

Michelmes, Mighellmas *see* **Mychelmes**

Michyll *see* **Sanct Michyll**

mickell *adj* mickle, ie, much or great 310/29

milner *n* miller 45/31; **myllneres** *pl* 318/16

moder *n* mother 144/37; **modre** 348/26; *in comp* **moder church** mother church, cathedral 154/6

moderly *adv* motherly, like a mother 317/30

mommyng plays *see* **mumeing**

montteyns *see* **kat of ye montteyns**

monychon *n* monition, warning, advance notice 142/10

moo *pron pl* mo, more 348/37, 349/34; *see also* **nomo**

- moresse dawns** *n comp* morris dance, troop of morris dancers 359/28; *see also* **mawrice dauncers**
- mornspiche daies** *n comp pl* mornspeech days, periodical assemblies of a guild on the mornings after its feasts 154/21
- motion** *n* puppet show 367/13, etc
- movit** *pp* moved 89/37
- mumeing** *vb n* mumming 41/6; *in comp* **mommyng plays** *pl* mumming-plays 304/23–4m
- murrie** *adj* murrey, mulberry-coloured, dark red approaching purple 326/38
- musisioner** *n* musicianer, musician 359/41
- mvsvtion** *n* musician 221/19
- Mychell** *see* **Sanct Michyll**
- Mychelmes** *n comp* Michaelmas, the feast of St Michael and All Angels 134/34, etc; **Michelmes** 135/22, etc; **Mighellmas** 252/27; **Mychylmeys** 167/13
- myllneres** *see* **milner**
- my sealf(e)** *see* **meself**
- nalles** *n pl* nails 180/24
- Napylles** *n* Naples 180/35
- Natyuyte** *n* Nativity 165/31
- ne** *adv* nor 348/35; *see also* **nouther**
- neither** *adj* nether, lower 187/13
- Newyers** *n phr poss* New Year's 359/3
- neyer** *see* **nouther**
- nobyll** *adj* noble 168/39
- Noeshipp** *n phr* Noah's ship, representation of Noah's ark 28/29; **Noe chippe** 38/21; **Noeschip** 27/12; **Noyeshipp** 36/3, 36/37; **Noye shipp** 36/3; **Noyschyppe** 167/6
- nogth** *adv* not 123/40
- nomo** *adj phr* no mo, no more 198/31
- none** *n* noon, midday 135/22, etc
- noon** *pron* none 349/23; **noun** 432/16
- noumbre** *n* number 141/3
- nouther** *adv* neither, nor 348/32, etc; **ne oþer** 317/31; **neyer** 349/6; *in combination* **nowther ... ne** neither ... nor 151/14
- nowest** *adj superl* newest 361/34
- n'own** *see* **awne**
- noyes** *n* 1. noise, din 289/7; 2. set of musical instruments **noyse** 41/32, 41/33
- Noyeshipp, Noye shipp, Noyschyppe** *see* **Noeshipp**
- nuteis** *n pl* newts 190/22
- Nynvyve** *n* Nineveh 187/21, 187/22
- nyxte** *adj superl* next 182/4
- oather** *see* **oder**
- ob.** *abbrev for* L obolus, used in E context for half-penny 231/17, etc
- occurr** *v* incur 81/8
- oder** *adj and pron* other 234/18, etc; **oather** 213/18; **oyer** 80/41, etc
- of** *prep* off 213/8
- off** *prep* of 123/35, etc; **vff** 151/10
- olyprounce** *n* oliprance, vainglorious ostentation 600/19
- on** *see* **oon**
- one** *prep* on 291/19, etc
- onlie** *adv* only, alone 89/35
- ons** *adv* once 199/36
- ony** *adj* any 80/28, 154/15
- oon** *adj and pron* one 321/19, etc; **on** 138/33, etc; **won** 146/22; *see also* **yche**
- opponed** *pp* opened 155/18; **opynynd** 142/30
- ordenyd** *pp* ordained, appointed, provided 149/28, 171/15; **hordenyt** 80/13; **ordynynd** 146/20
- orelles** *conj phr* or else 190/28
- orfrey** *n* orphrey, ornamental strip or band, often richly embroidered 163/27, 176/28
- orlege** *n* horologe, instrument for telling time; *here probably* a mechanical clock 132/19
- ornamentes** *n pl* equipment and accessories (including robes or costumes) 176/4, etc; **heariormentes** 135/4; **honormentes** 143/30, etc; **ornaments** 98/13
- oste** *n* host, army 430/4
- oth** *n* oath 148/26, etc; **outh** 153/25, etc
- otherwaies** *adv* otherwise 315/20; **otherwais** 247/37; **other wayes** 75/33
- other whier** *adv comp* otherwhere, elsewhere 326/14
- oþer** *conj* or 432/17; *see also* **nouther**
- ouerse** *v* oversee 317/40

ouerthis *adv phr* over this, besides this 349/26
oulde *adj* old 258/31, 309/28; **ould** 290/5;

owlde 98/2

out brother or suster *n phr* member of a civic guild recruited from outside the citizen body 153/25

outhe *see* **oth**

outrents *n comp pl* rents paid out 43/42

owe *v own* 23/7

owlde *see* **oulde**

owt skertes *n comp pl* outskirts, outer bounds 210/33

oyer *see* **oder**

pachgan *see* **paggane**

pacthrede *n comp* packthread, strong thread used to sew up packs 180/41

pacyens *n* patience 189/28

pad *pp* paid 182/5

paggane *n* pageant; a wagon or movable or portable platform for staging a play or tableau, or the play or tableau itself 180/38, etc;

pachgan 180/22; **padgayn** 167/41; **pagane** 180/28; **paggan** 182/6; **paggyene** 180/37;

paghan 180/23; **paygeant** 166/9; **padgeans** *pl* 167/26; **padgeons** 180/5; **pageandes**

237/29, 237/38; **pagens** 167/25; **payntes** 234/43; *see* p 780 (endnote to LA: LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/1 p 267) and pp 786–7 (endnote to STH: Hall Book 2A/1/1 f 5v)

paier *n* pair, set 23/24; **payer** 335/31

pales *n pl* stakes driven into the ground, or fastened to railings, to make fencing; *here apparently* for the procession of the plough ship (*see* **ploughe ship**) 87/1; **pailes** 87/34

panttyng *vb n* painting 180/25

pantyd *pp* painted 98/2

panyd *pp* pained, appointed as a penalty 80/26, etc

papar, papur *see* **pauper**

paroch *n* parish 145/31, 152/10; **paryche** 188/26

parocheners *n pl* parishioners 152/8; **parochoners** 152/10

parte *n* party (to a legal action) 123/41

paryche *see* **paroch**

Pasche marte *n phr* (time of) Easter market 23/20

pauper *n* paper 366/8, etc; **papar** 97/13; **papur** 144/35; *in phr* **apapur** a paper 139/27; **golde**

pauper gold leaf 366/18; **pauper gold** *in same sense* 366/10

pauyer *n* pavior, paver(?) 44/31

pawen *n* pawn 326/13

payntes, paygeant *see* **paggane**

payer *see* **paier**

payn of *n phr* (in) pain of, with a penalty of 81/32, etc

peare *see* **chamberland, scheryffes pere**

peer *see* **scheryffes pere**

peile *n* peal, ringing of a set of bells 183/25

pellow *v* pelt 590/38

pere *see* **chamberland, scheryffes pere**

perfight *adj* perfect 190/2; **perfitly** *adv* 71/19

personage *n* parsonage 271/29

petuosly *adv* piteously 19/21

Petur *see* **Sanct Petur gil**

pety iudas *n phr* petty judas, small painted wooden candle socket 38/21

people *n* people 135/13

peyntores *n pl* painters 318/14

phiph *n* fife 358/10

phisicall *adj* curative, good for one's health 258/33

pinnesse *n* pinnacle, boat, *with pun on sense* mistress *or* prostitute 259/27

plaares, plaars, plaer, plaeres, plaers, plaheres, plaiars *see* **playr**

plage *n* plague 135/6, 143/29

play-day *n comp* day for leisure, half-holiday 47/24, 47/26

playn *n* plan, diagram 268/37

playr *n* player, performer 55/40; **plaeres** *pl* 82/20, 82/29; **plaers** 18/16, 102/1; **plaheres** 96/23;

plaiars 224/33; **playerers** 330/18; **playres** 195/24, 331/5; **plaares** *pl poss* 329/6; **plaars**

328/38, 329/15; **plaer** 329/25

pleasir *n* pleasure 346/33, 346/35

plegges *n pl* pledges 165/12m, etc

pleys *v subj pr 3 sg in phr* **what hym pleys** what may please him 123/40

- Ploughe Daye** *n comp* Plough Monday 86/41, 87/9; **Ploughe Daic** 87/16; **Plowe Day** 88/40, etc; **Plowghe Daye** 88/5
- ploughe ship** *n comp* a boat or miniature ship, fitted with wheels like a plough and drawn from door to door in Grimsby instead of a plough on Plough Monday 87/8; **ploughe shippe** 87/2; **ploweshipe** 89/9; **plowghe shippe** 87/35; *see* Introduction, p 423
- Plowghe Night** *n comp* Plough Night, the evening before or after Plough Monday 85/18
- Plow Monday** *n comp* the day marking the beginning of the ploughing-season, when in many places a procession of disguised ploughmen and boys drew a plough from door to door 593/8; **Ploughe Monday** 87/29; **Ploughmonday** 26/8; **Plowe Monday** 759/2; **Plowe Munday** 88/24
- porchaed** *pp* provided with a porch(?) 188/26
- pottyll** *n* pottle, half a gallon 163/6
- poulpett** *n* pulpit 275/14
- pourge** *v* purge, purify 454/28
- prekyng** *ppr* pricking, spurring 600/19
- presentes** *n* presence 134/39, etc
- presse** *n* press, ie, warrant giving authority to impress recruits for military service(?) 352/22
- pressession** *n* procession 135/12
- prest** *n* priest 138/3, etc; **preste** 21/13; **prystes** *pl* 169/40; *see also* **Saint Anne preste**
- pretie** *n* reward(?) 356/23 [*L* pretium?]
- previe councill** *n phr* privy council, the sovereign's private council of state 94/15
- previtie** *n* privity, private knowledge and consent 48/13; **pryvvyte** 294/19
- preynes** *n pl* prunes 196/6
- primes** *see in* **primes**
- Prince Electour** *n phr* title of the eldest son and heir of the Elector Palatine 364/21
- prise** *n* prize, athletic contest 213/36
- privalege** *n* privilege 123/36
- procurit** *v pa t 3 sg* procured 89/34
- profytes** *n pl* prophets 143/22; **proffytes** 146/23; **profyttes** 149/32
- propocycion** *n* proposition, speech 170/2, 170/3; **propocycyon** 170/35; **proposycyon** 170/39
- prystes** *see* **prest**
- pryvvyte** *see* **previtie**
- purchest** *pp* purchased 134/27
- purpur** *adj* purple 163/27 [*OED* purpur, purple *sb and a*]
- puter** *adj* pewter 57/12
- pygace** *see* **holde to þy pygace**
- pyyps** *n pl* pipes 22/19
- quee** *n* quey, heifer 57/11
- quest-men** *n comp pl* sidesmen, churchwardens' deputies 13/12, etc
- quier** *n* choir, *in senses* 1. part of a church where the singers sit or stand 212/35, etc; **quere** 348/22, etc; **qwere** 781/3; 2. body of trained singers **queere** 171/12, 171/22; *in phr* **hey qwere** high choir, upper part of the choir 236/2; **Trinete quere** choir of a chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity(?) 98/8
- quilk** *adj and pron* whilk, which 89/34(2)
- quishion** *n* cushion 212/33; **quyssheons** 171/16
- qwaire** *n uninflected pl* quires 366/8, 366/9
- qwere** *see* **quier**
- qwyene** *n* queen 180/34
- Raiges** *n* Rages (ancient Rhagae, modern Shahr Rey), a city in Iran figuring in the story of Tobit 187/20
- rasyant** *adj* resiant, resident 280/25
- readely** *adv* readily, promptly 54/4
- Reademer** *n* Redeemer 21/35
- receaud** *see* **resauyd**
- redresse** *v* prepare again, set up again 154/4; **redressyng** *vb n* 154/18
- refusse** *v* refuse 144/8; **refuce** 53/5; **reffusyng** *ppr* 144/8; **refussing** 76/8
- regenall** *n* original, ie, exemplar or master copy 234/22; **ryginall** 268/37
- reist** *n* rest, remainder 236/23
- releyff** *n* relief 174/41, etc; **releff** 150/10; **releffe** 148/30; **relyue** 158/37
- relious** *adj error for* religious(?) 135/3m
- remean** *v* remain 167/19; **remanyd** *pa t 3 pl* 169/1
- remevyd** *v pa t 3 pl* removed, moved off 169/1

reminders *n pl* remainders 43/41
reparacionyd *ppl adj* repaired 188/25, 188/26
 [*cp* *OE*D *reparation sb* 4]
resauyd *pp* received 330/30, 331/18; **receaud**
 216/2; **resavyd** 339/43; **resayuyd** 138/43;
ressauyd 233/30
reseyt *n* receipt 146/34; **resaytes** *pl* 138/43
reteners *n pl* retainers 290/35
reuaile *v* reveal 71/32; **reuylinge** *vb n* 71/32
reuercyons *n pl* reversions, rights of eventual
 succession or repossession 183/10
reynyng *prp* running, spreading rapidly; *or perhaps*
 reigning, prevailing 143/29
ridd *v*¹ *pa t 3 sg* rode 54/3; **rid** *pa t 3 pl* 212/5,
 etc; **rodde** 169/40, 170/15; **rood** 102/1; **rydd**
 212/2
ridd *v*² remove, get rid of 42/40
riyall *adj* royal; *here loosely*, attending on royalty
 168/39; **ryall** *adv* royally, in a manner befitting
 royalty 168/40
rochet *n* an ankle-length white garment, usually
 of linen, closed in front and put on over the
 head, cut fairly full to fall in pleats and with
 or without sleeves gathered at the wrists, worn
 by acolytes at church services, in processions,
 or when otherwise attending the clergy; *or* a
 similar garment with full sleeves gathered at
 the wrists, worn by bishops 139/5; **rotchetts**
pl 91/24
rodde *see* **ridd** *v*¹
rode lofte *n comp* roodloft, a gallery over the
 chancel screen of a church, supporting a
 carved rood (crucifix) and, usually, images of
 the Virgin Mary and St John, from which the
 priest or deacon read the gospel at the mass
 and where chests and other furniture might
 be stored 234/18
rome *n* room, *in senses* 1. storage room or space
 152/37, etc; **rowme** 180/37; 2. *in phr in his*
roume in his place, in his stead 168/37
ronned *v pa t 3 pl* ran 214/9; *see also* **reynyng**
and **runeinge at cockes**
rood *see* **ridd** *v*¹
rosse *v pa t 3 sg* rose 170/37
rotchetts *see* **rochet**

rouf *n* ruff 361/33

roume, rowme *see* **rome**

runeinge at cockes *vb n phr* running at cocks,
perhaps some such traditional Shrovetide game
 as cock-throwing, in which players threw
 sticks at a cock that was either tethered to a
 post or put in a pot hung up over a street, to
 see who could first knock it down or kill it; *or*
 cock-thrashing, in which tethered cocks were
 whipped 99/33

ryall *see* **riyall**

rydd *see* **ridd** *v*¹

ryginall *see* **regenall**

ryne *n* reign 180/33

saboath *n* sabbath 205/10, etc; **sabaoth** 59/22,
 263/21; **sabboath** 302/6, 339/19

sad *adj* 1. of persons: grave, serious 346/23; **saddest**
superl 348/37; 2. of colours: dark, dull, muted
sadd 327/11; **sadde** 326/38

sadyler *n* saddler, saddle-maker 134/24

saffely *adv* safely 215/38

sagbut *n* sackbut 215/20; **sagbuttes** *pl* 581/7,
 581/16

Saint Anne preste *n phr* St Anne's priest, chaplain
 to the guild of St Anne 158/36–7m, 158/38–9;
Scaynt Anne prest 145/9–10; **Scaynt Anne**
preste 138/4; **Sent Anne preste** 137/30; **St An**
preist 138/4m

Saint Mathyes Day *n phr* St Matthias' Day
 334/32

sam *adj and pron* same 143/20, etc

Sanct Michyll *n phr* St Michael 236/22; **Scaynt**
Mychell 144/37; **Sent Mychell** 167/11

Sanct Petur gil *n phr* St Peter's guild 236/21–2
SantAndaye, SantAnedaye, Sant Anes Daye *see*
Scaynt Anne Day

saruant *n* servant 361/31

saunders *n pl* alexanders, horse parsley, a plant
 resembling celery 196/7 [*OE*D alexanders,
 saunder]

sawde *n* sold, salary 137/31

sayffegarde *n comp* safeguard, *in senses* 1. safe
 conduct 123/39; 2. safety **savegard** 264/2

Scant Anne gyld *see* **Scaynt Anne gyld**

scarring *vb n* scaring, frightening 52/25

scaynst *see* **sence**

Scaynt Anne Day *n phr* St Anne's Day 141/7, etc; **SantAndaye** 180/27; **SantAnedaye** 182/5, 182/6; **Sant Anes Daye** 180/38; **Scaynt Anne Dey** 139/11, 143/10; **Schant Anes Daye** 180/36; **Sent Anes Dey** 165/37; **Sent Anez Dey** 166/3

Scaynt Anne gyld *n phr* St Anne's guild 136/6–7, etc; **Scant Anne gyld** 142/31–2m, 150/34–5m; **Scaynt Anne gild** 134/25–6; **Scaynt Anne gylde** 142/17, 142/32; **Schant Anne gyld** 150/34–5; **Schaynt Anne gylde** 142/11; **Sent Ane guylde** 167/20; **Sent Ane guylde** 165/36, 167/22; **Sent An gyld** 167/1

Scaynt Anne prest(e) *see* **Saint Anne preste**

Scaynt Anne procession *n phr* St Anne's procession, the procession of St Anne's guild on or near her feast day 143/10–11m; **Scaynt Anne processyon** 147/39

Scaynt Katheryns *n phr poss* St Catherine's priory in Lincoln 145/15–16; **Scaynt Kateryns** 143/36

Scaynt Mychell *see* **Sanct Michyll**

Scaynt Swithune *n phr* St Swithun 148/14

scedule *n* schedule, separate sheet of paper 64/4

schafte *n* maypole(?) 316/34, etc

Schant Anes Daye *see* **Scaynt Anne Day**

Schant Anne gyld *see* **Scaynt Anne gyld**

schauld *v pa t 3 pl* should 143/30

Schaynt Anne gylde *see* **Scaynt Anne gyld**

scheriferz *n pl* sheriffers, ie, sheriffs 143/18m

scherp *adj* sharp 190/28

scheryffes pere *n phr* sheriff's peer, former sheriff 177/20; **scheryffe peer** 165/9; **scheryff pere** 135/8, 143/18; **scheryfpere** 146/22, etc; **schiryff pere** 148/39; **sheryff peare** 184/36; **scheryffpers** *pl* 152/14

schewyd *pp* showed, shown, ie, exemplified 139/29

scheylde *n* shield 165/15, etc

schiryff pere *see* **scheryffes pere**

schochyn, schuchyn, schuycchon *see* **skochen**

scitter *see* **cittron**

scolle howse *n comp* schoolhouse 40/21; **scowle howys** 167/5

scotales *n pl* convivial local festivals where ale was drunk at the invitation of the lord or bailiff of the manor, who levied a compulsory contribution to pay for it 3/5m, etc; **scothales** 8/9c, 342/1

scowldes *n* scolds, railing and abusive women 307/35

scowle howys *see* **scolle howse**

scowte *n* watchman 23/31 [*OED* scout *sb*⁴ 4]

scriptiue *n* inscription 23/25

scrowes *n pl* scrolls, sheets of writing; *here* musical parts 332/33; **skrowes** 42/6

scutcheons, scutchions *see* **skochen**

sealf(e) *see* **meself**

sease *see* **cease**

seased in his demeane as of fe *ppl phr* seized in his domain as of fee, possessed (of real property) as a freeholder 19/24

seaze *v* seize, confiscate 368/9

see *n* bishop's throne; *here* for a boy bishop 231/18, etc

seight *see* **sight**

seigniorize, seignoriz *see* **signorize**

seiknes *n* sickness 154/20

self(f), self(f)es *see* **them selves, your selffes**

sence *conj and prep* since 55/14; **scaynst** 146/38; **sens** 99/9; *see also* **sithens**

sencers *n pl* censers 154/35

sensuer *n* censure 262/5

Sent Ane guylde(e), Sent An gyld *see* **Scaynt Anne gyld**

Sent Anes Dey, Sent Anez Dey *see* **Scaynt Anne Day**

Sent Anne preste *see* **Saint Anne preste**

Sent Marye Magdelyn *n phr* St Mary Magdalene 318/41

Sent Mychell *see* **Sanct Michyll**

Sent Thomas Day *n phr* St Thomas' Day 123/35

sergeant *n* a municipal officer 76/27, 254/17(?); *in phr* **sergieant at lawe** serjeant at law, senior barrister 170/30; **sergeant** *in same sense* 254/17(?); **seriantes at mace** *pl* serjeants at arms, men of knightly rank who attended the sovereign to arrest traitors and other offenders 212/28

- serteyn** *adj* certain 167/19; **seyten** 98/7
- seruis** *n* service 361/24
- seruitor** *n* servitor, servant 89/26
- seruyd** *pp* served 123/41
- sess** *v* ccess, determine and impose a tax 157/27;
essed *pp* 39/42, 157/27
- session** *n* 1. periodic meeting of a borough council or assembly 318/40, etc; **sessions** *pl* for *sg* in same sense 242/41, etc; 2. **sessions** *pl* quarter sessions, a court of limited criminal and civil jurisdiction, and of appeal, held quarterly by the justices of the peace in the counties and by the recorder in boroughs 71/29, 309/39; *in comp* **session dinner** a dinner held at sessions time 202/20; **sessions dinner** 244/18, etc; **sessions dynner** 202/20, etc; **sessions day** day of the quarter sessions 291/19; **sessions dore** door of the building or chamber where the quarter sessions were held 291/19
- sethence** *see* **sithens**
- sette** *v pa t 3 sg* sat 26/23
- settes** *n pl* saplings 314/36 [*OED* *set sb* 23a]
- seut** *n* suit, *in senses* 1. course (of a hunt or race) 214/11; 2. suit at law **seute** 277/2, 277/3
- sevenight** *n comp* sevennight, week 289/27;
seuinnight 286/33
- sewed** *v pa t 3 sg* made suit, appealed 71/38; *pp* **sewed** sued, applied for (to a court) 264/2
- sewers** *see* **commyssyon of sewers**
- sewerties** *see* **suortye**
- sewet** *n* suet 197/2; **sewolt** 196/4
- sext** *adj* sixth 318/41
- seyll** *n* seal 142/21
- seyt** *pp* set, put 167/5
- seyten** *see* **serteyn**
- shermen** *n comp pl* shearmen, shearers of woollen cloth 318/21
- sheryff peare** *see* **scheryffes pere**
- shite** *pp* shut 349/40
- shomakeres** *n comp pl* shoemakers 318/19
- shottying** *vb n* shooting 18/16
- Shrofttyde** *n comp* Shrovetide, Shrove Tuesday and the two days preceding it 225/11
- sic** *pron* such 89/39; **swyche** 432/17
- side-men** *n comp pl* sidesmen, churchwardens' deputies 13/12, etc; **sidesmen** 16/13; **sidsmen** 46/30
- sight** *n* 1. public spectacle or show 176/5, etc; **sicht** 89/28; 2. view **seight** 49/24
- signorize** *v* play the lord, act like a lord or ruler 290/22, 295/33; **seigniorize** 272/16, 280/40;
seignoriz 276/8
- sithens** *adv and prep* sithence, since 273/25, etc;
sethence 261/10, etc; *see also* **sence**
- sithern, sittorn** *see* **cittron**
- sittie** *see* **cite**
- skepyns** *n pl* aldermen 23/31 [*OED* *schepen, skevin*]
- skirtes** *n pl* outskirts, outer bounds 211/19, 211/23; *see also* **owt skertes**
- skochen** *n* scutcheon, badge; *particularly* one worn by a city or town wait as a badge of office, usually taking the form of a small shield bearing a civic emblem and worn on a chain going round the wait's neck 321/12, etc; **schochyn** 138/33, 138/34; **schuchyn** 138/34; **schuyccchon** 179/13; **skochyn** 134/18; **skuchon** 181/17, etc; **scutcheons** *pl* 328/15, 328/24; **scutchions** 327/29
- skrowes** *see* **scrowes**
- skynneres** *n pl* skimmers, dressers of hides for leatherworking 318/30
- slauchter** *n* slaughter; *here* manslaughter 90/1
- sliueinge** *prp* sneaking 46/31 [*OED* *slive v*: 2b, *sliving ppl a*]
- snafle** *n* snaffle, a kind of bridle bit without a curb 214/12
- soffarand** *see* **sufferaine**
- solempnite** *n* solemnity 123/36; **solempnytye** 190/10
- sommer lord** *n comp* summer lord, a man chosen to preside over revels held to mark the onset of summer 277/37–8, etc; **summer lords** *pl* 14/2, 14/26; *in phr* **sommer lords or ladies** men and/or women chosen to preside over such revels 9/13, etc
- sommer pole** *n comp* maypole 282/19
- somons** *n* summons 154/21
- sone** *see* **eft sone**

- soper** *n* supper 361/35
sowne *n* swoon 259/29
spacking *see* **spek**
sparr *v in phr* **sparr inne** board up 183/24;
sperryng *vb n* 183/24m
specte *n* bearing, gist, tenor 67/16, 67/22 [aphetic form of *OED* aspect *sb* 7]
spek *v* speak 143/36; **spacking** *prp* 353/32
sperryng *see* **spar**
speyches *n pl* speeches 288/40
spoored *pp* spurred, wearing spurs 211/32
sportis *see* **gam sportis**
stammell *n* stammel, a coarse cloth of wool or mixed wool and linen, usually dyed red 249/20, 256/3; **stamell** 251/15
Stanbowe *n* Stonebow, one of the gates of Lincoln 213/33
standing play *n phr* stationary play, dramatic piece performed in one place 186/23, 186/23–4m
St An preist *see* **Saint Anne preste**
stares *n pl* stars 180/26; **steris** *n pl* 154/34; **strys** (*for* *sterrys?*) 180/40
stened *pp* stained, coloured with pigments that penetrate below the surface 154/31; *see also* **steynores**
steynores *n pl* stainers, colourers of wood, etc, with pigments that penetrate below the surface 318/15; *see also* **stened**
stodde *see* **stond**
stoles *n pl* stools 300/4
stollen *pp* stolen 326/13
stond *v* stand 319/11; **stodde** *pa t 3 pl* stood 171/13; **stondyng** *vb n* standing, ie, standing-room, storage space 161/8
straightly *adv* straitly, strictly 368/1; **streightly** 23/34
strake *see* **strike**
strang *adj* strange 353/14
streightly *see* **straightly**
streight *see* **stryngth**
stremers *n pl* streamers 52/24
strike *v in senses* 1. hit or assault (a person) 50/10, etc; **stroken** *pp* 54/20; **struckin** 89/29, 89/31; 2. strike up (a drum) **stryke** 54/12; **strike** *imper pl* 52/29; **stricke** 49/19 (2); 3. *in phr* **strake down** *pa t 3 sg* knocked down (a piece of furniture) 313/12
striffe *n* strife 259/8; **stryff** 190/29
strok *n* stroke 89/34
stroken, struckin, stryke *see* **strike**
stryff *see* **striffe**
stryngeres *n pl* stringers, makers of bowstrings 318/7
stryngth *n* strength, force 150/35; **streight** 190/4
strys *see* **stares**
styd *n* stead, place 767/24
sua *adv and conj* so 89/36, 90/1
subdecvn *n* subdeacon's vestment, tunicle 55/19
suermisses *n pl* surmises, allegations 96/4
suertie *see* **suortye**
sufferaine *adj* sovereign 39/15; **soffarand** 180/34
suittar *n* suitor 89/37
summer lords *see* **sommer lord**
suortye *n* surety, ie, guarantee or guarantor 174/17, etc; **suertie** 159/8; **sewerties** *pl* 202/3
surmysyth *v pr 3 sg* surmiseth, ie, alleges 20/40
surplisses *n pl* surplices 91/24; **surplosses** 212/34
suster *n* sister, woman member of a guild or religious order 317/29, etc; **systemz** *pl* 138/5; *see also* **out brother or suster**
sutable *adj* suitable, ie, made to match 326/38
swerde *n* sword 19/38, etc
Swithune *see* **Scaynt Swithune**
swyche *see* **sic**
sygne *n* some object used as a platform or stand for a plough carried in procession; a shop sign or target(?) 97/28 [*MED* *signe n* 4(b)?]
syngulier *adv* singularly, preeminently 23/16
systemz *see* **suster**
tak *v* take 159/7; **takytt** *pa t 3 sg* took 156/30
takes *n pl* tacks 158/15, etc; **takxe** 182/7
takites *n pl* tackets, ie, nails 152/42; **takyttes** 163/3
takytt *see* **tak**
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tening *prp* lamenting(?) 259/33 [*OED* *teen v*¹ 2d]
terre *n* tar 366/20
Tewysdey *n comp* Tuesday 166/2

thaduyce *see* **advice**

thaer, thame *see* **the**

thairefter *adv comp* thereafter, after that 89/31

than *adv* then 224/7; **thanne** 412/25

thancyent *see* **auncent**

thapostyls *n phr pl poss* the apostles' 97/32

thauncyent *see* **auncent**

the *pron pl sbj* they 751/38; **yai** 169/1; **theym** *pl*

obj them 135/9, etc; **thame** 89/40; **yem**

268/35; **thaer** *poss* their 155/26; **thare** 102/2,

273/27; **thayr** 124/1; **thear** 332/3; **theare**

258/19, etc; **thir** 204/29; **yair** 89/38, 89/40;

yer 102/4; *see also* **them selves**

theder *adv* thither, to there 143/20

their *adv* there 51/18, 60/12

them selves *pron refl pl* themselves 317/40, etc;

them celfes 171/10; **them selffes** 172/19;

themselfs 210/30; **theym selfff** 143/6

thenhabytauntes *see* **inhabitauncez**

thentretreie *n phr* the entreaty 152/9

these *pron* this 168/22; **theys** *pl* these 317/39,

743/6; **theyz** 150/41; **thies** 348/13; **thiez**

154/23

they *def art* the 149/21

theym *see* **the**

theys, theyz, thies, thiez *see* **these**

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thir *see* **the**

tho *prep* to 147/39

Thoby *see* **Toby**

thole *adj phr* the whole 171/12, 171/22

thoner *n phr* the honour 134/35

thorough *prep* through 12/1, 12/17; **thoroughe**

269/39; **thorowe** 171/9; **thorough** 141/21;

thurgh 142/18; *see also* **throwe out**

thouth *pp* thought, imagined 361/16

thouths *n pl* thoughts 361/17

throwe out *prep comp* throughout 39/32

thurgh *see* **thorough**

thwrde *adj* third 180/33

thylde *n phr* the guild 334/41; *see also* **Sanct**

Petur gil, Scaynt Anne gylde, Trinite gild

tipler *n* one who sells strong drink by retail 46/38

tippites *n pl* tippets: *either* scarf-like lengths of material worn round the neck like hanging

stoles as a mark of office *or* small capeless hoods, folded up and worn in the same way, with the poke fastened to one shoulder of the wearer's gown by a cord and burton 210/39

tipple *v* 1. drink freely or hard; **tippelinge** *prp* 326/11, 326/12; 2. sell strong drink by retail; **tippede** *pp* 326/23; *vb n in comp* **tipling house** premises for retailing strong drink 8/28, etc; **tippelinge house** 277/18; **tiplinge houses** *pl* 322/25; **tiplinge howses** 48/34–5

to see **tow**

Tobias *n* the son of Tobit (*see next entry*) 187/11

Toby *n* Tobit, central character of the apocryphal Book of Tobit 191/37, 193/32; **Thoby** 188/30;

Tobyes *poss* 187/23

to fearme let *v phr* let to farm, lease out 314/1; *past ppl phr* **lettyn to fferme** let to farm, leased out for profit 142/18, etc; **to ferme letten**

313/37–314/1; **lattyng to ferm** *vb n phr* letting to farm, leasing out for profit 155/18–19

together *adv* together 23/6, 314/4; **together** 23/25

tourneours *n pl* tourneyers, participants in tournaments 600/24

tow *n and adj* two 71/18; **to** 339/35; **towe** 169/1

towerd *prep* toward 135/23, etc; **tuwerd** 150/10; *see also* **heyght**

trendlebed *n comp* trundlebed, a low bed fitted with runners or casters that could be stored under a higher one 40/37

trespace *v* trespass, offend 317/32

trible *adj* treble 322/38, 336/19; *used absolutely as n* treble viol or violin 57/12

Trinite gild *n phr* Trinity guild, a minstrels' guild dedicated to the Holy Trinity 236/21;

see also **quier**

trubl *pp* troubled, put to trouble 89/35; *in phr* **a trubbled** have troubled 361/20

tumulteous *adj* tumultuous 52/10

tupp stones *n comp pl* young rams' testicles 259/29

turnores *n pl* turners, workers who turn and fashion articles on lathes 318/8

tuwerd *see* **towerd**

tuynes *n pl* tunes 190/9

Twelfth Daye *n phr* Twelfth Day, the twelfth day

- of Christmas, being the eve of the Epiphany 226/21; **Twelve Daie** 358/39; **Twelff Day** 123/42; **Twelfft Daye** 168/36
- tym** *n* time 163/2
- tyme** *n* theme, written composition 283/20
- tynffoull** *n comp* tinfoil 163/39
- upening** *vb n* public reception of a privately baptized child into the congregation 95/5;
- upenning** 95/4 [*OED* *uppen v*; *cp MED* *openen v* 2a(a), 2b(a)]
- vellewet** *n* velvet 34/29
- Vennys gold** *n phr* Venice gold 35/24; **Venysgold** 34/30
- Vennys sylke** *n phr* Venice silk 38/9
- verdytt** *n* verdict 177/37
- verelie** *adv* verily, truly 52/38; **verely** 292/7
- vestment** *n* 1. priest's vestment, chasuble 55/18; **vestementes** *pl* 99/7(?); **vestmentes** 99/13(?)
2. *in pl* church robes in general **vestementes** 99/7(?); **vestmentes** 99/13(?); **vestments** 98/7, 338/26
- vff** *see* **off**
- vialinne** *n* violin 222/36; **violinge** 336/19; **violens** *pl* violin players 359/3; **vyolens** 355/38
- vial de gambo** *n phr* viol da gamba, a viol (usually bass) held between the player's legs 215/13
- vitall** *see* **in vitall**
- vitz** *abbr for* *t. videlicet, used in E context for* namely *or* to wit 210/24
- vnaray** *v* unarray, dismantle 153/38
- vnbattyd** *ppl adj* (of a bull) unbaited, not worried by dogs 80/28
- vnces** *n pl* ounces; *here* Troy ounces 179/13, 181/15
- vndercunstable** *n comp* underconstable, deputy constable 148/17
- vndresse** *v* undress, strip, take down 153/39
- vnreverend** *adj* irreverent 72/20
- vnto** *conj* until 136/28
- vntyll** *prep* until, ie, unto 18/24
- vnwares** *adv in phr vnwares to you* unawares to you, without your knowledge 349/22
- vouchsave** *v* vouchsafe, graciously deign 454/28
- vside** *pp* used, accustomed, observed 165/38; **vsyd** 141/4, etc
- vtenselles** *n pl* utensils 194/7m, 194/9
- vyolens** *see* **vialinne**
- vytall** *see* **in vitall**
- wags** *n* wages 235/32
- waighes** *n pl* waits, civic musicians 358/14, etc; **weightes** 245/38
- walkeres** *n pl* fullers 318/20
- wapentage** *n* wapentake, administrative division of a county in the Danelaw, answering to a hundred in other parts of England 270/22
- wardeyn** *n* warden, guild officer 317/40, 317/42; **wardoune** 240/5
- wardeynrye** *n* wardenry, warden's jurisdiction 319/9
- warke** *n* work 97/2, 154/31; *in comp* **warke day** workday 168/27
- warkemanshyp** *n comp* workmanship 268/35
- weare** *v pa t 3 pl* were 357/24, etc; **wear** 315/35
- wedder** *n* weather 21/15
- Wedonsday** *n comp* Wednesday 148/13; **Wenysday** 171/26
- weightes** *see* **waighes**
- wele** *adv* well 89/26
- wemen** *n pl* women 279/21, etc; **woemen** 287/8, 363/31; **woemen** 271/35, 284/27; **wormen** (*antiquary's transcription error for* *woemen?*) 21/14
- wepynes** *n pl* weapons 19/38
- wesheyng** *vb n* washing 163/4
- wessell** *n*wassail, a troop of persons who went from house to house at Christmas time, singing carols and songs of good wishes for the coming year and gathering money for charitable and/or pious uses 92/5
- weyng** *prp* weighing 181/15
- weyr** *v* wear 135/9, etc
- weythnott** *v phr pr 3 sg* waiteth not, does not attend 143/16
- weyveres** *n pl* weavers 318/19
- whan** *conj* when 102/1, etc; *see also* **whens**
- wheight** *n* weight 212/3
- wheir** *see* **other weir**

- whens** *conj phr* when 's, ie, when his 260/5
wheroff *conj comp* whereof, of whom 354/17
Whiett Freris *n comp poss* Whitefriars', the convent of the White or Carmelite Friars in Lincoln 161/8; **Whytt Fferis** 166/16
Whit Fferie *n phr* White Friary, the convent of the White or Carmelite Friars in Lincoln 158/14
whither *conj* whether 273/19, etc; **whyther** 273/24
whittaweres *n pl* whittawers, workers who dress skins into white leather 318/31
whyth *prep* with 138/32
whyther *see* **whither**
Whytt Fferis *see* **Whiett Freris**
wiffe, wifis, wifs, wives *see* **wyffe**
will *pp* willed, bequeathed 91/19
wodden *adj* wooden 295/18
wode *n* wood 196/4
woemen *see* **wemen**
woll *v* will 263/36; **wol** *pr 2 sg* 346/31; **wolbe** *pr 3 sg in phr* will be 346/32; **woold** *pa t 3 pl* 53/9
won *see* **oon**
woorshipe *n* worship, ie, honour 317/42;
worchypp 137/25
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wrastlyng *vb n* 1. wrestling 432/15; 2. wrestling-match 432/14, 432/17
wrdes *n pl* words 600/19
writt *v pa t 3 sg* wrote 261/25
ws *pron obj* us 89/26, 90/1; **hus** 190/14
wyffe *n* wife 96/39, 98/4; **wyff** 190/27; **wiffe** *poss* 46/9; **wifis** 216/29; **wifs** 22/5, 214/39; **wives** 259/34
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yatt *adj* that 168/37
yche *pron* each 170/23; *in phr* **yche on** each one 165/31
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yer of *adv comp* thereof 155/24
ymboldning *vb n* emboldening 272/40
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Index

ARLEANE RALPH

The Index combines subjects with names, places, and book or play titles in a single listing. When identical headwords occur in more than one category, the order is as follows: titles of nobility, names of individuals, names of places, subjects, and titles of books or plays. To aid research, certain subjects are often grouped under broad topics (for example, 'entertainers and entertainment' or 'trade and craft guilds'). The pertinent members of these classes are then given either as subentries or referred to by cross-reference.

Place names and surnames appear in modern form where that could be ascertained, and titles and family names of nobility and other public figures in forms commonly used by historians. Other surnames are usually cited in the most common form occurring in the Records except that capitalization and the use of 'i/j' and 'u/v' have been assimilated to modern usage. Variant spellings of place names, surnames, and titles are regularly included in parentheses following the headword forms. The chief sources used for ascertaining the modern spellings of personal names were C.R. Cheney (ed) and Michael Jones (rev), *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (Cambridge, 2000); G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 6 vols (London, 1910–59; rpt Gloucester, 1982); E.B. Fryde et al (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed (Cambridge, 1986; rpt 1996); the *ODNB*; and E.G. Withycombe (ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, 3rd ed (Oxford, 1977; rpt 1979). Place-name spellings are based on those in Eilert Ekwall (ed), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed (Oxford, 1960; rpt 1980), and Oliver Mason (comp), *Bartholomew Gazetteer of Britain* (Edinburgh, 1977).

Nobles are entered under their family name as well as under any titles which occur in the Records or apparatus. Succession numbers are given only for the most important titles held by a person, as well as for those titles by which he or she is named in the Records. These numbers follow the absolute sequence given in *The Complete Peerage* rather than the relative ones that begin afresh with each new creation. Details of events featuring patronized performers in Lincolnshire, with biographical data for their patrons, are available on the REED *Patrons and Performances Web Site* at <<http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/>>. Royalty are entered under their regnal or given names. Saints' names are indexed under the abbreviation 'St' alphabetized as if spelt out. Ellipsis dots are used in cases where a person's given name is not known. Occupations or titles of office are given if they are known and considered relevant or necessary to distinguish individuals of the same name.

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