SKELTON'S *MAGNYFYCENCE* and the Tudor Royal Household

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1

When Skelton refers to himself as a writer he usually emphasises the public nature of his rôle: he frequently styles himself 'poet laureate' and, after about 1512 or 1513, as '*orator regius*' as if his poems were officially sanctioned or had official approval. One set of poems is said to have been written 'By the kyngys most noble commandement'.[1] A great many appear to have been generated by public events, such as the coronation of Henry VIII, battles against the French and the Scots, the deaths of prominent people, or by public issues, such as the policies and behaviour of Wolsey or the treatment of heretics such as Thomas Arthur and Thomas Bilney. Some were prompted by local and domestic matters — two catastrophic fires in Norwich or the deaths of two parishioners from Diss with whom he had been in dispute. Skelton is rightly termed an 'occasional' poet, and scholars have for long spent much time and ingenuity in seeking to establish precise contexts for poems where the context is not obvious, sometimes with very illuminating results. It is as well to remember, however, that to establish the 'occasion' for a piece of work may not necessarily reveal all that much about its more general importance. In an essay on Ben Jonson, Thom Gunn addresses the subject as follows:

> ... all poetry is occasional, whether the occasion is an external event, like a birthday or a declaration of war, whether it is an occasion of the imagination, or whether it is some sort of combination of the two. (After all, the external may lead to the internal occasions.) The occasion in all cases — literal or imaginary — is the starting point only of a poem, but it should be a starting point to which the poet must in some sense stay true.[2]

It may be that scholars interested in Skelton have been somewhat too concerned with the 'starting point' of his works, and too little attentive to their broader philosophical, moral, and cultural implications.

Certainly, in the case of his verse morality play *Magnyfycence*, the desire to establish its 'occasion' or 'starting point' has tended for a long time to deflect attention from what may be its more general subject, though recent suggestions have substantially redirected matters — in my view, correctly.

For a variety of reasons, the idea that the play is essentially a satire on Wolsey is no longer tenable.[3] It makes a great deal more sense to see it as relating to the expulsion of the minions (= particular favourites) from Henry VIII's Household in May 1519 and its immediate aftermath.[4] It also seems clear that its more general subject has to do with the proper management of the royal Household, especially in relation to finance. In the early Renaissance, this was not simply a matter of practical politics and economics, but something which had philosophical and moral implications too.

The best sustained account of the struggle for control over Henry VIII's Household and the expulsion of the 'kynges minions' in 1519 comes from Edward Halle's *Chronicle* (1548), and the accuracy of his facts can be corroborated from various contemporary letters and formal government records. Halle's story concerns control of the Privy Chamber, an increasingly important department of the royal Household at this time, and is presented generally as a conflict between young and frivolous courtiers — attractive to Henry VIII because they were of his generation and shared some of his interests — and those who were older and more serious. According to Halle, the minions had picked up many of their bad habits, including over-familiarity with the sovereign, at the court of Francis I:

> During this tyme remained in the frenche courte Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Brian and diuerse other of the young gentlemen of Englande and thei with the frenche kyng roade daily disgysed through Paris, throwyng Egges, stones and other foolishe trifles at the people, which light demeanoure of a kyng was much discommended and gested at.[5]

When they returned to England they behaved in a similarly frivolous and over-familiar way with Henry VIII, taking advantage of his 'gentlenes & liberalitee' to such an extent that the Council became concerned:

> ... thei perceived that certain young men in his priue chamber not regardyng his estate nor degree, were so familier and homely with hym, and plaied suche light touches with hym that thei forgat themselfes: whiche thynges although the kyng of his gentle nature suffred and not rebuked nor reproued it: yet the kynges counsail thought it not mete to be suffred for the kynges honor, & therfore thei altogether came to the kyng, beseching hym al these enormities and lightnes to redresse.

The king told them that if they saw 'misuse' about his person he wished them to be responsible for its 'reformacion'. The minions were dismissed 'which discharge out of the courte greued sore the hartes of these young menne ...', though, as Halle says a little later, their fall was little lamented among wise men. They were replaced in the Privy Chamber by 'foure sad and auncient knightes'. Though he had not personally organised the moves against them, Wolsey was glad to see the back of the minions too: according to Giustiniani, he feared that they had 'become so intimate with the king, that in the course of time they might have ousted him from the government'.[6]

The hero of Skelton's play is not the typical 'everyman' figure of morality drama, but a 'noble prynce of myghte' (XVI 273) who bears a name which identifies him with the Aristotelian virtue highly prized by renaissance rulers, including the Tudors, who is lord of a household into which an unsavoury group of Vice-characters try to inveigle themselves, and this, and parts of the general movement of the play, so irresistibly recall the affair of the minions that some have read it off as a precise political allegory *à clef*. In relation to the Vices it has been suggested that the 'youthful brothers-in-law Carew and Bryan' are represented by the 'brother fools Fancy and Folly',[7] and significance has also been found in the fact that four moral figures help to restore Magnyfycence after his fall: according to one scholar 'one can also detect in them the shadowy identity of the "foure sad auncient knightes" that were put into the king's Privy Chamber to replace the minions'.[8] This sort of reading, however, cannot be sustained at any very detailed level. One of the virtues, Good Hope, is clearly meant to be a doctor or a chemist: he describes himself as a 'potecary' (2351), uses medical terminology (2353—8), and is asked about his 'pacyent' (2387). But, so far as is known, none of the 'foure sad and auncient knightes' ever served Henry VIII in a medical capacity or had any medical training. Though the expulsion of the minions may have been the 'occasion' of the play, its 'starting point', it looks as though Skelton was primarily interested in other more general matters relating to behaviour in the royal Household: amongst other things, the 'potecary' was a household servant whose duties were laid out in some detail in the Household ordinances.[9] The incident seems to have driven Skelton to his books.

2

Magnyfycence is a morality play with distinct social and political dimensions. The action of the play concerns a prince who fancifully and

foolishly sets aside, in the running of his household, the reasonable restraints of wise servants, which are primarily financial but bear on his more general behaviour too. He entrusts his affairs to a group of reckless and frivolous 'gallants', who persuade him into a life of wantonness, wilfulness, and excess which ruins and almost kills him, until at the very last moment they are replaced by serious advisors who put him back on the road to recovery. It has meaning on at least three levels, which are inseparable, because they interrelate and depend upon each other. One may well have to do with the specific incident of the minions. But the play has a more practical level too, which bears on the administration of royal power, particularly in regard to running a household. And this level is not distinct from the moral level, because, for a king or lord, the proper administration of a household was a moral, as well as a practical and political matter.

Skelton evidently saw as central to the incident of the minions something which Halle mentions only peripherally — the way in which Henry VIII's 'gentlenes & liberalitee' were exploited by his household retainers. He interpreted the affair as raising questions essentially about the financial well-being of the Household: for him the central issue had to do with the proper use of wealth. Skelton, who was at various times in his career attached to the royal Household, not only knew in some detail how it worked on a practical level, but appreciated its theoretical basis, something which was set out most authoritatively in the various Household Books which have come down from the later Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. Books of this sort were carefully written out and preserved, so that they could be referred to when the need arose. At the end of the *Ordinances at Eltham for Henry VIII* (1526) appears the following:

> Finally, for the dewe observance of all which premises, the King's Highnesse hath commanded a booke, mentioning theise present ordinances to be made over and besides all such other honourable constitutions and orders as hath heretofore been devised for the King's Household and chambers in other bookes mentioned; which booke of the present ordinances, signed with the King's hand, shall remaine to be kept in the compting house, for the better information of the head officers of the chamber and household, how they shall from time to time, see the same put to effectual execution.[10]

The book was to be sent for on certain occasions and consulted, so that the behaviour and performance of the household servants could be measured against its precepts.

These books were not only descriptive, but exemplary. The most important and elaborate of them is *The Black Book of the Household of Edward IV*, put together in the 1470s, which both made use of earlier material and also provided a model for the many later books of this sort. It begins with a series of *lectiones*, citing philosophical authorities and biblical and patristic texts relating to householding and discussing them. Then follow descriptions of households both legendary and historical — from those of Solomon to those of Henry I and Edward III. It then defines the major twofold division of the Household according to its functions — the *domus regie magnificencie*, under the Lord Chamberlain's supervision, the public face of the Household which demonstrated the magnificence of the ruler by lavish expenditure and display, and the *domus providencie*, the below-stairs department under the Lord Steward, where the accounts were kept and where control over expenses was regulated in relation to income. Again, the philosophical and moral basis of these departments is defined using precepts, largely, on the one hand, relating to the virtue variously called *liberality*, *magnificence*, or *magnanimity*, and, on the other, to *providence*. Thereafter, the book lays down the duties and functions of the various members of the Household, with much detail as to how they were meant to behave, what their wages were, and what their allowances might be in terms of livery, food and drink, lights and firewood, and so on. The emphasis in books like this is on the regulation of expenditure. As it says in one place in a typically terse way: 'The kyng wull haue his goodes dispended but not wasted'.[11]

The suggestion, first made by David Starkey and developed by Greg Walker, that *Magnyfycence* may be read off against sets of Household rules and regulations seems to me entirely correct.[12] But Skelton's imagination was often sustained by sub-literary or non-literary works, and what Household Books contain illuminates the play significantly, but at a particular level as well as a more general one. The full meaning of certain aspects of *Magnyfycence* emerges only when the play is set against the precise rules by which households were meant to be governed.

In the medieval and renaissance periods, the standard teaching on the proper and improper uses of wealth was based on Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, and rests on the definition of *liberality* proposed there: 'Coming to the giving and acquiring of money, we find that the mean is liberality, the

excess prodigality, the deficiency meanness. But here we meet a complication. The prodigal and the mean man exceed and fail in opposite ways. The prodigal man exceeds in giving and falls short in getting money, whereas the mean man exceeds in getting and falls short in giving it away' (*2* vii).[13] When he moves on to *magnificence* he explains that it differs from liberality in scale: it is the liberality of the great. And when he speaks of *magnanimity* in the following sections he explains that it is the greatness of soul which belongs to every virtuous man. These definitions passed into the ethical and moral systems of the Christian Middle Ages, largely through such thinkers as Aquinas, where meanness comes to be equated with the deadly sin of avarice, and largesse becomes its remedy.[14] But these ideas also had a political dimension and were frequently adverted to in works of the 'Mirrors for Princes' type. As one version of the *Secreta Secretorum* in Middle English puts it: '... if a kyng wolle regne worshipfully, it bihovyth neyther to have that on ne that other of two vices, skarste ne foole large'.[15] In some versions, such as that by John Lydgate and Benedict Burgh, the ideas became associated with concepts such as 'reason' and 'measure', much as in Skelton's play

> Ech thyng in ordre Convayed by Resoun,
> That mesour have domynacyon
> As it is ryght of trouthe and Equite
> Twen Avaryce and prodigalyte.[16]

And this kind of thinking and these categories were also appropriated by those who compiled the Household Books.

In the *Black Book*, under the heading *domus regie magnificencie*, the author identifies 'six ... properties' of the virtue, all drawn from Aristotle: he defines it in relation to liberality, and stresses the great projects which lavish expenditure makes possible. But it ends on a properly cautious note: 'Certainly, great works cannot be achieved except with great expenditure'; but things have to be kept in 'proportion', 'and for that reason it is to be diligently considered that he [the magnificent king] be not superabundant or excessive in great undertakings, because such is called boorish use, as if consuming one's goods in a furnace'.[17] The *Household Ordinance of 1478* makes much the same points, using the same philosophical basis, in its preamble:

> We, ne willing that our said household be guyded by prodigalite, whiche neyther accordeth with honneur, honeste, ne good maner, ne on that other partie, that it be guyded by auarice whiche is the

> werse extremite, and a vice moore odiouse and detestable, We haue taken ferme purpose to see and ordeyne thadministracion of oure said housholde, namely, in costes and expenses to be grounded and establisshed vpon the forsaid vertue called liberalite.[18]

This proceeding, he continues, is based on 'equyte and rightwisnesse' and ultimately on justice, 'the most noble virtue'. A great many ideas from a variety of sources feed into Skelton's play — including moral strictures relating to the Cardinal Virtue of Fortitude, and traditional prudential wisdom — but it is important to remember that its irreducible basis is Aristotelian (though filtered through scholasticism):

Redr. Of noblenesse the chefe poynt is to be lyberall,
So that your largesse be not prodygall.
Cyrc. Lyberte to a lorde belongyth of ryght,
But wylfull waywardnesse muste walke out of the way;
Measure of your lustys must have the oversyght,
And not all the nygarde nor the chyncherde to play.
Let never negarshyp your noblenesse affray;
In your rewardys use suche moderacyon
That nothynge be gyven without consyderacyon.
Pers. To the increse of your honour then arme you with ryght,
And fumously adresse you with magnanymyte ... 2487—97

In terms of its moral, ethical, and philosophical ideology, it is not possible to be precise about the direct sources of Skelton's inspiration, but it is clear that what he recommends through a play about a household is compatible with what is recommended in the regulations contained in Household Books.

And it may also be that the Household Books influenced both the decision to treat the subject of the proper expenditure of wealth in a morality play and some of the allegorical characters of *Magnyfycence*. Two illustrations in the *Black Book* seek to encapsulate in graphic form some of its teaching. One shows the *domus regie magnificencie* with a king dining in state: behind him are the arms of England; he wears his crown; servants bring food to him and his companions and drink in cups with covers — a signification of their rank.[19] Presumably this is meant to represent a banquet — a public occasion at which a prince might demonstrate his magnificence through lavish expenditure. The title-page to the c.1530 print of Skelton's play describes it as 'a goodly interlude and a merry', and interludes were traditionally played in dining-halls at banquets — originally

between courses, though this play is much too long to have allowed that. Yet the setting, fictively created in the text and possibly also referring to an actual performance, suggests a banquet. Most strikingly, when Fansy praises his owl he directly addresses a crowded audience who are evidently diners (indicated by *messe*, two people eating together sharing serving dishes, as in the *Black Book* illustration):

> Nowe let me se about
> In all this rowte
> Yf I can fynde out
> So semely a snowte
>
> Among this prese —
> Even a hole messe —
> Pease, man, pease!
> I rede we cease. 991—8

The traditional setting of an indoor morality play, an interlude, is here actualised in relation to its subject matter. The sort of play most frequently performed at occasions which demonstrate the ruler of a household's magnificence here faces the people in its audience with a problematised representation and discussion of what they may have been enjoying without a care in the world. As he withdraws from the play and seeks to define what it has meant, Skelton makes the allegorised virtues address the audience directly. Redresse stresses the instructional function of the play: 'Who lyst to consyder shall never be begyled' (2512). Perseveraunce says that it was 'devysyd to make you dysporte' (2538) but goes on to stress the wisdom of the precepts it sets out. Clearly, Skelton has in mind the Horatian precept that literature should both teach and delight — something adverted to fairly plainly by Magnyfycence in a later speech:

> This mater we have movyd, you myrthys to make,
> Precely purposyd under pretence of play,
> Shewyth wysdome to them that wysdome can take ... 2552—4

Cyrcumspeccyon, however, uses a visual image, that of the *speculum* or looking-glass, perhaps because his allegorical name suggests 'seeing'. This is not the dark glass of St Paul (1 Corinthians 13: 12) sometimes invoked as an authoritative text to justify the indirect reference of allegory, but a

PL. 1: The *domus regie magnificencie*: BL MS Harley 642, fol 4^{r}.
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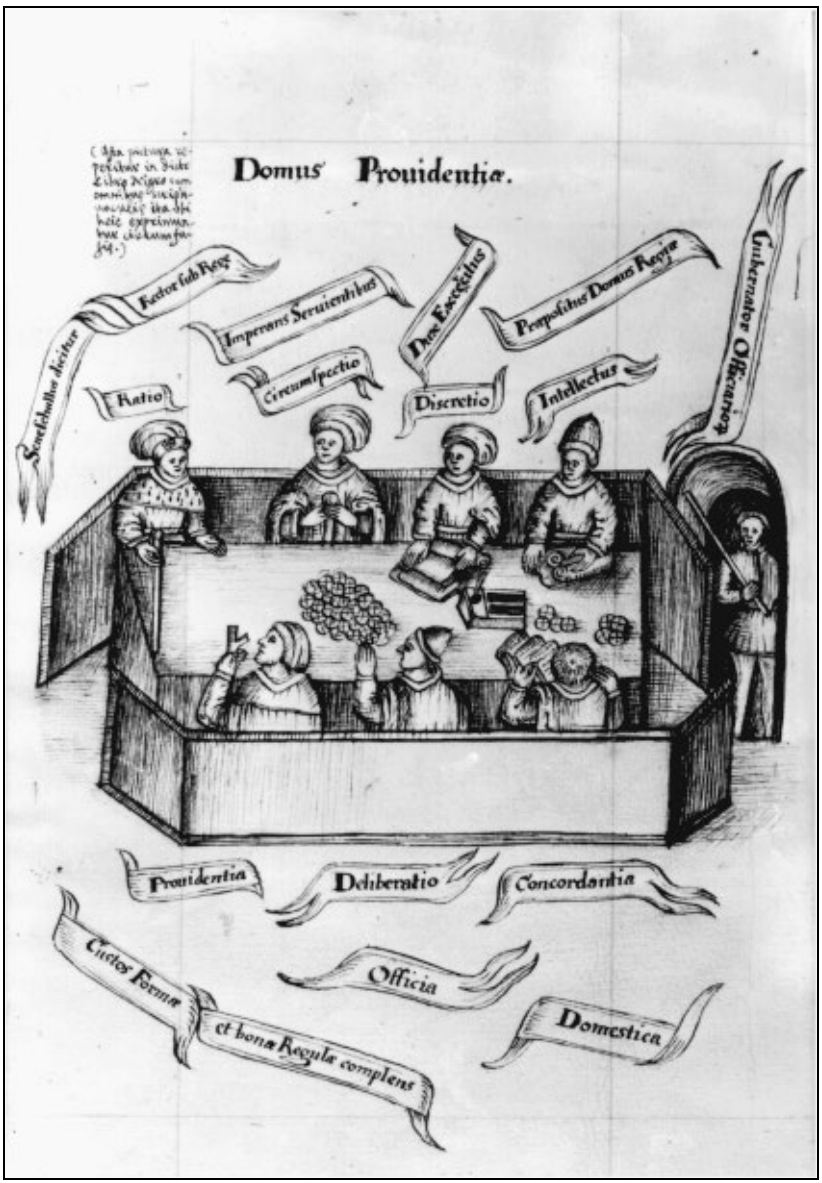

PL. 2: The *domus prouidencie*: BL MS Harley 642, fol 79^{v}.
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clear reflector which throws back upon the audience an unclouded vision of itself: 'A myrrour incleryd is this interlude' (2524). The performance of the play is designed so that those who organise and participate in displays of magnificence are prompted to reflect about themselves and their actions.

What is equally striking and significant, however, is that a number of the names of the personified characters and the concepts they represent and speak about appear to have been suggested by Household regulations: the impetus towards allegory may have come from here. The name of the central character and the title of the play may well have come from a section such as that headed *domus regie magnificencie* in the *Black Book* or from the illustration of it already mentioned. But another illustration, this time of the *domus prouidencie*, may have suggested other things. Here, seated at a table, are seven personified figures — Ratio, Circumspectio, Discretio, Intellectus, Prouidentia, Deliberatio, Concordantia. On the table are papers and rolls, writing equipment, and piles of what appears to be money. These allegorised figures are evidently doing the Household accounts, while the Sergeant Usher guards the door: perhaps they are meant to represent the Steward, the Treasurer, the Controller, the Cofferer, and three Clerks of the Greencloth.[20] One of the characters who rescues Magnyfycence is called Sad Cyrcumspeccyon (= 'serious heedfulness'). And when the discussion centres on the proper use of wealth in a prince's household some of the other virtues in the list appear. In Welthful Felycyte's opening speech, for example, 'reason' is mentioned in the first line (1), and a little later comes:

> yf prudence be provyd with sad cyrcumspeccyon
> Welthe myght be wonne and made to the lure ... 15—16

When Fansy appears, seeking to obtain a place in Magnyfycence's household under the guise of Largesse, as something 'all lordes sholde love', initially the prince is rightly cautious: 'Yet we wyll therin take good delyberacyon' (270—5). It may be argued that these are ordinary enough words and that it is not necessary to postulate a source in the Household Books. But the pattern of Skelton's usage suggests that he associated this vocabulary strongly with Household issues. The word *magnyfycence*, for example, is used outside this play only four times in Skelton's poetry (once in XXI 1192 it refers to the play): once it is used of the opulent displays of expenditure by Wolsey at Hampton Court and York Place which, Skelton says, are eclipsing the 'kynges courte' (XX 405—415); and once it appears in his poem on the death of Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland

(I 161), a nobleman who, in Skelton's version of events, was let down by his household servants (92—8 and elsewhere).[21] And the other terms also tend to be clustered so as to apply in this specialised context. Percy, a major householder in the North of England, is praised in one place by Skelton as having three of the qualities requisite in the *domus prouidencie*: he is said to have been 'Provydent, discrete, circumspect and wyse' (139). And two of this list of virtues also appear as personifications — Reson and Prudence — in the opening lines of *Why Come ye Nat to Courte?*, where Skelton warns lords about how they should conduct themselves in relation, amongst other things, to their household expenditure and what qualities they should have in 'resydence' with them, an image of moral virtues and vices as household retainers:

> All noble men of this take hede,
> And beleve it as your crede.
>
> To hasty of sentence,
> To ferce for none offence,
> To scarce of your expence,
> To large in neglygence,
> To slacke in recompence,
> To haute in excellence,
> To lyght intellegence,
> And to lyght in credence;
> Where these kepe resydence,
> Reson is banysshed thence,
> And also dame Prudence,
> With sober Sapyence. XX 1—14

The adjectives *scarce* and *large* suggest he is thinking in terms of concepts of liberality and magnificence here, and it may be that *intellegence* stands for the quality '*intellectus*' here. But the word *sapyence* is particularly interesting. There are only two other occurrences in Skelton's poetry (he normally used *wysdom*), both of them in *Magnyfycence*. On one occasion, Good Hope asserts that 'sapyence' is a quality which a man learns through adversity and opposition (2372); and on the other Welthful Felycyte instances it as a virtue which protects a prince's possessions: 'without sapyence your substaunce may be smal' (1407).[22] It may be significant that the first precept quoted in the *Black Book* is *Domus regis edificatur sapientia* ('the house of a king is built on wisdom'), based on Proverbs 24: 3.[23]

Perhaps Skelton associated the word *sapyence* narrowly with this text and the proper conduct of households.

The most important of the Household characters, however, is Measure, who occupies a position of power very like that of the steward: he is the principal agent of regulation in the play. According to R.L. Ramsay, the name 'is clearly a first hand importation from the *Ethics* of Aristotle, of whose system it forms the centre, in accordance with the famous dictum that virtue lies in the mean'.[24] This might derive some support from no less an authority than Sir Thomas Elyot, who, in a chapter of *The Governour* (1531) treating 'Of Beneficence and Liberalitie', considers Aristotle's ideas and concludes that 'liberalitie (as Aristotle saith) is a measure, as well in gyving as in takyng of money and goodes.'[25] But, as other scholars suggest, it may derive from Horace's *auream … mediocritatem* (*Odes 2*: 10), or proverbs like 'Measure is treasure'. Or it could come from a work such as Lydgate and Burgh's quoted above. There is certainly some truth in much of this. But in his first major speech in the play, Measure, in the manner characteristic of moralities, seeks to define his allegorical significance. He mentions 'Horacius', and quotes the proverb, but he also refers to a biblical text from Wisdom 11: 12:

> In ponder, by nomber, by measure all thynge is wrought,
> As at the fyrst orygynall, by godly opynyon;
> Whych provyth well that measure shold have domynyon.
>
> 118—120

As has been pointed out, this is a text used by, amongst others, Langland, Lydgate, and Thomas Norton.[26] But what is not so well known is that it is also frequently cited in household books where — since the whole enterprise of accurate accounting has to do with number, weight, and measure — it assumes a paramount importance. In the *Black Book*'s 'first reading', which deals with the house of God, one finds praise, based on Proverbs 9: 1—2, of wisdom as a steward: 'Here our most bountiful steward, in his undescribable wisdom (*sapiencia*) built this universal house for him, mixed wine and set a table, in weight and in number, and in measure …' And again, in the 'fourth reading', comes a warning that it is not fitting for a royal house to provide alms (*caritas*) for everybody, nor should it be corrupted by meanness (*parcitate*), but that it should be founded and established on solid rock (*firmam petram*) '… just as we said above in three things, that is in weight … in number … in measure …'[27] This again refers to an action by a wise man (*viro sapienti*), this time in

Matthew 7: 24—5, who built a house in this way. In the *Ordinances at Eltham for Henry VIII*, in the chapter 'For Store', this idea recurs:

> ... it is the King's commandment and pleasure, that in the viewing, approveing, and allowing of the said provisions, a booke be made subscribed by the hands of the said officers, specifieing particularly the number, quallityes, quantityes, rate, weight, and measure of every thing, soe that it be not changed or altered at such time as it shall be brought to be spent into the King's house or office ...[28]

The idea of *measure* in the general and particular senses of the word is clearly important in the Household Books, and it may be that Skelton derived the name for his steward from this sort of source — perhaps from a Latin text, since in *Magnyfycence* he uses the word *ponder* (118) instead of *peise* or *weight* when he is referring to the biblical text.

For a lord to display his *magnificence*, his princely liberality, it was necessary for him to have a household which was organized on a proper financial basis. Those responsible for running the household had to make certain that expenditure did not outstrip income, that a balance was preserved. In a very precise way magnificence depended upon calculation: and here practice did not always follow authoritative precepts. Aristotle had said that the magnificent man 'will spend gladly and generously', and this sentiment finds an echo in the Household Books: *magnificus delectabiliter expendit eaque expendit et non cum tristicia*, recommends one of them.[29] But Aristotle also says that 'there is something petty about book-keeping', and this is quite contrary to the whole tenor of the Household Books, which recommend the diligent keeping of written accounts which cover everything. Part of the duties laid out for the 'clerke of countrolment', for example, in the *Black Book* reads as follows:

> Hys charge ys to see to all maner of purveyaunces grete and smale longyng to the thesaurere of houshold hys charge; as for weyghte of brede, wax, weeke, all maner spyces, syluer vessell, pewter, tyn, coppyr, brasse, lede, iron; and of delyueraunces of mesure of napery and all othyr lynyn cloth of the full content; mesurez of tonnez, fates, buttes, pipes, hogges, rundelettes, barelles, to the lowest mesure of pottes of ale, wynez, and all other maner of vessels and drinks or botels vergis, etc. busshelles, half busshelles, peckes, and such othyr necessary for thys houshold lyke as a clerk countroller owith to execute and apposer to thys clerk of market in thys court. Also of all othyr maner of stuff purueyed for the housholde, as it is

> worthe, hym owythe to recorde and testyfye at the countynghouse before the steward and thesaurer.[30]

Here the emphasis is on book-keeping, on the precise recording of details, on 'weyghte' and 'mesure', on exact quantities of dry and wet goods. Furthermore, though Aristotle says that the magnificent man ought to interest himself in large conceptions and not think about 'how much it will cost and the cheapest rate at which it can be done', the Household Books everywhere concentrate on economy in even the smallest things, such as the care of the household horses down to their exact quantities of feed. In the *Ordinances at Eltham for Henry VIII*, for example, the equerries and surveyors of his stables are instructed to see to it that the king's horses

> ... be substantially served, according to their allowance, as well in all necessary apparell to them belonging, as also in Hay, Garbage, and Litter, sufficient for the said horses, without any wast, bribing, or giving away any part or parcell thereof; and in Otes, after the rate for every horse half a bushell per day for a horse, then the overplus of the said Otes to be dayly saved to the King's use, and to be delivered againe by the said Querries or Surveyors to the Garnitor, and he to be charged therewith againe ...[31]

Take care of the pennies, this advises, and the pounds will take care of themselves. But when Fansy, under the guise of 'Largesse', seeks to persuade Magnyfycence to dispense with measure in the conduct of his household, he ridicules as inappropriate for a king this sort of attention to detail, this exact itemising of expenditure, perhaps even alluding to precisely this sort of ordinance:

> Measure is mete for a marchauntes hall
> But largesse becometh a state ryall.
> What! Sholde you pynche at a pecke of grotes
> Ye wolde sone pynche at a pecke of otes.
> Thus is the talkynge of one and oder,
> As men dare speke it hugger mugger:
> 'A lorde a negarde, it is a shame.'
> But largesse may amende your name. 382—9

But in the ethos of the Household Books such concerns as to how a peck of oats were distributed were of some consequence, as Skelton well knew: it was attention to such details which provided the foundation of a lord's financial well-being, and if there was relaxation ruin was possible.

What destroys the household in *Magnyfycence* is just such a relaxation: when Measure is displaced by Lybertye as the 'ruler' of the household, Welthful Felycyte (= 'the well-being which comes from riches') is lost. The shift in values is marked on a literal level by the replacement of one person by another in a position of authority and influence. The patronage system, 'the cornerstone of the household', is perverted by vice. The strategy of the court Vices is to enlarge the *rome* (= 'position, office') of Lybertye in the household, and to provide positions for each other: on one occasion Fansy complains that 'Lybertyes rome ... is but small' (663); and tells Counterfet Countenaunce a little earlier that 'we pycked out a rome for the' (508). The Vices want these positions or 'romes' so that they can exploit their proximity to the sovereign and supposed influence for financial gain: Clokyd Colusyon gets a 'brybe' from Measure for an 'annuall rente' (1665—6) for purportedly interceding for him to Magnyfycence. The word *rome* in this sense appears only in *Magnyfycence* and in *Agaynste a Comely Coystrowne*, another satire on a pushy upstart at court[32] of whom Skelton ironically says:

> An ussher of the hall fayn wold I get
> To poynte this proude page a place and a rome,
> For Jak wold be a jentylman that late was a grome. III. i. 40—42

Here 'ussher of the hall', 'page', 'grome' are all categories of household servant, as is 'jentylman' (probably) in this context. So *rome* is clearly a word which Skelton used only in the context of the Royal Household: from his own experience, if from nothing else, he knew the importance of having a 'rome' at court. And, not surprisingly, it is part of the vocabulary of the Household Books, and it is plain from the context of its use there what exactly informed the rationale of appointments. This is perhaps best stated in the *Ordinances at Eltham for Henry VIII* in Chapter 31, which tries to ensure that the king is 'substantially served in his chamber and household, by such personages as be both honest in their gesture and behaviour, and also expert in such roomes and offices as be deputed unto them ...' People who are in any way unsuitable or incompetent, says the writer, cause 'great confusion, annoyance, infection, trouble, and dishonour'. Various officials are deputed to review the staff of the Household, to pension off those no longer up to the job, dismiss those who are unsuitable, and replace them with others. In promoting or making appointments they are instructed:

> ... to put aparte all favour, affection, hate, and partiality; and, as well now as from henceforth, to name, preferre, and present, unto the King's Highnesse, and the officers to whom it shall appertayne, none other to be admitted into any roome, office, or place, within the King's said household or chamber, and especially those which, beginning in low roomes be accustomed by course to ascend unto higher; but such as be of good towardnesse, likelyhood, behaviour, demeanour, and conversation; and as nigh as they can, to have respect that they be personages of good gesture, countenance, fashion, and stature; soe as the King's house, which is requisite to be the myrrour and example of all others within this realme, may be furnished of mynisters and officers, elect, tryed, and picked, for the King's honour, as to good reason and congruence doth apperteyne ...[33]

Not only do Household servants have to be efficient at their particular positions ('roomes'), but they also have to look the part, act decorously, and behave and speak well, because the royal court is a 'myrrour and example' to others, and something which would be looked at. The household is an outward expression of its lord, a visible extension of his person, and everything, therefore, has to be organised, ideally, so that it contributes as far as possible to his 'honour'. Initially, Magnyfycence is not inclined to have Fansy among his retainers — his ill-bred behaviour and over-familiarity make him unsuitable:

> ... I have aspyed ye are a carles page...
> 288
> You are nothynge mete with us for to dwell,
> That with your lorde and mayster so pertly can prate!
> Gete you hens, I say, by my counsell 304—6

Unfortunately, however, he allows himself to be talked out of what is an entirely correct decision. In Skelton's play, Magnyfycence is ruined morally because he is persuaded to behave with too much liberty, fancifully and foolishly: on a literal level this is figured in the acquisition of power in his household by the wrong sort of people.

As Magnyfycence's moral position deteriorates, so the organisation and good order of his household collapses. Skelton demonstrates this by showing his servants acting in ways which transgress against the norms of behaviour as set down in the Household Rules. The type of behaviour which is forbidden in the ordinances varies a little from one book to

another, but, usually, it is stipulated that household servants should refrain from immoral or criminal behaviour, gambling, quarrels and fighting, using bad language, and misusing or alienating the lord's property, on pain of various punishments. Typical is the set of rules in the *Ordinances for the Household of George Duke of Clarence* (1469):

> ... It is appoynted and ordeigned, that the steward, Thesaurer, and Controller, or twoe of them, shalle calle afore them, in the counting-house, all the seid Duke's servauntes, commaunding and straytlye charginge them, in the said Duke's behalfe, to be of worshipfull honeste and vertuouse conversation, absteyninge themselves from vicious rule and suspected places; and also restrayning them from seditious language, varyaunces, discentions, debates, and frayes as well within the seide Duke's courte as withoute, wherethorough any disclaundre or disgovernaunce might growe ...

And a scale of punishments follow — fines, imprisonment, dismissal. A little later the book lays down that nobody ought to '... breke no doores ne windowes, ne picke lockes by nyght ne by daye, in any house of office, wherein the said Duke's goodes lieth ...', and then forbids 'any manner of game at the dice, cardes or other hassard, for money' except at Christmas, and threatens with punishment 'usuall swearers of God, and his moste reverente membres ...' Then come instructions to the porters to prevent pilfering and thieving '... that no vitails, silver plate, pewter vessels, ne none other stuffe of the seide household be embeselled oute ...' [34]

It is clear from the play that Skelton defines vice in relation to the household in terms of deviation from some of these rules: the effect on stage is comic, but as often in morality drama there is an equation between comedy and vice. The new court servants of Magnyfycence are vicious, as is clear from their self-revealing soliloquies, and given to dissolute lifestyles: though they do not gamble, they leave the household, having accomplished its ruin, for the 'taverne' and the brothel (3261—76). Though it is never specified exactly how, the Vices displace Measure through a 'fray' (932) and through 'chydynge' (940). And they quarrel constantly amongst themselves. Clokyd Colusyon and Crafty Conveyaunce argue a good deal about precedence and power on one occasion (779—824), and later about comparative abilities in vice, but not very effectively — they never come to blows — and they swear a good deal, both of which are clear from the following exchange:

Clo. Col. Leve thy pratynge or els I shall lay the on the pate.
Cra. Con. Nay, to wrangle, I warant the, it is but a stone-caste.
Clo. Col. By the messe, I shall cleve thy heed to the wast.
Cra. Con. Ye, wylte thou clenly cleve me in the clyfte with thy nose?
Clo. Col. I shall thrust in the my dagger —
Cra. Con. Thorowe the legge in to the hose.
Clo. Col. Nay, horson, here is my glove. Take it up and thou dare.
Cra. Con. Torde! Thou arte good to be a man of warre.
Clo. Col. I shall skelpe the on the skalpe; lo, seest thou that?
Cra. Con. What! Wylte thou skelpe me? Thou dare not loke on a gnat.
Clo. Col. By Cockes bones, I shall blysse the and thou be to bolde.
Cra. Con. Nay. Then thou wylte dynge the devyll and thou be not holde.
Clo. Col. But wotest thou, horson? I rede the to be wyse.
Cra. Con. Nowe I rede the beware. I have warned the twyse. 2173-85

As Counterfet Countenaunce says, these are simply 'wordys' (2198), and there will be no 'sheddynge of blode' (2207). But some of the language of swearing is interesting. 'Cockes bones' (2182) is an oath by the 'reverente membres' of God, forbidden by household rules, and the play is full of this sort of expression: oaths by 'Cockes/ys' or 'Goddes/is/ys' arms, body, bones, foot, or wounds appear 41 times in the play, and hardly at all in the rest of Skelton's works, except for five occurrences in *The Bowge of Courte*, which is similarly concerned with corrupt and vicious royal retainers.[35] These expressions may look ordinary enough — part of the unthinking demotic of everyday existence — but for Skelton they were clearly part of a context-specific linguistic code: the 'usual' use of these expressions signified for him misrule in a household. And the same is true of *horson* (2178, 2184) which occurs 12 times in the play, and only twice elsewhere in Skelton's poems (both in the context of courtly households). The particular nuance the word evidently had for him is disclosed if one refers to the section on swearing in the *Black Book*. Its author begins by referring to a text from Ecclesiasticus 23: 12 'The man who swears many oaths is filled with iniquity, and the scourge will not leave his house', then forbids swearing 'by Goddys body, or by any of his other parties vnreuerently' on pain of being deprived of wine at mealtimes, and then adds a rider: 'There was a lyke mocion to be made for the customable word of hourson'.[36] It seems fairly clear that Skelton had this particular ordinance in mind, or one very similar to it, when he makes the Vices use the word *horson* so often. The language used by the Vices as they gain control over Magnyfycence's household is an indicator, if one reads the play off against

the stipulations in the Ordinances, of how far it has been subverted from good rule and order.

And much of the play, it seems to me, even the knockabout farce, releases its meaning in this way. The confrontation between Fansy and Foly, for example, and the lengthy discussion about their pets becomes something more than fooling if one considers it in the light of a rule such as that from the *Ordinances at Eltham for Henry VIII* which stated:

> ... that noe manner of person, of high or lowe degree, belonging to the King's Household, shall kepe within the Court any Hawkes, Spanniels, Grey-hounds, or Hounds, but such as whom it shall please the King's Maiestie to lycence soe to doe ...[37]

Hawks and hounds were highly prized in aristocratic society, as necessary accoutrements to the sporting side of the high life. But, though Fansy may refer to his bird as 'an hawke of the towre' (925) and call 'Stowe' (967) to her as if she were one, she is actually an 'owle' (970). And though Foly praises his dog as 'praty' (1119), he is really just a 'pylde curre' (1053-5). That such creatures were around his court would reflect no honour on Magnyfycence, and it is a symptom of his lack of control and the decline of his standards that his household servants should have them.

In the main, however, Magnyfycence is ruined because, through a lack of measure, through too much liberty, through fanciful and foolish behaviour, he is reduced to poverty. On the literal level of the play's action this is accomplished through theft: the court Vices plunder his household of its goods. He first knows of this when Fansy tells him that they are 'undone with stelyng and robbynge' (1852), and, as the action develops, it becomes clear what has happened: 'of his cofers the bottoms are bare' (2163); 'his plate is to wed' (2168). Some lines later Crafty Conveyaunce and Clokyd Colusyon boast to Counterfet Countenaunce about their part in his downfall and about their skill as thieves:

Clo. Col. Mary, syr, he sayd that he was the pratyer man
Then I was in opynynge of lockys;
And I tell you, I dysdayne moche of his mockys.
Cra. Con. Thou sawe never yet but I dyd my parte,
The locke of a casket to make to starte.
Cou. Cou. Nay, I know well inough ye are bothe well handyd
To grope a gardevyaunce, though it be well bandyd.
Clo. Col. I am the better yet in a bowget.
Cra. Con. And I the better in a male. 2225—33

But again the comedy has a precise reference to the rules which forbade the picking of locks, the breaking of doors, and the taking of goods out of the Household. The arms of the royal counting-house in Edward IV's time included a key and a rod of silver, which represented control, '... sygnyfying that thys offyce may close, opyn, and punyshe other offycers'.[38] But Magnyfycence, because of his ill-advised promotions and appointments, has allowed his counting-house, the centre of the *domus providencie*, to be broken into, and his wealth to be taken. Lybertye and Felycyte leave him (1857) — that is, he loses his freedom of action and the well-being which comes from riches. He can no longer behave according to his name. Without wealth he loses his identity, and when poor is not recognised initially, even by his former servants: 'Cockys bonys! Thou begger, what is thy name?' (2240). When at last Magnyfycence recognises the Vices for what they are he calls them 'thevys' — but they defy and revile him:

> Alas, myn owne servauntys to shew me such reproche!
> Thus to rebuke me and have me in dyspyght!
> So shamfully to me, theyr mayster, to aproche,
> That somtyme was a noble prynce of myght! 2277—80

His loss of moral control is figured in the insubordination of his servants. The deference and the spatial distance which authority and protocol demanded should be kept between the lord and his servants is compromised: he is subjected both to their reproaches and approaches. They have brought him down to their own level.

3

But though he generalises, in this way, the incident of the minions so that he can deal with practical and moral matters relating to the governance of noble households, Skelton does 'in some sense stay true' to what appears to be his 'starting point'. Some of the specifics of the play seem to have been generated not from the Household Books alone but from the original incident too. One of the things about the minions which most upset more traditionally-minded courtiers was their assumption of modish French styles and habits when they returned to England, and their disparagement of native manners and fashions. Halle explains:

> And when these young gentlemen came again into Englande, thei wer al frenche, in etyng, drynkyng and apparell, yea, and in French vices and bragges, so that all the estates of Englande were by them

> laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen wer dispraised, so that nothyng by them was praised, but it were after the Frenche turne, which after turned them to displeasure as you shall here.[39]

In Skelton's play two of the Vices are associated with France. Fansy praises Louis XII of France (died 1515) as having excelled in largesse (280), and says that he has come to Magnyfycence's court from Pontoise (343) — both of which might associate him with the minions. All the courtly vices are evidently meant to be 'galauntes' (511), but Courtly Abusyon (= 'perversion of courtly behaviour') is the most extravagant of them and the epitome of French fashion, 'vices and bragges'. Clokyd Colusyon speaks to him in French, and asks him if he can sing a French song, which he can (748, 751—2). And his extravagant clothes, which are over-indulgent both in terms of the cloth used and in the money they cost, are in the French style:

> This newe fonne jet
> From out of Fraunce
> Fyrst I dyd set;
> Made purveaunce
> And suche ordenaunce,
> That all men it founde
> Through out Englonde. 877—83

The ultra-fashionable gallant was a stock figure in late medieval and early renaissance literature, the butt of a variety of satirical treatments, in morality drama and elsewhere.[40] Usually, as here, the focus of the ridicule is the extravagant dress assumed by such characters: Clokyd Colusyon is amazed at Courtly Abusyon's shoes, 'What is this, a betell or a batowe or a buskyn lacyd?' (755, compare 765). But the wearing of this kind of dress was also proscribed in various rules. Numerous statutes of array addressed the subject, and in the *Ordinances for the Household of the Earl of Oxford* (1524) which were organised by Wolsey, appears the stipulation: '... in all other gestures and behaviours of the said Earle he shall use himself honourably, prudently, and sadly, forbearinge all riotous and wild companies, excessive and superfluous apparell ...'[41] The way one dressed was, amongst other things, a moral matter: as in the play, fashionable dress was associated with 'waste' (754) and 'pride' (825-27). But Courtly Abusyon is corrupt in other ways too, and seeks to corrupt Magnyfycence. Not only does he look impressive, but he sounds sophisticated. His speech is for the most part that of high-style eloquence — a mixture of the

panegyrical 'aureate diction' of late-medieval courtly poetry, and impressive, mostly French, loan-words of the sort which later became disparaged as 'oversea language'. Magnyfycence is impressed:

> As I be saved, with pleasure I am supprysyd
> Of your langage, it is so well devysed;
> Pullyshyd and fresshe is your ornacy — 529—31

so much so that he invents an impressive neologism of his own, *ornacy*, which is first used here. But by means of this ornate and high-flown speech Courtly Abusyon persuades the prince to spend money on acquiring a mistress, or as he puts it, 'to aqueynte you with carnall delectacyon' (1547), and to pick quarrels arbitrarily with anyone who gives him the least offence (1594—1604). In a letter from Paris dated 20 May 1519 Sir William Boleyn refers to the affair of the minions and tells Wolsey 'how the bruit was that they after their appetite governed the King' until they were expelled from court.[42] Skelton probably had this idea in mind, for in *Magnyfycence* this is precisely what, for a time, Fansy and Courtly Abusyon do.

At the end of the play Magnyfycence is a sadder and a wiser man. At an allegorical level a number of moral failings have left him. On a literal level his household is in more responsible hands and better order. He does not have his former confident splendour, his happiness based on riches, but he is recovering. This is not a tragic story, though it threatens to be when Myschefe offers the rope and the knife (2309—18), the traditional instruments of suicide. Instead it is cautionary and consciousness-raising. It asserts the value of rule in several different aspects of that word — the proper exercise of authority, self-control, measure, but preeminently the observance of regulations, which may seem trivial and beneath the notice of a prince, but which are, in Skelton's view, important. When Henry VIII's Household threatened for a time to get out of hand his old tutor read him a lesson — in play, though the meaning is in earnest. It is a conservative lesson, that the king should obey the old tried rules set out in the Household Books, the ordinances which organised his magnificence and guaranteed, as far as possible, its continuity. And it is necessary to see this play against the intertext of the Household Books or its specific nuances cannot be appreciated. The moral dimensions of quarrels and swearing, of owls and dogs, of lock-picking, and fashionable attire, do not disclose their full meaning except in relation to the rules against which they transgress. It is very much a play which validates the kind of

ordinance which household books contain, and conformity to their rules is seen as a metaphor for moral health and financial well-being — it allows the magnificent man to live up to his name.

In fact the word *ordenaunce/ordynaunce*, which occurs only here in Skelton's poetry, frames and summarises the play.[43] It first occurs after Measure has asserted that he has taken such 'order' that 'welthe with measure shalbe conbyned' and that liberty shall define himself in relation to measure — to which Welthful Felycytye assents: 'Your ordenaunce, syr, I wyll not forsake' (178-81). The word next occurs when Measure reproves Lybertye for breaking an agreement that he should be ruled by measure:

> Why, were not your selfe agreed to the same,
> And now wolde ye swarve from your owne ordynaunce? 233—4

Then appears Courtly Abusyon's perverse 'ordenaunce' about the fashions which ought to be followed in England (881). And finally comes Magnyfycence's compliance with his new household officials: 'Syrs, I am agreed to abyde your ordenaunce' (2471). Though he digresses temporarily, Magnyfycence returns to the good rule which the household ordinances set out. Ultimately, on both a practical and a moral level, he puts his house in order.

There has been some speculation about under whose auspices *Magnyfycence* may have been performed: in comparison with most moralities the stage directions are very full, which suggests that Skelton may have had some particular venue and occasion in mind. There is no record of a performance at Court, however, and some scholars have seen significance in the many references to London in the play, especially that to the Merchant Taylor's Hall (1404), where, it is sometimes suggested, the play may have been performed. It has been argued, by Alistair Fox and others, that Skelton is here expressing the anxiety of the London citizenry about Henry VIII's extravagance.[44] This is possible. But there is no precise evidence that *Magnyfycence* was performed in the City either. And if the references to the Household Books are taken seriously it seems to me much more likely that this play was written for a noble audience: it is a message to a king about the running of his household, and it is written by an insider. And if it has a political relevance beyond the incident of the minions of 1519, it is likely to have been something closer to home than the forced loans of some years later. In 1519, shortly after the episode of the minions, Henry VIII had three documents drawn up 'which bear eloquent testimony to the depth of the royal conversion'. The first, which

was entitled 'A Remembrance of such thinges as the kynges grace wull haue to be doon and hath gouen in Cammaundment to his Cardinal to put the same in effectuel execution', promised a more direct involvement of the king in supervising his revenues, and included a plan that the royal Household should undergo thorough reform, that it should be put in 'honourable substanciall and profitable ordre with oute any further dilay'. This plan, which was clearly drawn up by Wolsey, for a closer and more personal supervision over Henry VIII's financial matters — officers were to be accountable to 'the kynges awne presence' — seems to have been a direct reaction of the débacle over the minions.[45] The message of Skelton's play is consistent with this new mood of royal responsibility — perhaps it helped to prompt it, or, more likely, it was designed to encourage and support it. Nothing, however, came of the proposed reforms. Henry VIII simply lost interest and involved himself in other things. And the minions drifted back to court. But in 1519, briefly, in relation to the organisation of the royal Household, it looks as though the Cardinal and the 'poet laureate' were, for once, on the same side, conservative traditionalists, old men seeking to contain the behaviour of the young with the only weapons that they had — books and regulations, especially books of regulations.

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NOTES

1. The 'flytyngs' in the sequence 'Agenst Garnesche'. See *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems* edited John Scattergood (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1983), XIII (i) line 43; (ii) line 45; (iii) line 206; (v) line 181. All quotations from Skelton are taken from this edition.
2. Thom Gunn *The Occasions of Poetry: Essays in Criticism and Autobiography* edited with an introduction by Clive Wilmer (Faber, London, 1982) 106—107.
3. For arguments that the play is a satire on Wolsey see particularly *Magnyfycence*, edited R.L. Ramsay *EETS ES* 98 (1908) cvi—cxxviii; and *Magnificence* edited Paula Neuss (Manchester UP, 1980) 31—42. Suzanne R. Westfall *Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990) 163 says that '... Wolsey read himself into the performance text and became a lifelong enemy of the poet ...' For arguments against this view see particularly W.O. Harris *Skelton's Magnyfycence and the Cardinal Virtue Tradition* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1965) 12—45; and most recently Greg Walker *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge UP, 1991) 61—66.

4. For readings of the play in these terms see particularly David Starkey and others *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (Longman, London, 1987) 101—105; Alistair Fox *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1989) 237—240; and Walker *Plays of Persuasion* 66—72.
5. The account appears in Edward Halle *The Vnion of the two noble and illustre families of Lancaster and Yorke ...* (R.Grafton, London, 1548), fol. lxvij^{v} (MMm ii ^{r})
6. For Giustiniani's comment see *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, 3: 1 (1519-1521)* Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII ... edited J.S. Brewer, J. Gardner, and R.H. Brodie 21 vols (Longman, London, 1862—1932) 235. For a recent discussion of the incident see Greg Walker 'The Expulsion of the Minions Reconsidered' *The Historical Journal 32: 1* (1989) 1—16.
7. David Starkey *The English Court* 104.
8. Alistair Fox *Politics and Literature* 238.
9. See *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* edited A.R. Myers (Manchester UP, 1959) 125.
10. See *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns, from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary* (Society of Antiquaries, London, 1790) 161.
11. *The Household of Edward IV* 87.
12. For Starkey's brief but suggestive comments see his essay 'The Age of the Household: Politics, Society and Arts c.1350 — c.1550' in *The Later Middle Ages* edited Stephen Medcalf (Methuen, London, 1981), especially 253—261. For Greg Walker's development of these ideas see *Plays of Persuasion* 76—88.
13. Quotations are from *The Ethics of Aristotle* translated J.A.K. Thomson (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1955).
14. See *The Summa Theologica of St Thomas Aquinas* translated by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province (i.e. Lawrence Shapcote), 18 vols (R. & T. Washbourne, London, 1911—1922) 9: Part II, 2nd Part, Question 19, Article 2, page 151.
15. See *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum* edited Robert Steele *EETS ES 64* (1898) 7—8.
16. See *Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of Old Philosoffes* edited Robert Steele *EETS ES 66* (1894) lines 823-26.
17. *The Household of Edward IV* 86.
18. *The Household of Edward IV* 212.

19. The illustration appears in London, British Library MS Harley 642 fol 4^{r}. This manuscript is a collection of Household Ordinances put together in the seventeenth century, but copied from earlier originals. A note on the illustration says it was copied from a version of the *Liber Niger*. For a reproduction see *The Household of Edward IV*, facing page 76.
20. From London, British Library MS Harley 642 fol. 79^{v}. For a reproduction see *The Household of Edward IV*, facing page 142. On the duties of the sergeant usher see the *Black Book*: 'Thys offyce of countynghous hath in hym a sergeaunt vssher to kepe the dore, to kepe the tresour, to kepe the bookes, and attend dylygently vpon thys offyce and all the stuff within furth as he shall awsswere to for suche thinges as shalbe leyde in hys keping and charge, so that hit be not lost in hys defaute' (*Household of Edward IV* 158).
21 See *A Concordance to the Complete English Poems of John Skelton* edited Alistair Fox and Gregory Waite (Cornell UP, Ithaca and London, 1987), under MAGNIFYCENCE, MAGNYFICENCE and *MAGNYFYCENCE*.
22. *A Concordance*, under SAPYENCE.
23. *The Household of Edward IV* 76 and also 87.
24. *Magnyfycence* 1xxvi.
25. *The Governour* edited H.H.S. Croft, 2 vols (C. Kegan Paul & Co., London, 1880) 2.3.24
26. See *Magnyfycence* edited Paula Neuss, 19-20.
27. *The Household of Edward IV* 79, 80.
28. *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations* 138.
29. *The Household of Edward IV* 86.
30. *The Household of Edward IV* 154.
31. *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations* 206.
32. See *A Concordance* under ROME. Some of the references under this heading refer to Rome, the Italian city.
33. *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations* 146.
34. *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations* 89—92.
35. See *A Concordance*, under COCKES/-YS, GODDES/-IS/-YS.
36. *A Concordance*, under HORSON(S). And for the regulation see *The Household of Edward IV* 186.
37. *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations* 240. See also page 150 on dogs.
38. *The Household of Edward IV* 156.
39. See Halle *The Vnion* fol. lxvij^{v} (MMm i^{v}).

40. See my essay 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages' in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* edited Daniel Williams (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1987) 255-72.
41. See Sir Henry Ellis 'Thomas Wolsey, An Order ... to lymitt John Earle of Oxenford in the orderinge and Expences of Household, AD 1524' *Archaeologia 19* (1821) 62—5.
42. *Letters and Papers 3*: 1, 82.
43. *A Concordance*, under ORDENAUNCE, ORDYNAUNCE.
44. See *Politics and Literature* 239—40; see also *Magnificence* edited Paula Neuss 42—44; and Greg Walker *Plays of Persuasion* 88—89.
45. For a discussion of these documents see G.R. Elton *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign if Henry VIII* (Cambridge UP, 1953) 36—40.