A Record of Twelfth Night Celebrations

One of the most important documents in the Duke of Northumberland's archives at Alnwick Castle is a description of Elizabethan festivities which occurred on 6 January, 1601, also the focus of the Vincent ms which John Astington discusses above. In his book *The First Night of Twelth Night*, the literary detective Leslie Hotson argues that at this event Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* was performed, and Hotson uses the Alnwick document (hereafter referred to as Twelfth Night ms) to track down other narratives of the events and ultimately to create an elaborate description of the play's performance. However, although Hotson's argument makes good reading, his representation of the Twelfth Night ms is not adequate for others who might wish to investigate this important evidence of Elizabethan ceremonial practice.

First, it should be said that Hotson prints almost all of the document, does not omit anything material to his thesis, and does not make any important transcription errors. However, he leaves out some details that might interest other historians, adds distracting material in brackets, and does not describe the document or discuss its provenance. Also, in quoting from the ms, Hotson rearranges it to suit his narrative, thus distorting his source. Finally, Hotson does not discuss some aspects of the ms that raise questions which could lead to useful further study. To remedy these omissions, I supply a document description, discussion of the provenance, and a complete transcript according to REED guidelines.

Document Description of Twelfth Night ms

Alnwick, Northumberland; Alnwick Castle Archives; *Letters and Papers* Vol 7, 19v–22r; early seventeenth century; English; paper; narrative and directions for a court ceremony at 12th Day, 6 January 1601; 334mm x 230mm (295mm–179mm); pages inlaid in heavy paper, with modern foliation in pencil; fire damage has eliminated some words, but sections unaffected by fire are clear; some headings are in capitals; one hand has done almost all the writing, but a second hand, contemporaneous with the main script, has made a few additions. The ms is doubtless a copy rather than an original: the script is clear and professional, and some interlineations suggest reference to another source.

The sequence of topics in these pages is interrupted and incomplete, shifting between directions and descriptions. Some sections prescribe actions to be carried out in the future, and other portions, in the past tense, narrate events, perhaps because pages have been lost, or because the writer was working with more than one source. F 19v describes, in past tense, the arrival of the Muscovy ambassador, but at the bottom of this page the narrative breaks off. F 20r contains a list of noble guests, and then directions for the festivities that will occur. F 20v narrates events in the past tense but then also breaks off to give a list of nobles and their duties they will perform at the
banquet. This list of names continues on 21r with more directions following on 21v. On 22r is another list of noble guests.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission gives the date of the ceremony as 6 January 1601–2, but Hotson is correct in arguing for 1601. First, a letter dated 3 February 1601 from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton describes these entertainments. Second, the Duke of Bracciano was escorting Marie de Medicis into France for her wedding with Henry iv, which took place on Sunday, 17 December 1600 in Lyon. A side trip by the Duke to England in 1601 seems much more likely than 1602. But the mistake of 1602 is quite understandable, since the last digit of the ms year is obliterated in the ms by a thick vertical mark which might be interpreted as a downstroke. Because English calendars before 1752 changed the year at March 25, the ms date '6 January 1601' would be considered 1602 by a twentieth-century historian.

Origin and Provenance of the ms

Although a Letters and Papers volume now contains these pages, their physical condition and contents suggest that probably they were for some time kept with another collection: Alnwick ms 468, which includes descriptions of royal marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies. Like the Twelfth Night ms, 468 was burned, and most importantly, the shapes of the burned pages in ms 468 are very similar to the shapes of the Twelfth Night pages. No other ms in the Percy collection have this form, and the hands are similar as well. If these Letters and Papers pages were not originally part of ms 468, they must at least have been in the same stack when the fire occurred.

According to a slip in an eighteenth-century hand, ms 468 was 'bought at Anstis's sale,' presumably the sale in 1768 of mss from the collections of John Anstis the elder and younger, Garters-at-Arms. If the Twelfth Night ms had been originally a part of this collection, then probably it was written for the heralds, to serve as reference for planning royal ceremonies and to be used as a model by noble households. But it also follows that if the Twelfth Night ms were a part of ms 468, the former could not have been used by a seventeenth-century Percy to plan his ceremonies.

The present arrangement of the Twelfth Night ms in Letters and Papers volume 7 was probably undertaken after August 1867, when John Bruce, hired by the Duke of Northumberland to examine family documents, found ms 468 in a black box at Northumberland House. Bruce suggests that the fire which injured the mss occurred on March 18, 1780 and that the materials were placed in the box after this date, perhaps by Bishop Thomas Percy. From 1765 to 1782 Percy was domestic chaplain at Northumberland House, and the memorandum 'bought at Anstis's sale seem like an enlarged version of Percy's script.' The Twelfth Night ms is relevant to a summer 1991 institute at the Folger Shakespeare Library in which (according to the Library's brochure) participants were to examine 'the complex interaction of texts and ceremonial performances from the perspectives of many disciplines....' Much of the manuscript evidence needed for this important discussion, however, remains unpublished in the archives of the Percies and in, no doubt, other English repositories. To facilitate a complete, thorough study
of connections among ceremony, text, and the larger issues of Renaissance culture, the remaining ms descriptions of Elizabethan ceremonies should be edited and published.

Transcription

(ff 19v–22)

(... came to the Courte an Embassador from the great (...) Muscovy the Courte lyinge then at Richmond, The house wa(...) Richly hanged; which Cloth of Goulde from the [g]reat Hall (which for that ty(...) was the greate Chamber) all alonge the gallery into the greate (...) [which] beinge then the Presence, wher her Maierie did entertaine (...) sittinge vnder a rich Cloth of Estate. hir Chaire of Estate standinge (...) degrees, three risinges from the grouwnde.

He was brought from London by the Aldermen and Marchauntes in Co(...) when he came to the Coute gate wher he alighted forth of his Coach(...) company being some xvj went before him two and two togetheer. (...) x greate fatt men, especially he himselfe a man of tall Stature(...) fatte with a great face and a blacke beard cutt rownde; of a swarsy (...). Colour his face; and his gate very Maestical.

His Attyre was nothinge differinge from the rest of his Company in (...) fashion, but in richnes and garnishing therof. He had one a gowne of (...) of gowlde downe to the small of his legge, made close before with lac(...) of pearle a great furre Capp vpon his head, and vnder neath that (...) a capp (like in fashion to those cappes we have which do onely cov(...) the Topp of the head) imbrodered very richly with great pearles, a(...) his buskins were of Rede leather with highe heeles.

He was first brought vp into the great Chamber which was richly hanged the gaurd standinge one j each side of him in ther rich Coates and at the vpper end of the Hall stood all the Ladies waiting gentlewomen

When he came before the Queene at the first entraunce he in

The Earle of W(...) The Earle of Rutland
The Earle of Cumberland: to give (...) To come before the meat

Admirall
The Lord Steward
(...) Tresorer
The Comptrouler

To followe the meat

All the officers of the howsholde

To say grace

The Lord Archbisshep of Canturbury
The Lord Bisshep of London
The Lord Bisshep of Eely
The Lord Bisshep Almoner
The Deane of York and all her Maistre chaplains

The Ambassador resteth first in the Chamber of presence to go with the Queene to heare service And after dinner to rest in the Closet one the Queenes side. And the Company apointed to wayte one him untell his departure.

The Duke of Brachiana to be brought first to my Lord of Worcesters Chamber, the Master of the Horse, when the Queene goeth to the Closet if he shall desire to be sent for, from thence to accompany the Queene to his sitting downe, and then to retyr to the Council chamber ther to dyne and after dinner to be brought to the place of dawncinge. And after to be retyr'd to my Lord of Worcesters chamber, whe he is to supp. And afterwardes to be brought to the play in the Hall and conveyed backe by those noblemen and Coaches That brought him thereth.

To give order for the furnishing of 4 chambers very well & richly and making cleane the glas windowes to give good light.

To give order that the Council chamber boord be furnished with playted napkins, after the french fashion with a good S(...) faire chaires and a Carpett to couer the Table that the oldnes of the boord be not seene.

To proportion the length of the Chaire of Estate to be (...) heigth fitt for her Maistrie to sitt at dinner, and to (...) appoint fowre knightes to remove the Table.

... Maistrie [d] lying at Whitehall (...) (...) in State; the Muskovy Embassador ly(inge) (...) London, was appointed to be ther: and an Italia(...) (...)e being the duke of Brachiana, who landed some fowr dayes before, as a Traveyller with a small Traine, having Companyed the Queene of France into her Realm; and from thence came ouer to see her Maistrie These States being here present accor(...) to order taken, her Maistrie dined in the great chamber, which (...) very richly hanged and (...) a marvellous rich cloth of estate ther pl(...) the boord her maistrie dyne(...) being of that length that the place required. Ther was also one of the right side of the (...) Chamber under the windowes a boord placed, wher was appointe(...) to dine the Muskovy Embassador sitting 'with two others with him' at the boordes end [by himselfe]. The Duke of Brachiana dined in the Council chamber (...) [wher] 'in the chamber by the preaching place' dined all the Muskovites retinue: The chambers were (...) richly hanged and very well, and richly appointed in all degre(...) Also one the other side of the Chamber wher the Queene dined was placed a Cubbard with degrees vpon it which were sett full of [gold(1)] [rich(1)] plate: 'one the lower end the whole length a Cubbord full of siluer' (...) To this feast ther came from the Tow(...) of London in seven Carres, seven great standarde full of plate: Ther were to all services noblemen appointed to wayte. whose names, according to ther places are here following with the orders sett downe for that service.

Noblemen to attend her Maistrie att her dyninge abroade vpon Twelfe day the 6 of January 160(0)9
The Karver
The Earle of Sussex
The Earle of Darbye
To cast the Surnap and take thassay
The Lord Thomas Howard
The Lord of Effingham
The Sewer
The Lord Windsor
To cary the Traine
The Lord Chamberlaine
The Lord Cobham. [......]

Cupbearer
Carver
To give the Towell
To give the Water
To Vncover the bason
To give the Assaye
To cast the Towell
To cary the Lavor

Earle of Shrewsbury
Earle of Sussex
Lord Henry Seymor or Lord of Effingham
Earle of Notingham
Earl of Shrewsbury
Earle of Darbye
Lord Thomas Howard
Lord (blank)

With two gentlemen Vshers to attend
Knightes to remove the boarde
Sir Henry Gray
Sir Thomas Vavasor
Sir Edward Moore
Sir John Salisbury
Sir John Skidmore

Chaplains for grace
The Lord Almoner to attend

To attend the Imbassador were apointed two
Knightes and twelve gentlemen: 1

(...gentlemen be warned to weare no I(...) (...) apparelled in the best sort they canne
d(...) all the gentlemen ordinary and Ex'traordinary to attend (...) Maiestie in their
best and richest apparell.

To Confer with my Lord Admirall and the Master of the Revells f(...) takeing order
generally with the players to make choyse of (...) play that shalbe best furnished with
rich apparell, have great (...) variety and change of Musicke and daunces I([..])10 and
of a Subi(...) that may be most pleasing to her maiestie
To caye the Wardrop to furnish the lower Chamber by the preach(...) place, for
entertaininge the Muskovitts retinewe, and the (...) of Worcesters uttermost lodging chamber with good hangings fitt for men to eate and not of paper shewes (...) it is wont to be. And that he send for John Mushie Sir Edwa(...) Staffordes Cooke and others to dresse the dinner and suppe(,) that is to be made for the Duke of Brachiana.

To take order that my Lord Sandes and Sir Ierome Bowes fetch the Muskovite Embassador, and that my Lord of Bedford Doctor Parkins and some other gentlemen fetch him from the gate and Conduce him vp to the Chamber of presence and accompany him whilst he is here.

That the Lord darcy be warned to fetch the duke of Brachiana accompanied with Mr William Cicill, Mr Lewkner Mr Edward Gorge and Mr Bucke to bring him to be at the Courte presently after 11 of the Clocke.

That he be mett at the gate by my Lord of Rutland and his two brothers my Lord darcy Mr Cotton and Mr Savadge. And all these required to accompany him during his abode in the Court and those that brought him to cary him backe that night

To appoint Musicke severally for the Queene, and some for the play in the Hall.

And Hales to have one place expresly to shewe his owne voyce

To send for the Musitions of the Citty to be reddy to attend.

The Children of the Chappell to come before the Queene at dinner with a Carol.

In the Hall which was richly hanged and Degrees placed round about it was the play after supper.

Noblemen warned to be by x of a clock with the Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlaine

The Earl of Darby
The Lord Thomas Howard
The Lord of Effingham
The Lord Windsor
The Lord Worcester
The Earl of Rutland
The Earl of Cumberland
The Lord Archbysh(…)
The Lord Keeper
The Lord Tresorer
The Lord Admirall
The Lord of Derby
The Lord of Worcester
The Lord of Cumberland
The Lord Henry Seymor
The Lord Thomas Howard”

Gentlemen to accompany the Embassador with Sir Ierome Bowes.

Mr Hart
Mr Leigh
Mr Saunders
Mr Ioanes I
The (…)
The la(………)
The Lady Hatton
Mris Berckley
Mris Cicill

Mr Thomas Howard’The lord
Vicount Bindon
The lord Cobham
The lord of Effingham
The Lord Harbert
The lord Harbert of Cardiffe
The Lord Graye
The lord Henry Howard
The Lord Windsor
The Lord Morley
The Lord Lumley
The lord of Effingham
The Lord Harbert
The lord Harbert of Cardiffe
The Lord Graye
The lord Henry Howard
The Lord Windsor
The Lord Morley
The Lord Lumley
The Lord Darcy
The Lord Chief Justice
The Bishop of London
Sir John ffortescue
The Countesse of Oxford
The Countesse of Worcester
The Countes of Derby the younger
The Countes of Derby and her daughters
The Lady Katherine Howard
The Lady of Effingham
The Lady Harbert
The Lady Windsor
The Lady Lumley
The Lady Willughby
The Countes of Hertford
The Lady Shrewsburye

NOTES

1 Mss—reproduced here by kind permission of the Duke of Northumberland—were located by Colin Shrimpton, Archivist to the Duke of Northumberland. For helpful suggestions in revising the paper, I am indebted to John Astington, JoAnna Dutka, Ian Lancashire, W.R. Steitberger, and Abigail Ann Young. Point Park College granted funds for travel to Alnwick Castle. My edition of dramatic records in Percy mss is in progress, as are additional articles about these documents.
News from the REED office

We are happy to announce that the latest volume in the REED series has just been delivered to the University of Toronto Press. The 600-page collection of Lancashire records edited by David George of Urbana College, Ohio will have a 1991 publication date and should be available for purchase early in 1992.

Just as the book was leaving our hands, we learned that Professor David Mills of Liverpool University has been awarded a generous two-year grant for a REED Cheshire collection from the Leverhulme Trust. This is a landmark grant: the first major award from an English foundation and, we hope, a good omen for the future of our fund-raising activities in the United Kingdom. With the addition of Cheshire to the series list, we will see the completion of research in the north-west and, in fact, all the western counties from the toe of Cornwall to Hadrian's Wall in Cumberland.

There is more good news from the Canadian wing. In the most recent round of research grants made by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, David Klausner, editor of Herefordshire/Worcestershire, received a three-year award to start up research on the Wales volume(s)—an immediate example of how addictive dramatic records research can be. Alexandra Johnston and I also have cause to be grateful to the SSHRC. We now have a three-year grant to organize data-bases and begin the analytical history of English regional theatre before 1642 (excluding London and the universities), starting with the Thames Valley and moving south-west in the wake of finished editions.

Our latest venture, however, is an attempt to reach out to an audience as yet oblivious to the significance of REED editions. We have been encouraged by the