



Henry VIII and the Saints: Travel and Transactionalism

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Abstract: “I have to be seen to be believed.” So, apparently, said the late queen Elizabeth II. Did Henry VIII think likewise? And did his visibility reflect his beliefs? Royal progresses were traditionally opportunities to be seen, and to be seen to be devout. The accounts of Henry VII, Margaret Beaufort, Elizabeth of York, Margaret Tudor, and Edward Stafford record many shrine offerings and pilgrimages. Henry VIII began in like manner, but generally used his progresses for recreation rather than demonstrations of public piety. His progresses were mainly circuits of the southern counties. Only twice did Henry venture far north (1511 and 1541), and public royal entries were exceptional, restricted mainly to 1510 and 1511. Pilgrimage sites and religious houses feature only intermittently and, unlike his grandmother, mother, father, elder sister, and peers, Henry did not align his progresses to the liturgical calendar. In order to shed light on his attitude towards the cult of saints, Henry VIII’s practice is compared with the devotional patterns of his ancestors, from Henry III, and his immediate forerunners. Travelling, visiting shrines, and being seen were closely interlinked.

Keywords: progress; itinerary; Tudor; Henry VIII; ceremony; liturgy; chapel; offerings; saints; Virgin Mary.



Thanks to Fiona Kisby, we know much about the interrelationship of music, ceremony, and politics in the early Tudor court.¹ We also have a clear picture of the royal progresses of Henry VIII, thanks to Neil Samman's doctoral research and, more recently, the *Henry on Tour* project.² During most of the year, from All Saints on 1 November to Corpus Christi in May or June, governmental functions revolved around the festal calendar of crown-wearing, days of estate, holy days, and Sundays.³ Henry VIII was on ceremonial duty during these "termtime" months, his rituals and routines following a set of prescriptions inherited from his predecessors. The months of progress season, July to October, were freer: if Henry had more discretion over his summer routine, what might his actions and movements tell us about his own preferences? In particular, what do his progresses reveal of his attitude towards the cult of saints, an important focus of discussions on Henry's religion?⁴

The following study seeks to address these questions through a comparison of Henry VIII with his predecessors. A longitudinal study of cofferers' and controllers' accounts is combined with close readings of early-Tudor chamber books, facilitated by two invaluable online resources.⁵ This approach raises several methodological questions. Gaps in earlier source materials necessitate some retrojection from Tudor sources: the term "standing house," familiar from the 1526 Eltham ordinances, is assumed here to apply, at least in some measure, before 1485.⁶ Further, ceremonial gradations described in Henrician sources (crown-wearing days, days of estate, processional days, offering days) are taken here as indicators of pre-Tudor practice. Source materials vary in quantity and specificity over the long term, sometimes rich in contextual detail (for instance, in identifying festal calendar dates), at other times more perfunctory. A comprehensive comparison of Henry

¹ Kisby, "Royal Household Chapel"; "Kingship and the Royal Itinerary"; "Officers and Office-Holding"; "When the King Goeth a Procession"; and "Religious Ceremonial."

² Samman, "The Henrician Court"; *Henry on Tour*: <https://henryontour.uk/>.

³ Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 92–96, suggests All Saints as "semi-official gathering date" for the council at Westminster.

⁴ Bernard, *King's Reformation*, 232–235; Rex, "The religion of Henry VIII."

⁵ Byerly and Byerly, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285–1286; Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286–1289; Anglo-American Legal Tradition* (<http://aalt.law.uh.edu/HouseholdH8.html>) for TNA, E 101/417/2–E 101/420/10, 1509–1534; *The Chamber Books of Henry VII and Henry VIII, 1485–1521*: <https://www.tudorchamberbooks.org/>.

⁶ The standing houses acquired by Henry VII at his accession were Westminster, Eltham, Greenwich, Richmond, Woodstock, and Windsor (Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works*, 4/ii, 1).

VIII with his Plantagenet ancestors would ideally entail a wholesale examination of all extant royal household records. This would necessitate a major collaborative research project on royal itinerancy over the *longue durée*; for reasons of practicality, general phenomena are here exemplified by selected case studies, some of which are tabulated in the Appendix.

Continuities and discontinuities: a longitudinal sketch

Tudor royal ceremonial was a compromise between age-old customs and current personal preferences. When Henry VIII made his daily offertory of 7d, he followed a tradition already well established six generations earlier.⁷ The ceremonies he performed in Holy Week were of long standing: Edward I had instituted the blessing of cramp rings, while the adoration of the cross ("creeping to the cross") probably began in response to Edward's acquisition of the Neith Cross in the 1280s.⁸ Veneration of the cross spread beyond Good Friday after Edward III transferred the relic to Windsor.⁹ Richard II venerated the rood several times a year: in 1395–1396, for instance, at Abingdon Abbey (8 November 1395), Langley Blackfriars (21 December 1395), in the archbishop's palace chapel at York (Good Friday 1396), and at St George's Windsor (in September 1396).¹⁰ However, the Lancastrians rationalized royal devotions to the cross, whose veneration was fixed within the Good Friday liturgy until the Reformation.¹¹

Crown-wearings were persistent from 1087 when William the Conqueror appeared crowned at the principal festivities of Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, but varied in frequency over time.¹² They proliferated in the 1230s, although officially remained set at three until Edward II added All Saints (1 November), the important autumn feast that, in the later Middle Ages, heralded the king's return to normal term-time residency. Henry VI added the Epiphany (6 January) and either or both of King Edward the Confessor's lower-ranking feasts commemorating his death on 5 January 1065 and translation on 13 October

⁷ Nielson, "Wardrobe Accounts," 92–113.

⁸ Prestwich, "Piety of Edward I," 126–127.

⁹ For instance, in 1371 Mass of St George was celebrated "*in sua presencia*" on Garter Day, when Edward venerated the cross (TNA, 101/397/5, *Elemosina*, fol. 34v).

¹⁰ TNA, E 101/403/10, *Oblaciones et Elemosine*, fols. 35r–36v.

¹¹ For instance, TNA, E 101/406/21 (1413), *Oblaciones et Elemosine*, fol. 18.

¹² Bent, "The English Chapel," 83; Kisby, "Royal Household Chapel," 146.

1269.¹³ Henry VI also took the opportunity to appear crowned outside London.¹⁴ The Tudors, however, were much more selective, wearing the crown only on the Epiphany, the royally-themed Twelfth Day.¹⁵ Henry VII and Henry VIII instead wore purple robes of estate on Easter Sunday, Pentecost, All Saints, and Christmas, and marked St Edward the Confessor's feasts merely with offerings of the standard 'noble in gowlde' (6s 8d) that was offered on Sundays, forty feast days, and the solemnities of Holy Week.¹⁶

Another variable was the tradition of court sermons. These proliferated under Richard II. Mendicant theologians preached to him at least twelve times in 1395–1396: during Lent, on Maundy Thursday, at Easter, Pentecost, after requiem masses, on the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June), and on both of the Confessor's feasts. Richard's homiletic pattern largely persisted under his immediate successors.¹⁷ However, the Tudors restricted court sermons to the Sundays of Lent, preached by a broad-based roster of theologians more likely to be secular clergy than mendicants or regulars.¹⁸ Edward III had attended requiem masses for knights of the Garter around 23 April, and for close family.¹⁹ This multiplied under Richard II.²⁰ Again, the Tudors rationalised their post mortem observances around two collective rites in spring and autumn: the universal solemnity of All Souls (2 November) and the Garter Requiem in April.²¹

¹³ As codified in the 1440s by dean William Say: Ullmann, *Liber Regie Capelle*, 92; 64, *De officio decani*: six times a year—on Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, All Saints, and at least one of the two feasts of Edward the Confessor—the king wears his crown, enters chapel or church before the procession, and occupies the principal stall, which is carpeted and lined with cloth of gold. On Edward the Confessor: Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 52–55; Carpenter, *Henry III: The Rise to Power*, 319–348.

¹⁴ Ingram, *Coventry*, 36 (5 June 1457): on Whit Sunday Henry and Queen Margaret "went bothe a procession at Coventre crowned."

¹⁵ Kisby, "Royal Household Chapel," 152–156.

¹⁶ Kisby, "Chapel Ceremonies," 52.

¹⁷ For instance, TNA, E 101/406/21 (1413–1414), fol. 18, *Oblaciones et Elemosine*.

¹⁸ Kisby, "Royal Household Chapel," 521–528.

¹⁹ Nielson, "Wardrobe Books," 98–100, quoting accounts for 1371 and 1377: 8 June, his son Edward of Woodstock (at Sheen); 24 June, the Garter knights (at Windsor); 24 August, Queen Philippa of Hainault (at Marlborough).

²⁰ In 1395–1396: TNA, E 101/403/10, fols. 35r–36v, *Oblaciones et Elemosine*; Saul, "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," 211.

²¹ For instance: TNA, E 36/214, fol. 54r (November 1506); E 36/215, fol. 57r (April 1510); E 36/215, fol. 443r (April 1516); E 101/420/11, fol. 134v (November 1530) and fol. 163 (April 1531). Henry VIII offered 6s 8d at his father's anniversary Mass on 20 May 1511 (British Library, Additional MS 21481, fol. 59v).

Almsgiving too was subject to changes of fashion. Henry III fed paupers on a monumental scale, with thousands at each sitting, especially on the Confessor's feasts.²² Up to 10,000 were fed in a single day in 1243–1244.²³ This continued under Henry's son Edward I, whose household accounts record the feeding of 4,000 in Christmastide 1300, and a cumulative total of 110,000 recipients across the year 1296–1297.²⁴ Tudor almsgiving was less demonstrative: regular cash payments were made, as well as occasional *ad personam* donations.²⁵ Regular donations of communion wine to religious communities had begun in 1206 when King John provided his Cistercian foundation at Beaulieu with a tun of wine.²⁶ Henry V was more sparing: in 1413–1414, for instance, he made one such donation (to London's Charterhouse).²⁷ Such donations resurged under Henry VI, but receded thereafter and are absent from Tudor household records.²⁸ Another tradition long forgotten by 1485 was the singing of the *Laudes regiae* ("*Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*"). The *Laudes regiae* had been a ubiquitous theme tune of Plantagenet monarchy under John and Henry III, but went "completely underground" after the 1240s (save for the coronations of Edward II in 1328 and Richard II in 1377).²⁹ *Christus vincit* is entirely invisible in later household records.³⁰

One area of long-term discontinuity is in the dietary patterns of court, their relationship with the festal calendar, and the implication that higher catering costs were incurred by larger gatherings. Early-Tudor household accounts consistently show an uptick of spending at All Saints (1 November), during the Twelve Days, at Candlemas (2

²² Carpenter, *Henry III: The Rise to Power*, 285–297.

²³ Dixon-Smith, "Image and Reality of Alms-Giving," 87.

²⁴ Prestwich, "Piety of Edward I," 121. The alms roll for 1288–1289 records expenditure of £3,082 19s: Byerly and Byerly, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286–1289*, 272–305.

²⁵ Rationalised into weekly disbursements of 37s 11d: for instance, BL, Add. 59899, fol. 86v (May 1505) and TNA, E 36/216, fol. 131 (April 1521).

²⁶ Webster, *King John and Religion*, 26. This was formalised as an annual grant by John's son Henry III in 1236.

²⁷ TNA, E 101/406/21, fol. 19v, *Adhuc oblaciones et Elemosine*.

²⁸ In 1441–1442, for instance, Henry VI donated 40 tuns of wine to 23 religious houses: TNA, E 101/409/9, fol. 32, *Oblaciones et elemosine*.

²⁹ Kantorwicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 74; Bent, "English Chapel Royal," 89. Roy Strong (*Coronation*, 40) suggests the English had adopted the *Laudes regiae* before the Conquest.

³⁰ However, an enduring legacy of the *Laudes regiae* were the *clerici capellae* appointed to sing them: formalised in 1279, the "*Clers de la chapelle*" formed the nucleus of the Chapel Royal of chaplains, clerks, and children (Bent, "English Chapel Royal," 90, 92–93).

February) and Easter, the feast of St George, and Pentecost.³¹ David Carpenter has detected a clear correlation between the major saints' days and Henry III's household catering costs, confirming the linkage between a specific day's costs and the food actually consumed that day.³² In one sample year, 1225–1226, typical daily spend was £6–7, but the cost of Christmas eve and Christmas day at Winchester was £51 10d, suggesting a large-scale gathering of hungry courtiers and servants in a pattern entirely recognisable to Henry VIII and his household. Unrecognisable to later generations would be the inflation of costs on the Confessor's feasts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: on 13 October 1395, for example, the *Dieta* of Richard II's court leapt from a typical £28–42 to £62 10s 10½d.³³ The Confessor faded away after 1400, but court catering costs continued to rise on certain saints' days after 1400. Celebrating the Assumption at Windsor on 15 August 1414, Henry V spent £18 8s 7½d on kitchen costs, roughly double his usual spending of £7–11.³⁴ Henry VI also doubled catering costs for the Assumption.³⁵ Even in Henry VI's *Dieta*, however, we can discern a flattening of variation outside the normal peaks at Christmas, Candlemas, and St George. Early-Tudor household books record only faint flickers of alignment between the *Sanctorale* and the kitchen. This is paralleled in the accounts of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, whose household multiplied during the Twelve Days, attracting regional gentry, senior churchmen, ducal officials, citizens from Bristol, and

³¹ In 1520, for instance, combined *Coquina* and *Pulletria* costs rose from an average of £18.22 (rounded and decimalised) to £53.60 on the Circumcision (1 January), £38.30 on the Epiphany (6 January), £38.40 on the Purification (2 February), £40 on Easter Sunday (8 April), £57.90 on St George's day (deferred from 23 April to 5 May), £44.30 on All Saints (1 November), and £54.00 on Christmas Day (TNA, E 101/419/1, fols. 10r, 12r, 17r, 19r; E 101/419/4, fols. 5v, 9v). Fiona Kisby suggested that *Dieta* costs rose on days of estate ("Royal Household Chapel," 154); this was true, but only for "termtime" feasts.

³² Carpenter, "Household Rolls," 27: "daily entries recorded not the cost of the day's shopping but the cost of the day's servings ... The figures thus seem to represent the cost to the departments of what was served on the day, not the cost of what was purchased."

³³ TNA, E 101/403/10, fol. 8r. For other *Dieta* costs (TNA, E 101/403/10, fols. 9v, 12r, 15v, 16r, 19r, 20v, 22r, 24r, 25r, 26r, 30r, 31v): All Saints, £105 8s 9d; the Conception of the BVM, £68 16s 10½d; *Installacio Episcopi Wigorniae*, £119 3s; Purification, £79 11s ½d; St Edward, King and Martyr, £61 13s 5½d; Easter, £190 2s 6d; St George, £226 17s 11½d; Pentecost, £162 11s 4d; *Anniversario domine Anne Regine Anglie*, £163 15s 9½d; Nativity of John the Baptist, £104 10½d. The Nativity of the BVM cost £95 16s 5d and the Assumption £393 9s 2½d, albeit at a time of inflated catering costs.

³⁴ TNA, E 101/406/21, fols. 11v, 13.

³⁵ Combined *Coquina* and *Pulletria* costs for 12–18 August 1442, for instance, rose from £7.00–£10.80 range to £20 8s 7½d on Wednesday 15th.

singers from across the region.³⁶ In 1507 and 1508, Thornbury was busiest on Christmas Day, the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury (29 December) and the Epiphany.³⁷ Unlike their Plantagenet ancestors, neither Henry VIII nor his father marked saints' days such as the Assumption with gatherings of the household. They were, however, punctilious in keeping Fridays meat-free, along with Lent and Ember days.

Routes and routines

Compared with earlier sources, Tudor household records suggest a well-practised organizational culture geared towards consistency rather than spontaneity, with high degrees of continuity between Henry VII and Henry VIII. Royal itineraries recur from one year, indeed one reign, to another, with institutional muscle-memory aligning royal travel plans with the realities of the Tudor road network. Henry VIII's midlands progress of 1511 recalled his father's more numerous midlands itineraries of 1486, 1489, 1493, and 1503; the 1511 progress in turn would be recalled exactly thirty years later in 1541, when Henry stayed again in Northampton, Pipewell, Lyddington, and Collyweston en route to the north. Henry VIII's first progress of 1510 extended via Christchurch's Augustinian priory to Corfe Castle, Salisbury, Bishop's Waltham, and back to Windsor via Guildford, Woking, and Esher.³⁸ The itinerary was partially reprised in 1516, again with Corfe Castle as final destination and returning via Salisbury: on both occasions, Henry was in Christchurch in mid-August (permitting him to celebrate the Assumption there, as discussed below). Edward VI's inaugural royal progress of 1552 also took him to Christchurch (not, we may assume, to celebrate the Assumption) and Salisbury: was this a deliberate or unconscious evocation of his father's own inaugural progress?³⁹ The giest for the 1510 progress may

³⁶ On Buckingham's alimentation while travelling in spring 1507–1508, see Thorstad, "There and Back Again," 357–377.

³⁷ Staffordshire Archives, D(W)1721/1/5 (5 November 1507–22 March 1508), 16, 44–61: 294 people (Christmas Day), 356 (St Thomas of Canterbury), 456 (Epiphany), thereafter falling to below 200; Gage, "Extracts from the Household Book," 311–330; for other years of account, see Mertes, *English Noble Household*, 210.

³⁸ TNA, E 101/416/15, fols. 56r–64r.

³⁹ Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, IV: 1552–1554, 95–125; Lemon, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547–80*, 42–44 (for concomitant locations for the Lord Protector). The 1552 progress was curtailed but, like Henry VIII in 1510 and 1516, Edward was in Christchurch in mid-August.

have taken as its starting point the relatively recent itinerary of 1505 when Henry VII had progressed to Corfe.⁴⁰

A minor act of royal largesse during the 1510 progress hints at the importance of precedent and habit in household administration. Edward Hall memorably evoked the enthusiasm, spontaneity, and sportsmanship of Henry VIII's inaugural progress, proof of which seems evident in Henry's gift of 40s "to the Gentrylmen of the kinges Chapell for to drinke wyne with their buckes."⁴¹ Forty shillings could buy the equivalent of 763 standard 75-centilitre bottles of wine, raising multiple questions around progress culture, not least the number of gentlemen in attendance prior to the 1526 Eltham Ordinances, and the likely compensations for the privation and discomfort of being away from home for weeks on end.⁴² Similar summertime payments had been made to the Chapel Royal by Henry VII in June 1496 and August 1505, and Elizabeth of York in June 1502.⁴³ Likewise, Margaret Beaufort favoured her own household chapel similarly in September 1503 and August 1507.⁴⁴ The tradition was associated with progress season, probably with liturgical feasts, and became embedded in organizational memories. We find a near-verbatim repetition of the 1510 grant in summer 1516, again for 40s, and again when Henry VIII was on his way to Christchurch.⁴⁵ If progress season came with perks, they were associated with particular places and times.

The offering of gold nobles at shrines and images arguably relied upon the same organizational memory. George Bernard has observed that Henry's visits to key shrines were nearly all by-products of his travels rather than their primary motivations. Two exceptions were his long-distance pilgrimages to Walsingham: the first in 1511, to give

⁴⁰ Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 273.

⁴¹ Hall, *The unyon of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*: "The triumphant reigne of Kyng Henry the VIII," fol. viii; TNA, E 36/215, fol. 73r (after 15 August, Assumption, at Christchurch); BL, Add. 21481, fol. 37r. At 1510 prices, 40s could purchase up to a pipe of wine (126 gallons): Simon, *Wine Trade*, 272–273.

⁴² McCarthy, "Tudor Royal Singers on the Road," in this issue; Kisby, "Kingship and the Royal Itinerary."

⁴³ TNA, E 101/414/6, fol. 36r (21 June 1496, at Merton Abbey or Chertsey): "Item the kinges Chapell for their buk xls"; BL, Add. 59899, fol. 94v (payments between 25 July and 20 August 1505): "Item to the Gentrylmen of the kinges Chapell for to drinke with a bucke xls" (see also BL, Add. 21480, fol. 22r); TNA, E 36/210, fol. 41 (18 June, Trinity Sunday, 1502 when Henry VII was in Windsor); Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 260.

⁴⁴ Powell, *Household Accounts*, 322 (around 8 September 1503, probably in Rockingham forest), 525 (26 August 1507, at St Albans), probably for the Assumption and Nativity of the BVM on 15 August and 8 September.

⁴⁵ TNA, E 36/215, fol. 462; BL Add. 21481, fol. 230v (payments 26 July–3 August 1516, Farnham).

thanks for the birth of his son (who died soon after);⁴⁶ the second in 1522, following the visit of Charles V.⁴⁷ Henry also made two visits to the shrine of the uncanonised John Schorne at North Marston (Bucks), some 35 miles north of Windsor.⁴⁸ The first, around 23 July 1511, was en route to Northampton at the start of the midlands progress.⁴⁹ The second visit, on Trinity Sunday, 26 May 1521 was a standalone pilgrimage to North Marston.⁵⁰ Its timing is suggestive: on 16 April, Henry had been engaged with the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* whose completed draft he dedicated to Pope Leo X on 21 May, two days before embarking from Eltham Palace.⁵¹ In the short time Henry was at work, Wolsey had overseen a pyre of Lutheran books in London (12 May) and Edward Stafford had been tried and executed for treason (13–17 May). This period of intensive political and theological activity provides the context for Henry's appearance at John Schorne's shrine on Trinity Sunday 1521: if ever there was a time for a performative royal assertion of orthodoxy, this was it.

Nevertheless, Henry had a dynastic interest in John Schorne's cult. Schorne's relics had been transferred to St George's chapel during its redevelopment in the 1470s. The collocation of Schorne's leg bone, the body of Good King Henry VI, and the Neith Cross created an ensemble of dynastically-charged relics in the publicly accessible south-east aisle of St George's chapel.⁵² Making offerings to Henry VI's relics on arriving and leaving Windsor is a standard item in royal household accounts.⁵³ Henry VII made offerings to King

⁴⁶ Bernard, *King's Reformation*, 232–233; countered in Rex, "Religion of Henry VIII."

⁴⁷ Samman, "Progresses of Henry VIII," 71.

⁴⁸ Rex, "Religion of Henry VIII," 7–8; Marks, "A Late Medieval Pilgrimage Cult," 192–207.

⁴⁹ TNA, E 101/417/7, fol. 4r: Henry lodged at Quarrendon.

⁵⁰ TNA, E 101/419/4, fol. 20v. Henry's 1521 itinerary was otherwise notably static, comprising extended sojourns at Windsor, Woking, Guildford, 21 July–21 November (TNA, E 101/419/4, fols. 22r–29r; E 101/419/6, fols. 7r–14r).

⁵¹ BL, MS Cotton Vitellius B IV, fol. 96r; Add. 15387, fol. 88r (Henry VIII to Leo X, dated Greenwich, 21 May 1521, although he left Greenwich on 18 May: TNA, E 101/419/4, fol. 19v).

⁵² Tatton-Brown, "Constructional Sequence and Topography," 14. Stewart (in "Space, its Construction and Uses," I, 245) contrasts the south choir aisle of St George's as the "popular axis" versus the "royal/courtly area" (north aisle) where Edward IV is buried.

⁵³ Among many examples: Henry VII, 21 June 1504 (BL, Add. 7099, fol. 88), 13 April 1507 (TNA, E 36/214, fol. 75); Elizabeth of York, 5 July and 19 August 1502 (TNA, E 36/210 fols. 44r, 51r).

Henry and St George whenever he was at Windsor.⁵⁴ His son imitated him and visiting magnates wisely followed the royal example.⁵⁵ Conversely, Henry VIII never offered to Our Lady of Eton, unlike his father who frequently crossed the Thames to honour Good King Henry's college, and unlike Edward Stafford who offered at Eton shortly before his fall.⁵⁶ Henry VIII's priority was St George's chapel, his future burial place. Just as he would exempt his own household chapel from the abrogation of popular summertime feasts in 1538, Henry's attitude towards dynastically useful saints does little to illuminate his attitude towards the community of saints in general.

The same kind of dynastic transactionalism shaped Tudor devotion to Edward the Confessor who had been so spectacularly cultivated by Henry III. Edward's two feasts on 5 January (death) and 13 October (translation) continued to be kept in successive reigns and persisted under Henry VIII who made offerings at his shrine in Westminster Abbey, albeit less thoroughly than his father had done latterly.⁵⁷ But Henry VIII's apparent interest in the 1510s cannot be isolated from the dynastic politics of his father's newly-completed Lady Chapel, spiritually afforded by its expensive *Scala celi* indulgence (of which Henry availed himself at Ascensiontide 1510 and 1511), and anticipating the construction of his parents' and grandmother's tomb monuments by Pietro Torrigiano.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ For instance, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1502, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508 (BL, Add. 7099, fols. 75r, 88r; Add. 29899, fol. 58r; TNA, E 36/214, fols. 19r, 48v, 69v, 75r, 137r; E 101/414/6, fol. 45v; E 101/414/16, fol. 5v; E 101/415/3, fol. 9v; E 101/416/6, fol. 6r-v).

⁵⁵ For instance, July 1510, July 1511, September 1512, May 1513, November 1514, August 1515, December 1516, October 1517, March 1518, June 1519, January and May 1520, October 1529, June 1530, and June 1531 (TNA, E 36/215, fols. 69r, 134r, 252r, 343r, 395r, 397r, 484r, 544r, 570r; E 36/216, fol. 47r; E 101/420/11, fols. 60v, 102v; Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses*, 140). Henry maintained a "candell brenninge before king henry at Windesour" in 1529–1530 (TNA, E 101/420/11, fols. 59r, 126v). On magnates' offerings, see: TNA, E 36/225, page 75 (household accounts, Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon): "Offerynges: ... for my lords offering on Relique Sonday [9 July 1525] the kyng then being in Wynsor, to the sacrament, to saynt jeorge & kyng henry ... xij d".

⁵⁶ Henry VII: 1496–1500, 1504, 1507 (BL, Add. 7099, fol. 88r; Add. 29899, fol. 58r; TNA, E 36/214, fols. 69v, 75r; E 101/414/6, fol. 45v; E 101/414/16, fol. 5v; E 101/415/3, fol. 9v; E 101/416/6, fol. 6v); Elizabeth of York: 1502 (TNA, E 36/210, fol. 30r); for Stafford's offering, see: BL, Royal MS 7 F XIV (April 1521).

⁵⁷ BL, Add. 21481, fol. 30r (after 9 May 1510); TNA, E 36/215, fol. 161r (Wednesday 4 February 1512, at the opening of Parliament); BL, Add. 59899, fol. 6v (around 16 December 1502); TNA, E 36/214, fol. 147v (Tuesday 17 for Friday 13 October 1508).

⁵⁸ Rex, "Religion of Henry VIII," 9; Morgan, "Scala Coeli Indulgence," 90, 94; Lindley, "Sculptural Functions and Forms," 266–268. The tombs were constructed between 1511 and 1513.

Royal itineraries and the liturgical calendar: alignment and misalignment

According to his household ordinances, Henry VIII offered 6s 8d kneeling on a specially-provided cushion in a royal chapel every Sunday and on forty saints' days of the *Sanctorale*.⁵⁹ Fourteen of these offering days commonly fell during progress season: three simple feasts of nine lessons, nine minor and inferior double feasts, and two major double feasts (see Table 1). Chief of these were the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary (subsequently: BVM), both of them days of estate at court: the Nativity, a major double feast, and the Assumption, liturgically a principal double feast on a par with Christmas Day and Whit Sunday.⁶⁰ The king processed on the Assumption, for which a suitable walkway was needed: a gallery or, preferably, a cloister which enabled the king and his court to perform their ceremonial duties in full view but sheltered from the elements.⁶¹ A property equipped with a substantial chapel and (ideally) a cloister was a prerequisite if the king intended to keep these feasts as full days of estate. His whereabouts on these two dates are therefore good indicators of his ceremonial intentions and, by inference, his attitude to the cult of saints.

Henry VIII's offering days were the same as his father's and his paternal grandmother's, and almost identical to his mother's.⁶² Such unanimity suggests a well-established pattern of offering days, as reflected in the less complete household accounts of earlier reigns, albeit with slight variations. Henry VI, for instance, offered on the feast of St Nicholas (6 December) rather than St George.⁶³ Continuity and conservatism are also suggested by some surprising omissions from the Tudor calendar: the Visitation (2 July, major double), the Transfiguration (6 August, minor double), and the Holy Name of Jesus (7 August, major double). These *nova festa*, outranking nine of the fourteen summer offering days, had enjoyed close royal associations.⁶⁴ Both of Henry VIII's grandmothers, Elizabeth Woodville and Margaret Beaufort, had actively promoted the Visitation, and

⁵⁹ Kisby, "Royal Household Chapel," 132. On other days, the king offered 7d in his privy closet.

⁶⁰ Kisby, "Chapel Ceremonies," 55.

⁶¹ Thurley, "The Cloister and the Hearth."

⁶² Henry VII: TNA, E 101/414/16, fols. 34r–45r (1498); Margaret Beaufort: Powell, *Household Accounts*, 394–434 (1505), 552–591 (1508). Elizabeth of York: TNA, E 36/210, fols. 39r, 45r, 57r; Kisby, "The Royal Household Chapel," 461.

⁶³ TNA, E 101/409/9 (1441–1442), fol. 32v, *Oblaciones et Elemosine*: All Saints, St Nicholas, Conception of the BVM, Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Corpus Christi, Assumption, and Nativity of the BVM.

⁶⁴ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 13–83.

Elizabeth of York had offered at Mass of the Visitation in 1502.⁶⁵ The Transfiguration meanwhile had been integrated into English festal calendars since the mid-fifteenth century, and the Holy Name had flourished in the later fifteenth century, promoted by Margaret Beaufort whose dean of chapel, Henry Hornby, compiled new Office propers.⁶⁶ The absence of these summertime *nova festa* from the royal calendar suggests either that the cults were focused on weekly votive liturgies (such as Jesus Mass on Fridays) rather than the feast days themselves, or that the royal calendar was slow to evolve—because of innate conservatism, or because the royal summer itinerary was not receptive to additional feast days. Henry VIII took no discernible steps to promote the impeccably Christological cult of the Holy Name at court. There is no evidence for the celebration of regular Jesus Masses on Friday, Henry made no recorded offertorings on 7 August, and the Holy Name received no exemption from the general abrogation of feast days in 1536.

Feast days impinged upon royal routines: on offering days during progress season, the king attended matins and lauds at 7am, high mass at 10am, and vespers and compline (or "Evensong") at 4pm.⁶⁷ On workdays, the chapel maintained this cycle, but the king heard mass in his privy closet.⁶⁸ This is enshrined in the Eltham Ordinances, which provided only for the singing of Lady Mass and an "anthempe" or votive antiphon to the Virgin Mary after Evensong on feria (with no supposition that the king attended).⁶⁹ On Sundays and feasts during royal progresses, High Mass also was sung in addition to Lady Mass and the anthem. Lady Mass typically took place early in the morning before High Mass, leaving the rest of a workday clear for business and recreation.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Lisa

⁶⁵ TNA, E 36/210, fol. 33r (Saturday 2 July).

⁶⁶ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 31, 47–48, 82–83; Jones and Underwood, *King's Mother*, 167–168, 176–177; Kisby, "Mirror of monarchy," 203–234. Elizabeth New has suggested that Margaret acted as "official figurehead" rather than instigator (New, "Cult of the Holy Name," 69–70). Margaret's chapel inventory (1509) included festal supplements for the Transfiguration and Holy Name.

⁶⁷ Ullmann, *Liber Regie Capelle*, 58.

⁶⁸ Kisby, "Royal Household Chapel," 129–135.

⁶⁹ See McCarthy, "Tudor Royal Singers on the Road," in this issue. Under Henry VI, Lady Mass was ordinarily sung by the Chapel children and their master at least twice a week (Wednesdays and Saturdays), with the king "frequently attending" (Ullmann, *Liber Regie Capelle*, 60).

⁷⁰ Henry VI's twice-weekly Lady Mass was apparently recited at the high altar after Matins and High Mass (Ullmann, *Liber Regie Capelle*, 60), although the norm was to have Lady Mass before High Mass. Henry VI stipulated that Lady Mass be recited daily in Eton College chapel after Prime ("*post primam horam de die*": Blakiston, "Statutes," 118). Under the statutes for Tattershall College (c. 1457), Lady Mass followed Matins and Lauds which had begun at 7am (Kent History and Library Centre, U1475 Q21/1).

Ford has observed a tendency for the Council to meet on holy days when its members already gravitated towards the court.⁷¹

The relationship of Sundays, holy days, and workdays with courtly itineraries reflected the piety and personality of the king. David Carpenter has noted the alignment between the festal calendar and Henry III's itinerary which "was fitted, as far as possible, around the fixed points and places of the liturgical year."⁷² Henry III always celebrated Easter at Westminster, along with the Confessor's feasts, even if this entailed hasty returns from distant counties. A century later, Edward III's piety can be interrogated through his movements in 1348, the year he established the order of the Garter and founded St George's, Windsor, and St Stephen's, Westminster.⁷³ Allowing for intermittent data on his whereabouts, Edward III gravitated towards one of his principal residences or towards monastic sites to celebrate major religious feasts.⁷⁴ In 1361, for instance, the major feasts were celebrated in principal residences or at the Cistercian abbey at Beaulieu (Hants); the feast of St George was by now kept at Windsor.⁷⁵ In other words, Edward III's itineraries enabled the feasts of the *Sanctorale* to be celebrated in state and/or in public; this accords with his ownership of saintly relics, his fervent devotion to the BVM and his frequent travels to shrines, especially those with English national resonances.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 94.

⁷² Carpenter, *Henry III: The Rise to Power*, 534.

⁷³ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 621–622.

⁷⁴ Windsor for the Circumcision (1 January), Shrove Tuesday and Ash Wednesday (4–5 March), Ascension (29 May), Trinity Sunday (15 June), Corpus Christi (18 June), and John the Baptist/midsummer (24 June); Westminster for Annunciation (25 March), Palm Sunday (13 April), and, possibly, Nativity of the BVM (8 September); Woodstock for Pentecost (8 June) and Assumption (15 August); Reading Abbey for Epiphany (6 January). He kept Edward the Confessor's winter feast (5 January) at Windsor or Reading, and Candlemas (2 February) at either Westminster or Reading or Bury St Edmunds.

⁷⁵ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 626: Westminster at Candlemas (2 February), Shrove Tuesday, and Ash Wednesday (9–10 February); Windsor during Holy Week (21–28 March), St George (23 April), John the Baptist/midsummer (24 June), and the translation of Edward the Confessor (13 October); Woodstock on Circumcision (1 January), Edward the Confessor (5 January), and Epiphany (6 January); Beaulieu Abbey for Assumption of the BVM (15 August) and, probably, for Nativity of the BVM (8 September). In this year, though, Edward kept the Annunciation (transposed to 8 April), Ascension (6 May), and Pentecost (16 May) at his new houses at Queenborough, Rotherhithe, and Hadleigh, perhaps to facilitate Ascensiontide tournaments (Ormrod, "For Arthur and St George," 16).

⁷⁶ Ormrod, "Personal Religion of Edward III," 855–859.

Henry VI's itineraries were fine-tuned to the festal calendar. He kept the crown-wearing Confessor's feast of 13 October either at a standing house or in a carefully chosen public venue: Eton College in 1443 (to witness Henry Bekynton's consecration as bishop of Bath and Wells);⁷⁷ at Cambridge in 1445; York in 1448; Worcester (probably) in 1449; St Albans in 1452; Coventry in 1456. He timed visits to sacred sites to the most appropriate calendar dates: his itinerary from Wells to Bristol on 26 July 1452, the feast of St Anne, must surely have been intended to coincide with his arrival at the popular shrine of St Anne in the Wood.⁷⁸ On 24 July 1448 he set off from Clarendon Palace on a long arcing journey to Durham which he reached on 26 September, returning to Eltham Palace on Sunday 3 November (see Appendix: 1448).⁷⁹ This journey comprised fourteen Sundays and ten major feasts and solemnities, including Transfiguration (Tuesday 6 August).⁸⁰ On his return south, he kept the most potent ceremony of crown-wearing (13 October) for the largest city, York;⁸¹ at Lincoln, the next most important centre, he spent the feasts of St Luke (18 October, 6s 8d offertory) and St Frideswide (19th), as well as a Sunday (20th). His next major stop, Cambridge, comprised another Sunday and the feast of St Simon and St Jude, combining festal observance with a site visit to King's College.⁸² Again, in 1451 Henry VI gravitated towards public spaces for festal liturgies: Canterbury for the Assumption (Sunday 15 August) and Windsor for the Nativity of the BVM (Wednesday 8 September);⁸³ he then travelled to St Albans Abbey for a four-day sojourn, including Sunday 12 September.⁸⁴ In addition, he visited Winchester twice for its patronal feast of St Swithun (15 July 1449 and 1451).⁸⁵

⁷⁷ Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, 17.

⁷⁸ TNA, E 101/410/9, fol. 32v. On St Anne's chapel, Neale, *William Worcestre*, 56–59.

⁷⁹ TNA, E 101/410/3, fols. 29r–34r. Wolffe, *Henry VI*, 367.

⁸⁰ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 13–39. Although not formally promulgated until 1457, the Transfiguration had been added to many monastic and secular service books by the 1440s.

⁸¹ TNA, E 101/410/3; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, 367.

⁸² Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, I, 350–380. The foundation of King's College had itself been tuned to the liturgical calendar: the foundation stone was laid on Easter Sunday 1441, the college chapel was begun on 25 July 1446 (St James), and Cardinal Beaufort dedicated the college cemetery on All Souls, the solemnity of the dead, 2 November 1446 (Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *History of the King's Works*, I, 269–271).

⁸³ TNA, E 101/410/6, fols. 30v–31r.

⁸⁴ TNA, E 101/410/6, fols. 32v–33r.

⁸⁵ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, 368–369.

Henry VII's grand inaugural progress of 1486 was staged so that the major feasts were celebrated in a series of host cities: Lincoln for Easter (26 March, wearing of purple) and the transposed feast of the Annunciation (5 April); York for St George (23 April); Nottingham for the Ascension (4 May); Worcester for Pentecost (14 May, wearing of purple); Gloucester for Trinity Sunday (21 May); and Bristol for Corpus Christi (25 May, with sermon and pageants "with great melodie and singing").⁸⁶ Having kept the Assumption (15 August, day of estate) at Sheen Palace, Henry spent the Nativity of the BVM (8 September, another day of estate) in Winchester, Holy Rood (14 September) at Christchurch Priory, and the translation of Edward the Confessor (13 October) in Southampton. After his northern progress of 1487 (see below), Henry VII established the pattern of keeping the *Temporale* feasts of Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, and Corpus Christi at one of the standing houses.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, he undertook more long-distance progresses than would his son after 1511. In 1489, he kept Rogation Sunday and Ascension (24 and 28 May) in York; Pentecost (7 June) in Nottingham and then, a week later, Trinity Sunday (14 June) back home in Windsor. This rapid itinerary had allowed scant time for ceremony en route, except for a two-day stopover at Nottingham encompassing Sunday 17 May.⁸⁸ A few years later, during a prolonged residency at Kenilworth and Warwick Castles in early summer 1493, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York spent three days in Coventry for the great civic feast of Corpus Christi, hearing and commending the mystery play and, we can assume, participating in Mass and procession.⁸⁹ In another short trip, on 14–15 December 1503, Henry VII visited Stratford Langthorne's Cistercian abbey, a favoured stopover in

⁸⁶ Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 210–212; Bradley, "Itineraries," 243; Pilkington, *Bristol*, 13–14; Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 210–212. Given the evocation of Henry VI as saintly forerunner in Henry Tudor's royal entry into Worcester, Henry VII's style of itinerary in 1486 may have been deliberately chosen (Meagher, "First Progress of Henry VII," 62–66).

⁸⁷ Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 217–218; Bradley, "Itineraries," 245. Henry VII kept these feasts at a standing house except in 1489 (Hertford, York, Nottingham), 1493 (Warwick, Kenilworth), 1500 (Calais, Dover), and 1501, when he spent Ascension and Pentecost at the recently acquired Wanstead manor (Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 220–257; Bradley, "Itineraries," 246–271).

⁸⁸ Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 230; Bradley, "Itineraries," 250.

⁸⁹ Ingram, *Coventry*, 77. Henry VII shuttled between Coventry and Kenilworth twice in 1487 (22 April–6 May, and then 1–7 July to watch a Petertide play, execute a rebel, and keep the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury).

royal progresses, but on this occasion a place of retreat, prayer and fasting, as Friday 15 December was Ember day.⁹⁰

Within the wider programmes of Henry VII's midlands progresses, we can detect the emergence of short-lived traditions. The exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September: "Holy Rood" or Crouch Mass) was a subordinate royal feast eventually abolished by Henry VIII: marked with a 6s 8d offertory but no procession or special robes, sometimes kept in a town or at a standing house, but often spent in relative privacy—as in 1487 when Henry VII hunted in Rockingham Forest.⁹¹ It may be coincidental that in 1499 he spent Holy Rood at Winchester, home of St Cross Hospital whose master Robert Sherborne, a member of Henry's Council, was appointed dean of St Paul's the same year.⁹² On three occasions in close succession, Henry kept Holy Rood at Northampton. This was probably more than a by-product of his midlands progresses:⁹³ one of Northampton's top visitor attractions was the image of the Rood in the Wall in St Gregory's parish near the castle.⁹⁴ Margaret Beaufort made an offering at this image on her way back to Collyweston from Woodstock, in October 1498, and again in spring 1504.⁹⁵ Henry VIII would also offer at the same shrine on 3 August 1511 during his inaugural midlands progress.⁹⁶

The Assumption and Nativity of Our Lady

Two Marian feasts towered above the other offering days that regularly fell during progress season: the Assumption of the BVM on 15 August and the Nativity of the BVM on 8 September. Both days survived the abrogation that culled the progress-season *Sanctorale*

⁹⁰ TNA, E 101/413/12. The cofferers' and controllers' accounts habitually record lower expenditure on both kitchen and meat costs on Ember days (and Friday was meat-free in any case). On this occasion combined *Coquina* and *Pulletria* costs (£2 4s 11d) were around 30% of the normal spending on a Friday (and a sixth of the costs on the Conception of the BVM, the previous Friday: £16 9s).

⁹¹ Henry VII's venues for 14 September: Christchurch Priory (1486); Rockingham Castle (1487); Windsor Castle (1488, 1489, 1496); Woking manor (1490, 1506, 1508); St Augustine's, Bristol (1491); Canterbury (1492); Northampton (1493, 1495, 1498); Woodstock (1494, 1497, 1500); Winchester (1499); Richmond Palace (1501); Fairford (1502); Warwick Castle (1503); Southampton (1504); Cranborne (1505); Langley (1507).

⁹² Harper-Bill, "Sherborn [Sherborne], Robert."

⁹³ Henry VII spent all of September 1493 in Northampton, and his visit in 1498 was a carefully choreographed double act, as he and his mother made their way to Collyweston, at the north-east tip of the county.

⁹⁴ Serjeantson, *History of the Church of All Saints*, 85–87.

⁹⁵ Powell, "Lady Margaret Beaufort: a Progress," 314–316; *Household Accounts*, 302.

⁹⁶ Serjeantson, *History of the Church of All Saints*, 87.

from fourteen feasts to five in 1536.⁹⁷ By long tradition, the Marian feasts were solemnified at court. Henry IV kept them in royal residences, or in towns and cities.⁹⁸ His urban venues for the two summer feasts included monastic and collegiate institutions with close dynastic Lancastrian associations, particularly St Mary Newarke College, Leicester (1404, 1405, and 1410), the family mausoleum where he had buried his first wife Mary de Bohun in 1394.⁹⁹ His grandson Henry VI favoured Windsor for the Assumption and Nativity, especially for the former, which he twice kept at his new college at nearby Eton (dedicated to the Assumption).¹⁰⁰ In 1478, Edward IV returned to Windsor from the midlands, celebrating the Assumption there and receiving a French embassy before returning to the midlands where he kept the Nativity in Nottingham.¹⁰¹

Until his last years, following the death of Elizabeth of York, Henry VII kept the September feast at either a standing house (on eight occasions, four of them at Woodstock), in a major town or city (six times), or in a royal castle (thrice).¹⁰² On five occasions, he kept the Nativity at one of his mother's properties. The scale of Margaret's own household, and her special role in affording the ceremonial splendour of Henry's kingship, provided both the resources and the spaces necessary for full-scale celebration of the September feast at Woking (which would become a frequently-used manor under Henry VIII) and Collyweston

⁹⁷ Kisby, "Chapel Ceremonies and Services," 72–73; Bray, *Records of Convocation*, 240–241.

⁹⁸ Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 542–545: Assumption: Haddington (1400), Nottingham (1402), Pontefract (1403), Leicester (1404), Leicester (1405), Spalding or Boston (1406), Waltham Abbey (OSA) (1408), Westminster (1409), Woodstock (1410); Nativity of the BVM: Pontefract (1400), Windsor (1401), Worcester (1403), Tutbury castle/priory (1404), Hereford (1405), Northampton (1406), Faxfleet manor (en route from York to Beverley) (1407), London (1408), Leicester (1410), Stratford Langthorne Abbey (OCist) (1411).

⁹⁹ Thompson, *The History of the Hospital*, 91; Luxford, "The collegiate church as mausoleum," 130; Goodall, "The college of St Mary in the Newarke," 318–326.

¹⁰⁰ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, 362–371 (1440–1457, excluding 1450, and 1453–1455). Assumption: Windsor (eight times), Eton (twice), Sheen, Westminster, Langley in Wychwood, Canterbury, Wenlock Priory, Kenilworth (once each). Nativity: Windsor (seven times), Eltham (thrice), Sheen, Lichfield, Cambridge and Northampton (once each).

¹⁰¹ TNA, E 101/412/9, fols. 22v, 24v.

¹⁰² Standing houses: Woodstock (1496(?), 1497, 1500, 1507); Greenwich (? or Canterbury/Maidstone) (1492, 1508), Windsor (1499); Richmond (1501). Towns and cities: Winchester (also royal castle) (1486, 1499); Leicester (also a royal castle) (1487); Lewes (also a royal castle and Cluniac priory) (1488); Gloucester (1491); Northampton (also a royal castle) (1493). Royal castles (non-urban): Berkeley (1502); Kenilworth (1503?); Portchester (1504). King's manor: Langley (1494). Margaret Beaufort properties: Woking (1490, 1506); Collyweston (1495, 1498); Canford near Wimborne (1505) (on Canborne: Jones and Underwood, *King's Mother*, 102).

(which assumed the status of a standing house-by-proxy while Margaret lived). Henry's whereabouts on the Assumption partially mirror his residencies on 8 September. His northern progress of 1487 concluded with liturgical finesse in the north-east: Sunday 12 August in Durham, 13–18 August in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (including the Assumption on Wednesday 15th), and then Sunday 19th in Durham again, before he returned south.¹⁰³ Between 1486 and 1508, Henry VII kept the Assumption at a standing house on eight occasions and in a major town or city eight times.¹⁰⁴ However, he stayed in a gentry or magnate home five times and, once, in a Kentish village on the road from Canterbury to Battle Abbey (where Henry arrived on 16 or 17 August 1504: had he planned to keep the Assumption at Battle Abbey as he had at Lewes Priory in 1488 and Bury St Edmunds Abbey in 1498?).¹⁰⁵ Henry's private hosts were all close kin and political loyalists: Sir Reginald Bray; Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester; George Grey, earl of Kent; Sir William Herbert; and Margaret Beaufort. Hosting the king on a day of estate may therefore have been a mark of political favour rather than pious fervour. While Carisbrooke and Maidstone provided ample ceremonial scope for keeping the Assumption as a day of estate, Henry VII's sojourns at Troy (1502), Marwell (1504, assuming this was the intended destination), Ampthill (1507), and Wanstead (1508) suggest a slight waning of enthusiasm for summertime ceremonial in his later years.¹⁰⁶

Under Henry VIII's household regulations, the Assumption was kept as a principal double feast, a day of estate, with procession, offertory, and communion.¹⁰⁷ His whereabouts on 15 August, and the locations, layouts and ceremonial affordances of his

¹⁰³ Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 215; Bradley, "The Itineraries," 244.

¹⁰⁴ This tally presupposes that he was in Northampton on 15 August 1491, but he was 12 miles away at Great Harrowden, home of Margaret Beaufort's protégé Sir Nicholas Vaux on Sunday 14 and may therefore have stayed at Harrowden for First Vespers of the Assumption on Sunday evening and then for the feast itself on Monday 15. He was at Sudeley Castle, 69 miles from Harrowden, by Friday 19th.

¹⁰⁵ Standing houses: Windsor (1489, 1494, 1500); Greenwich (1501, 1502); Sheen (1486); Eltham (1490); Woodstock (1497). Towns and cities: Northampton (also a royal castle) (1491(?); Nottingham (also royal castle) (1495, 1503); Newcastle (1487); Warwick (also royal castle) (1493); Bristol (1496); Bury St Edmunds (1498); Lewes (also royal castle and Cluniac priory) (1488). Private houses: Maidstone (Cardinal Morton's archiepiscopal palace, also a chantry college) (1492); Carisbrooke Castle Isle of Wight (Sir Reginald Bray) (1499); Troy House, near Monmouth (Sir William Herbert), (1502); Marwell by Owslebury, Hants (Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester) (1505), en route to Romsey Abbey; Ampthill, Bedfordshire (George Grey, earl of Kent) (1507), purchased by Henry VII in 1508. King's manor: Wanstead. Benson, *Troy House*, 35.

¹⁰⁶ Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses* 3, 370–373.

¹⁰⁷ Kisby, "Religious ceremonial," 32.

progress venues, give some indication of his fulfilment of these requirements (see Table 2). The picture is mixed, especially after the mid-1530s. Until 1534, the Assumption was normally kept in venues equipped with large chapels and, in some cases, cloisters conducive to festal liturgies and processions. These included standing houses, royal manors (chiefly, Woking), urban centres, monastic complexes (including, possibly, St Albans Abbey which was easily accessed from Tyttenhanger),¹⁰⁸ and large-scale magnate residences (Bishop's Waltham).¹⁰⁹ In 1532, Henry paid for collegiate choristers to travel from Oxford to Woodstock on 15 August.¹¹⁰ This was presumably to enhance the slimmed-down Riding Chapel of six men and six boys rather than the full Chapel Royal which, under the Eltham Ordinances, should have been on duty in Woodstock as a nominal standing house—the full Chapel would have needed no such assistance. After 1534, Henry VIII stayed in a more heterogeneous series of rural properties, some of which had large chapels (Halnaker and Woking) or an adjacent Dominican Friary with a permanent royal oratory (Guildford), some of which did not. Until his final year, he conspicuously avoided the major standing houses for the Assumption—except during the conservative reaction of 1540, a week after his marriage to Catherine Howard and nineteen days after Thomas Cromwell's execution.¹¹¹ Even in 1546, Henry's final Assumption in the splendour of Hampton Court was perhaps less an expression of Marian piety than geopolitics: preparations were in hand for the diplomatic reception of the admiral of France, Claude d'Annebault, in a specially built banqueting house on 23 August.¹¹²

Henry VIII's whereabouts on 8 September suggest even more ambivalence towards this second Marian feast. Thirteen times he was in a standing house, fourteen in a royal manor or castle, seven in an episcopal or aristocratic, twice in a wayside town, once in a monastic complex, and once on military campaign. In 1509 he timed his first visit to

¹⁰⁸ Pantin, "Notley Abbey," 22–43; Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses* 3, 121–124. Henry had stayed at Notley 25–26 September 1529; his father stayed in 1497 and 1500 (Ford, "Conciliar Politics," 242, 255).

¹⁰⁹ Woking, redeveloped by Margaret Beaufort, had a substantial chapel; Bishop's Waltham, a favourite progress destination, had both cloister and a chapel of 65' x 32', comparable with those at Tudor royal palaces (Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses* 3, 12–17; Colvin et al., *History of the King's Works*, 4/ii, 344–348; Jones and Underwood, *King's Mother*, 138–140).

¹¹⁰ Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses*, 244.

¹¹¹ MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, 523–533.

¹¹² MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 357. In the household records for 1546 (TNA, E 101/424/5, fols. 26v–27r), the uptick in *Dieta* during the diplomatic entertainments (reaching £322 on 26 August) dwarfed the increase in equivalent costs on 15 August (£123), against an average of £112.

Waltham Abbey to coincide with 8 September, arriving before festal First Vespers on 7th and proceeding to Wanstead on Sunday 9th.¹¹³ On one notable occasion, 8 September 1524, Henry advertised his orthodox piety by receiving a golden rose from Pope Clement VII in St George's, Windsor.¹¹⁴ Henry himself was not required to process before mass on 8 September;¹¹⁵ nevertheless, there is evidence that his Chapel did so. In a copy of the Sarum Processional (1528 edition), one of twelve processionalists listed in the 1542 Whitehall inventory, one of Henry's household singers notated the hymn *Salve festa dies* with its refrain customised for use on the Nativity of the BVM.¹¹⁶ Conversely, the feast on 8 September was incidental to Henry's presence at a standing house on at least one occasion (1533, when Anne Boleyn gave birth to Princess Elizabeth at Greenwich on 7 September).

Although the Nativity of the BVM was exempted from the 1536 abrogation of feasts (and specifically named by Canterbury Convocation on 19 July 1536, along with the Assumption), Henry VIII seems to have been ambivalent towards the feast in later years, in terms of what he did and what he chose *not* to do. During the gloomy northern progress of 1541 his itinerary seems deliberately flexed in opposition to, rather than conformity with, the old festal calendar. He kept the Assumption in the relatively modest seclusion of Gainsborough Old Hall rather than in Lincoln (which he had so recently visited on 9–12 August), and was at Leconfield (the ancestral seat of the Percies) instead of nearby Beverley or Hull on 8 September.¹¹⁷ Having reached York, Henry ordered the destruction of St William's still-extant shrine in the Minster.¹¹⁸ York's sister province had suffered the same indignity in September 1538 when Henry had overseen the demolition of Becket's shrine while on progress in Canterbury; remarkably, the feast of Mary's Nativity was then commemorated with a performance of John Bale's polemical drama, *On the Treasons of*

¹¹³ TNA, E 101/416/7; E 101/36/214, fol. 24r.

¹¹⁴ Rex, "Religion of Henry VIII," 10.

¹¹⁵ Kisby, "Chapel Ceremonies," 55.

¹¹⁶ BL, [pr bk] C. 35, fol. 10: *Processionale ad usum Sarum* (Antwerp: Ruremund, 1528; RSTC 16237), catalogue no. 681, corresponding with inventory no. 679. On Whitehall inventory numbers: Carley, *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, lxvi–lxxii. Notation for the refrain of *Salve festa dies in tempus perfectum cum prolatione perfecta* is written in the endpapers, originally underlaid with the generic text "*Salve festa dies toto venerabilis evo*" (Hail feast day, venerable throughout all ages ...) to which was added the continuation, "*qua sterilis mariam protulit anna piam*" (... on which barren Anna bore the sweet Mary).

¹¹⁷ TNA, E 101/423/2, fols. 27v, 29v. Henry was at Hull 10–12 September (including Sunday 11).

¹¹⁸ Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances*, 247 (22 September 1541). The shrine was dismantled two days later (Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 239).

Becket.¹¹⁹ Henry's axe may have spared the Assumption and the Nativity of the BVM, but his indifference contrasts markedly with his eldest daughter's demonstrative almsgiving on the Assumption in 1538 and 1544.¹²⁰

Conclusion: Seen and Unseen

Alignments between royal itineraries and the festal calendar reflect attitudes towards the cult of saints. But they also touch upon the culture of monarchical visibility. Henry VI had been both assiduous in his attention to the festal calendar and prolific in making himself visible from early in his reign.¹²¹ Henry VII, his mother, and eldest daughter all made progresses that aligned with the liturgical calendar, ensuring their visibility in urban and religious centres on Sundays and major feasts.¹²² The offerings made in coordinated alternation by Henry VII and Margaret Beaufort in 1498 suggest a shared agenda (see Appendix: 1498). Margaret's ward, Edward Stafford, shared her style of topographic piety. His journeys, like Margaret's, read like a *Shell Guide* to the sacred sites of Tudor England (see Appendix: 1508), but his gravitation towards shrines and images within his feudal domains suggests a cultivation of good lordship through visible piety. In one month, Elizabeth of York made offerings at as many shrines as her son visited during his entire 38-year reign.¹²³ Henry VIII's first two progresses followed in like manner, combining public presentation with religious ceremony. The frequency of his votive offerings in 1510 and 1511 correlates with the extent to which Henry made himself publicly visible.¹²⁴ During

¹¹⁹ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 406–413, 431–432; MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, 417–421, 465–466; MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 227–228.

¹²⁰ Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses*, 76, 162 (August 1538 and August 1544).

¹²¹ Ord, "Account of the Entertainment," 65–71; Colton, "Music and Identity," 87–110.

¹²² Margaret Beaufort: Powell, "Lady Margaret Beaufort: a Progress," 314–316 and Appendix below.

Margaret Tudor (Collyweston to Edinburgh, 1503): Hearne, *Collectanea*, 4: 268–277, citing London, College of Arms M.13, fols. 89r–90r.

¹²³ Albeit via her chaplain William Barton, on a 27-day pilgrimage: Windsor (Our Lady, St George, the Neith Cross and King Henry VI); Eton; Reading Abbey; Caversham; Cockthorpe (Norfolk); Hailes; Tewkesbury; Worcester; Northampton (Rood in the Wall, Our Lady of Grace); Walsingham; Sudbury; Woolpit (Suffolk); Ipswich; Stoke Clare; Crowham (Surrey); Boxley; Canterbury (Saint Thomas, Our Lady Undercroft, St Adrian, and St Augustine); Dover; London (the Rood at the North door, St Paul's Cathedral, and Our Lady of Grace, St Ignatius, St Dominic, Saint Petre of Melayn, St Francis, St Saviour); Westminster (Our Lady of Pew); Barking; Willesden (TNA, E 36/210, fol. 30r).

¹²⁴ TNA, E 36/215, fols. 70r–85r (August–October 1510): Reading; Romsey, Southampton (our Lady of Grace), Cerne, Shaftesbury, Salisbury (St Osmund), Southwick, Windsor (St George, King Henry, high altar); TNA, E

these inaugural progresses, traditional civic entries are recorded in Reading, Southampton, and Coventry.¹²⁵ Thereafter, royal entries took place in 1522 (Cambridge), 1535 (Gloucester), and 1541 (Lincoln and York).¹²⁶ Each of these progresses was unusual: Charles V's second English visit seems to have quickened Henry's traditional piety in 1522; and the long progresses of 1535 and 1541 were both relaunched. The 1535 progress in particular evoked Henry's inaugural progresses of 1510 and 1511, it included a planned civic entry into Bristol (cancelled because of plague), and its itinerary allowed for Sunday worship in monasteries rather than private houses.¹²⁷ The 1516 progress reprised some of the itinerary of the 1510 progress: Henry offered in Southampton (Our Lady of Grace), Winchester (St Swithun's shrine), and Salisbury (St Osmund's).¹²⁸ In September 1514 he offered at Canterbury as he accompanied his sister Mary en route to France and her marriage to Louis XII of France, while Katherine of Aragon was in the anxious final trimester of another royal pregnancy.¹²⁹ An offering to Our Lady of Caversham coincided with rumours of another royal pregnancy.¹³⁰ Henry's offerings at Canterbury on Whit Sunday 1520 were made in the company of Charles V (in his first, shorter visit).¹³¹ These progresses were the exception, however. After 1511, Henry's summer itineraries show limited appetite for adapting his itineraries either to meet his subjects or to commune with the saints.

36/215, fols. 129r–133r (July–August 1511): Missenden Abbey, Northampton (Rood in the Wall, Our Lady of Grace), Leicester Abbey, Nottingham (Whitefriars rood), Merevale Abbey, Coventry (Our Lady in the Tower).

¹²⁵ Kerry, *History of the Municipal Church*, 92; TNA, E 36/215, fol. 73r (1510): "Item for the kinges offering at his commyng to Redyng at the metyng of the procescion, other vjs viijd at the metyng of the procescion at Southampton, xxs"; Ingram, *Coventry*, 107 (1511).

¹²⁶ Bateson, *Grace Book B, II*, 107 (Cambridge); Gloucestershire Archives, BGR/B2/1, fols. 120v–122r (Gloucester); Johnston and Rogerson, *York, Records of Early English Drama*, I: 270–277 (Lincoln and York).

¹²⁷ Reading Abbey, Sunday 11 July (Feast of Relics); Winchcombe Abbey, Sunday 25 July (St James); Gloucester Abbey, Sunday 1 August (TNA, E 101/422/1, fols. 24v–26v).

¹²⁸ TNA, E 36/215, fols. 463r–466r (August–September 1516).

¹²⁹ BL, Add. 21481, fol. 166 (24 September 1514): offerings totalling 40s at St Augustine's (high altar and shrine) and Christ Church (Martyrdom, shrine and Our Lady Undercroft).

¹³⁰ TNA, E 36/215, fol. 541r (27 September 1517).

¹³¹ TNA, E 36/215, fol. 91v.

Appendix I

Table 1. Offering days in the early Tudor court (days of estate in bold).

Date	Feast	Festal grade	Exempt from abrogation, 1536
July 7	Translation, St Thomas of Canterbury	Minor double	No
22	St Mary Magdalen	Simple feast	No
25	St James the Greater, apostle	Inferior double	Yes
26	St Anne, mother of Mary	Simple feast	No
August 10	St Laurence, martyr	Simple feast	No
15	Assumption of the BVM	Principal double	Yes
24	St Bartholomew, apostle	Minor double	Yes
September 8	Nativity of the BVM	Major double	No
14	Exaltation of the Holy Cross	Minor double	No
21	St Matthew, evangelist	Minor double	No
29	St Michael, archangel	Inferior double	Yes
October 13	Translation, Edward the Confessor	Inferior double	No
18	St Luke, evangelist	Inferior double	No (but restored 1541)
28	St Simon and St Jude, apostles	Inferior double	Yes

Table 2. Henry VIII's locations on progress-season days of estate.¹³²

	Assumption of the BVM (15 August)		Nativity of the BVM (8 September)	
1509	Woking	Royal manor	Waltham (Essex)	Abbey, OSA
1510	Christchurch	Priory, OSA	Bishop's Waltham	Episcopal house (Fox)
1511	Nottingham	Royal castle; town	Warwick	Royal castle; town; college
1512	Bishop's Waltham	Episcopal house (Fox)	WINDSOR	Standing house
1513	<i>Théroutanne</i>	<i>Military campaign</i>	<i>Théroutanne</i>	<i>Military campaign</i>
1514	GREENWICH	Standing house	Esher	Episcopal house (Fox)
1515	WINDSOR	Standing house	Woking	Royal Manor
1516	Christchurch	Priory, OSA	Salisbury	Episcopal house (Audley)
1517	RICHMOND	Standing house	WINDSOR	Standing house
1518	ELTHAM	Standing house	ELTHAM	Standing house
1519	GREENWICH	Standing house	NEW HALL	Standing house
1520	Reading	Abbey, OSB	WOODSTOCK	Standing house
1521	Woking	Royal manor	Guildford	Royal manor; friary, OP
1522	NEW HALL	Standing house	Castle Hedingham	Magnate house (de Vere)
1523	WINDSOR	Standing house	Easthampstead	Royal manor
1524	Woking or Chertsey	Royal manor Abbey, OSB	WINDSOR	Standing house
1525	THE MORE	Standing house	Stony Stratford	Town
1526	Winchester	City; castle	King's Langley	Royal manor
1527	NEW HALL	Standing house	GREENWICH?	Standing house
1528	WINDSOR	Standing house	Woking?	Royal manor
1529	Tyttenhanger	Abbatial manor	WOODSTOCK	Standing house
1530	HAMPTON COURT	Standing house	Hertford Castle	Royal castle

¹³² Colvin et al., *History of the King's Works*, 4/ii, 40 (Amptill), 57 (Bridewell), 60 (St Augustine's Canterbury, converted into royal residence, 158), 65 (Chobham, acquired 1533-34), 66 (Clarendon), 76 (Easthampstead), 78 (Eltham), 92 (Grafton), 123 (Guildford Manor and Blackfriars), 125 (Halnaker, acquired 1539), 147 (Hanworth), 160 (Langley), 164 (The More), 172 (New Hall), 227 (Richmond), 282 (Tyttenhanger, possession of St Alban's Abbey until acquired 1539), 344 (Woking), and 349 (Woodstock). Standing houses in CAPITALS.

Assumption of the BVM (15 August)			Nativity of the BVM (8 September)	
1531	Notley	Abbey, OSB	AMPTHILL	Standing house
1532	WOODSTOCK	Standing house	WINDSOR?	Standing house
1533	WINDSOR	Standing house	GREENWICH	Standing house
1534	WINDSOR	Standing house	King’s Langley	Royal manor
1535	Thornbury	Royal house	Wolf Hall	Courtier house (Seymour)
1536	Woking	Royal manor	Grafton	Royal manor
1537	Grafton	Royal manor	Esher	Episcopal house (Gardiner)
1538	Halnaker	Magnate house (de la Warr)	Canterbury	Royal manor
1539	Donnington Castle	Royal house (ex-Brandon)	Grafton	Royal manor
1540	WINDSOR	Standing house	AMPTHILL	Standing house
1541	Gainsborough Old Hall	Courtier house (Burgh)	Leconfield Castle, Yorks	Sequestered courtier house (Percy)
1542	Chobham	Royal manor, ex-monastic	WHITEHALL	Standing house
1543	Hanworth	Royal manor	Grafton	Royal manor
1544	<i>Boulogne</i>	<i>Military campaign</i>	<i>Boulogne</i>	<i>Military campaign</i>
1545	Guildford	Royal manor	Chobham	Royal manor since 1534
1546	HAMPTON COURT	Standing house	Woking	Royal manor

Appendix II: Sample pre-Henrician Itineraries

Table 3. 1448: Henry VI¹³³

Date	Designation (all Sundays are double feasts)	Location	Type
July 25	St James , <i>InfD</i>	Shaftesbury	Nunnery (OSB)
26	St Anne , <i>Simplex</i>		
28	Sunday	Glastonbury	Abbey (OSB)
August 4	Sunday	Malmesbury	Abbey (OSB)
6	Transfiguration, <i>MiD</i>	Cirencester	Abbey (OCist)
10	St Laurence , <i>Simplex</i>	Windsor	Standing house
11	Sunday		
15	*Assumption of the BVM , <i>PD</i>	Eton College	Secular college founded by Henry, 1440
18	Sunday	Windsor	Standing house
24	St Bartholomew , <i>InfD</i>		
25	Sunday		
September 1	Sunday		
8	Sunday/ Nativity of the BVM , <i>MaD</i>	Cambridge	City, secular colleges
14	Exaltation of Holy Cross , <i>MiD</i>	Southwell	Collegiate church
15	Sunday		
21	St Matthew , <i>InfD</i>	York	City, archiepiscopal palace, minster, multiple foundations
22	Sunday		
29	Sunday/ St Michael the Archangel , <i>InfD</i>	Durham	Episcopal castle, cathedral priory (OSB)
October 6	Sunday	Beverley?	Town, collegiate church, other foundations
13	Sunday/ St Edward the Confessor , <i>InfD</i>	York	City, archiepiscopal palace, minster, multiple foundations

¹³³ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, 366–367.

Date	Designation (all Sundays are double feasts)	Location	Type
18	St Luke, <i>InfD</i>	Lincoln	Castle, cathedral, episcopal palace
20	Sunday		
27	Sunday	Cambridge	City, secular colleges
28	St Simon and St Jude, <i>InfD</i>		
November 1	*ALL SAINTS, <i>MaD</i>	Tyttenhanger	Manor of St Albans Abbey (OSB)
2	All Souls		
3	Sunday	Eltham	Standing house

Table 4. Henry VII and Margaret Beaufort, 1498 (with offerings)¹³⁴

Location	Description	Day(s)	Date(s)	Offering, by H=Henry, M=Margaret	
Sheen	Charterhouse	Wednesday	11 July: offering to rood	12d	M
Syon	Bridgettine Abbey	Tuesday	17 July: to St Brigit (20d)	20d	M
Westminster			17 July: to "our Ladye of Pew"	20d	M
St Paul's	Cathedral	Wednesday	18 July: at "Poulys" and to "oure Ladye of Grace"	6s 8d	M
All Hallows, Barking	All Hallows	Monday?	30? July: "for offring at the toure at our lady berking & at seint saveours"	10s	H
New Hall, Boreham	Earl of Ormond's house	Saturday	4 August: to "oure Ladye of Oultynge" [Ulting]	20d	M
		Sunday	5 August	6s 8d	H
Castle Hedingham	'At my lorde oxon'	Monday	6 August: Transfiguration	6s 8d	H
		Friday	10 August: St Laurence	6s 8d	H
		Sunday	12 August	6s 8d	H
Sudbury	College	Monday?	13? August: to "oure Ladye [of] Sudburye"	2s	M

¹³⁴ Powell, *Household Accounts*, 212–230; Powell, "Lady Margaret Beaufort: a Progress," 314–316.

Location	Description	Day(s)	Date(s)	Offering, by	
				H=Henry, M=Margaret	
Bury St Edmund	Abbey (OSB)	Tuesday	14 August: “my ladys offeryngez at hir first commynge”	5s	M
			14 August: “for my ladys offerynge... when hir grace went in to the churche in the evenynge to Seynt Edmonde schryne”	2s	M
			14 August: “to our Ladye of the Undercrofte there”	12d	M
		Wednesday	15 August (Assumption): offering for “our Ladys day the Asumpcione”	5s	M
		Friday	17 August: at shrine of St Edmund the day “hir grace departed from Bury”	2s	M
Woolpit	Shrine	Friday	17 August: two pieces of 30d to “Oure Ladye of Wullepitt”, and 15 lb wax for three tapers	5s	M
Thetford	Cluniac Priory	Saturday	18 August: to the “relykkez there”	20d	M
Norwich	unspec.	Monday	20 August: “for my ladyez offeryngez”	8s 4d	M
Walsingham	Priory (OSA)	Thursday	23 August: at high altar, when Margaret arrived	20d	M
			23 August: to “oure Ladye” at same time	20d	M
		Saturday	25 August: when Margaret left	5s	M
Lynn	?	Saturday	25 August: to maintain light of Our Lady	3s 4d	M
	Pilgrimage Chapel	Monday	27 August: “to oure Lady at the Mounthe” (20d) and to “ij seyntez undur our seyde Ladye” (2s)	3s 8d	M

Location	Description	Day(s)	Date(s)	Offering, by	
				H=Henry, M=Margaret	
Ely	Cathedral Priory	Friday	31 August: to St Etheldreda (“Audre”, 20d), to “two shrines above” (4s) and to St Etheldreda’s head and relics (20d)	7s 4d	M
Cambridge	?	Sunday	2 September	6s 8d	H
Peterborough	Abbey, OSB	Wednesday	5 September: “offring at peterborough”	6s 8d	H
Collyweston	Palace	Saturday	8 September: Conception of the BVM	13s 4d	H
		Sunday	9 September		
Northampton	?	Thursday?	13? September	13s 4d	H
	?	Friday	14 September: Exaltation of Holy Cross (“halirodeday”)		
	All Saints church	Saturday?	15 September: to “oure Ladye or Grace”	5s	M
Woodstock	Palace	Friday	21 September: St Matthew (“mathey”)	6s 8d	H

Return journey, Woodstock to Collyweston (Margaret only):

Northampton	St Gregory’s church	Saturday?	20 October: at “the rode” (2s 6d)	2s 6d	M
	All Saints church		20 October: to our Lady of Grace (5s)	5s	M
	Unspec.	Sunday	21 October: to a woman who brought Margaret a roll of prayers	2d	M

Table 5. Edward Stafford, 1508 (with offerings)¹³⁵

Location	Description	Day(s)	Date(s)	Offering
Reading	Abbey, OSB	Sunday	30 January 1508, to the ‘Childe of grace <i>within</i> the monastery of Reding’	3s 4d
Keynsham	Abbey, OSA	Wednesday	29 March, at “our lady masse”	3s 4d
Glastonbury	Abbey, OSB	Saturday	29 April, to “Joseph ab aromathia”	6s 8d
		Sunday	30 April, at High Mass	6s 8d
Chew [Episcopi]	Episcopal residence	Wednesday	17 May, to “our lady of Chewe”	20d
Keynsham	Abbey, OSA	Sunday	11 June (Whit Sunday)	6s 8d
St Anne in the Wood, Brislington, near Bristol	Chapel	Tuesday	20 June, offered by duke and duchess at “saint Anne in the Wode” (including 1s to “yong ladies”)	7s 4d
Keynsham	Abbey, OSA	Sunday	25 June, “for my lords oblacion to our lady at kainsham at my lords departyng the xxv th day” of June	3s 4d
Westminster	Abbey, OSB	Tuesday	5 July, offering to St Edward	3s 4d
	St Stephen’s chapel		5 July, to “oure lady of pewe in Westmynstre”	3s 4d
Barking	College	Tuesday	25 July, to “our lady of Berking”	20d
Greenwich	Chapel		25 July, to “holy Roodes at grenewich”	4d

¹³⁵ TNA, SP 1/22, fols. 67v–89v (4 January–24 September 1508); Ross, “Alienated Outsider or Integrated Courtier?,” 38–40.

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