

THE KING'S PANTLER.

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“He was a fellow of some birth; his father had been king’s pantler.” So writes Robert Louis Stevenson in his *François Villon*.² To the modern reader the phrase could hardly convey a meaning; and yet it is one that is singularly rich, not merely in etymological, but in antiquarian interest. Ducange, indeed, in his learned disquisition, refers to Pharaoh’s chief baker; but, without taking the king’s pantler so far back as this, we may claim him as the holder of a feudal office, the officer of the bread. I would bring before you as parallel two officers and their offices, in order that these may illustrate one another by the changes of name and meaning. The “butler” derived his name from the bottle, the “panneter” from the bread (*pain*). The office of the butler was the “butlery,” now corrupted to “buttery;” the office of the “panneter” was the “pannetry,” now corrupted to “pantry.” Here I use the word “office” in the double sense it still retains, namely, the function discharged by the officer and the place in which he discharged it.

It is possible to trace and account for the corruption and changes of meaning which these words have undergone. In the *Babees Book*, as in feudal records, the “1” of “pantler” is still absent; “if thou be admitted,” we there read, “in any office, as butler or panter.”³ But a false analogy, it is thought, with “butler” produced the corruption “pantler.” The fate of the words has been widely different; for while “butler” survives in our daily life, unchanged and familiar, “pantler” has long been obsolete. With their offices, however, it is just the contrary; for while the “butlery” lingers only in the “buttery hatch” of our college days, the “pantry” is a term of daily use; it denotes, however, to modern ears the one

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute on the 4th June, 1903.

² I am indebted for this quotation to *The Century Dictionary*.

³ See note 2.

place where, certainly, we should not find the bread, but where, most paradoxically, we should probably find the butler.

And now we will return to early days when the Norman dukes possessed their *pannetier* in imitation of their suzerain lords, whose officer of that name was destined to become the "grand *pannetier de France*."¹ The evidence for the existence of the Norman *pannetrie* will be found in my "Calendar of documents preserved in France," where is printed the abstract of a charter of our King Henry II., granted in 1156 or 1157 to Odoïn de Mala Palude. Addressed to the Archbishop of Rouen and granted at Montfort, it confirms to Odoïn

the whole ministry of his *Panetaria*, with living in his court, every day that he is at Rouen, namely four pennyworth of bread from the *despensa*,² and one *sextaria* of knight's wine from the cellar, and four portions from the kitchen, one of them a large one, two of the size for knights, and one *dispensabile*. And Odoïn is to find the king bread in his court, and to reckon by tallies with his stewards (*dispensariis*) and with all his bakers, and he shall receive the money and give quittances to the bakers. And when he sends to Rouen for bread, Odoïn is to bring it at the king's cost, and every pack horse shall have twelve pence, and every pannier-bearing one six pence, and every basket-carrier a pennyworth of bread; if the bread is brought by water, the boatman shall have sixpence a journey; and Odoïn is to have all that is left of the bread of the *panetaria*, when the king makes a journey, and to have the charge of, and jurisdiction over, the king's bakers at Rouen and within the purlieu of Rouen, and all their forfeitures, and the weighing of bread, and all fines and forfeited bread, etc. . . . nor is anyone but Odo and his heirs to execute the jurisdiction of the *panetaria* or over the king's bakers, under penalty of ten pounds (p. 465).

I have quoted at this length from the charter in order to show that the *panetaria* at this early period was concerned, indeed exclusively concerned, with that bread from the name of which the word itself was formed. When we turn to the document known as the *Constitutio domus regis*, or organisation of our royal household, some twenty years earlier, we cannot, I think, identify a *panetarius* therein, but we do find an accountant of the bread, a *computator panis*, who must have reckoned by tallies with the bakers, as Odoïn was appointed to do in the above charter, and as pantlers always did in later days. And his mention is immediately followed by that

¹ This officer is dealt with at the end of my paper.

² This word is still preserved in some French institutions as *depense*.

of the "four bakers," two of whom are allowed forty pence for purchasing a Rouen bushel (*modium Rothomagensem*) from which they have to turn out a certain number of loaves, according to the kind. Apart from the accountant and the bakers, a master spencer of the bread (*dispensator panis*) is mentioned; but I can find no mention of an actual "panneter" or "pantler."

For what may be termed the master pantler we must turn to the coronation rolls of later days; but before we do this, it may be well to mention a fact hitherto, perhaps, unknown. An inquisition after the death of William Mauduit, Earl of Warwick, taken in 1268, shows us Richard de Bosco holding in Chedworth, Gloucestershire, "by serjeanty of being the king's pantler for three feasts yearly." I cannot find this serjeanty mentioned in the *Liber Rubens* or the *Testa de Nevill*, and my reason for attaching importance to it is that the "three feasts" are clearly "the great annual courts," as Dr. Stubbs terms them, "held on the great Church festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; generally at the great cities of Southern England, London, Winchester, and Gloucester. The king appeared wearing his crown; a special peace was maintained, necessarily, no doubt, in consequence of the multitude of armed retainers who attended the barons; and magnificent hospitality was accorded to all comers. 'Thrice a year,' says the chronicle, 'King William wore his crown every year that he was in England; at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times all the men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, earls, thegns, and knights.' A similar usage was observed by his sons . . . The cessation of the solemn courts under Stephen was regarded by Henry of Huntingdon as a fatal mark of national decline."¹ On these solemn feast-days the services of a "panneter" or "pantler" would, we shall find, be required, and I lay stress on this serjeant's association with the "three feasts," because it is thereby taken back to the days of our Norman kings. Henry the Second, it is true, revived in his first three years the

¹ *Constitutional History* (1874), I. 369; so, too, I. 268: "The king sat crowned three times in the year in

the old royal towns of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester."

holding of these solemn feasts; but "after 1158," in Dr. Stubbs' words, "he gave up the custom altogether."¹

The early existence of this serjeanty seems, therefore, clearly proved.

It is, as I have said, to coronation records that we have to turn for the office of the great "panneter" or "pantler," of which the first mention is more than thirty years earlier than that of the above serjeanty. At the coronation of Queen Eleanor, in 1236, the first great precedent for the coronation services, we read that Walter de Beauchamp, of "Haumlega," who holds from of old the office of panetry (*panetaria*), brought on the salt-cellar and knives, and did the pantry service that day, and after dinner received the knives and salt-cellar as his fee.² You will observe that though *panetaria* is the word used for the office here as in the charter of Henry II., there is nothing here about bread, with which that charter was exclusively concerned. Indeed, Mr. Wickham Legg tells us in his valuable book "that the office of the Panneter was to carry the salt-cellar and carving knives to the king's table; these, with the spoons, he receives as his fee."³ Of the bread Mr. Legg says nothing, doubtless because our coronation records make no mention of it in connexion with the panneter's office. But this I shall discuss below.

Meanwhile I may note that Mr. Legg tells us "that the office is filled by the Lord of the Manor of Kibworth-Beauchamp; this manor was held by the Beauchamps of Dumleye, and later by the Earls of Warwick."⁴ The corrupt and unmeaning name of "Dumleye" seems to come from the *Liber Regalis*, where it appears as "Dumelye,"⁵ while in the *Forma et Modus* it degenerates into "Duneleus."⁶ But in the original record, we have seen, it is "Haumlega," which represents Elmley Castle, the hereditary seat of that house of Beauchamp which inherited the Earldom of Warwick in 1268, on the death

¹ *Constitutional History*, I. 562.

² "Salarium (*sic*) et cultellos apposuit Walterus de Bello Campo de Haumlega cujus officium a veteri panetaria. Servivit autem eodem die de panetaria et sui sub se prandioque peracto cultellos et salsarium tanquam de jure suo sibi

competencia recepit." (*Red Book of the Exchequer*.)

³ *English Coronation Records*, lxxvi.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* 108.

⁶ *Ibid.* 181.

of William Mauduit.¹ Elmley, as I have elsewhere shown,² had descended to them, like Kibworth, from the Domesday holder, Robert Despenser. Whether we may see in this a connection between his name and the spensership of the bread I will not attempt to say. But, in any case, it is always well to remember that any assertions of a connection between the right to a given office and the tenure of a certain manor require to be received with great caution.

Full information on the subject is found in Nichols's great work on Leicestershire, under Kibworth-Beauchamp.³

At the coronation of George II. the then holder of the manor, Sir William Halford, petitioned the Court of Claims (1728)⁴ "to be admitted to perform the office of great panneter on the day of the coronation of the king and queen, as being seised in fee of the manor of Kibworth-Beauchamp, in the county of Leicester; and to have allowance of the salt-cellars, knives, spoons, clothes and coverpane, together with the other fees and accustomed perquisites of that office." Nichols prints his counsel's arguments, and tells us that the Commissioners "disallowed the claim upon a presumption that if it had been just it would not have been so long continued," which last word is clearly an error for "discontinued." But he points out that the claimant suppressed, as being fatal to his claim, the grant of the manor by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, to Ambrose Dudley, to be held by the service of being pantler (*panetarius*) after the coronations of kings and queens.⁵ For the manor, which had previously lapsed to the Crown by the attainder of John Duke of Northumberland, was now granted with a special limitation in tail male, and on the extinction of male issue "it reverted to the Crown . . . and consequently the service of pannetry was thereby extinct."

The claimant's main object was to prove that the ownership of the manor carried the service; but his

¹ See p. 270, above. In another part of the *Red Book* (p. 567) "Aumlega," Worcestershire, is named; this was Elmley Lovett. The official editor, Mr. Hubert Hall, identifies it as Ombersley.

² *Feudal England*, 176.

³ II. part 2 (Gartree Hundred), 635, 636, 645-647.

⁴ A previous unsuccessful claim seems to have been made at the coronation of William and Mary (1689) by the then holder of the manor.

⁵ This grant is printed in full by Nichols.

evidence for this was weak. It appears to me to have consisted, virtually, of findings in inquests after death, which, as I had occasion to note in the Lord Great Chamberlain case, were not unfrequently erroneous. Thus in 1341 Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, is recorded as holding the manor "by the service of being the King's *panetarius* on his coronation day."¹ In 1304 Philippa, wife of Guy de Beauchamp, is returned to have died seised of the manor held of the king *in capite*, by the service of laying the king's cloth (*ponendi unam mappam super mensam*) on Christmas Day.² This is a notable variant of the service, and the mention of laying the cloth is, we shall find, important. In 1400 Thomas de Beauchamp dies seised of the manor by grand serjeanty, namely, by the service of being the chief panteler on the day of his coronation,"³ and in 1406 his widow, Margaret, is returned at her death as holding the manor by the same service.⁴ There is not in this, I think, any absolute proof that the pantlership was held in the right of the manor till Queen Elizabeth joined the two, artificially, by her grant to Ambrose Dudley.

We may now return to the records of the Coronation service. The two great mediaeval precedents were the coronations of Queen Eleanor in 1236, and of Richard II. in 1377, and the records of both, which are well known, will be found in Mr. Wickham Legg's *English Coronation Records*. From it (p. 135) I take the actual petition of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1377. After claiming the privilege of carrying the third sword, the earl continues :

Et ensement ses ditz Auncestres ont ewes l'office de Panetrie et mesmes l'office serviz par eux et lour deputes et Ministres enlours propres personnes des salers coteaux et coillers et mesmes les salers coteaux et coillers ont ewes et reicus pour leur feodz ensi come ses ditz Auncestres on faitz et auant ces heures.

On this claim the Court gravely decided that the earl had made out his right to the office, and to the salt-cellar

¹ Nichols cites "Fines in Scaccario, Mich., 17 Edw. III."

² Nichols cites "Esch. 43 Edw. III. pars. 1, No. 20.

³ Nichols cites "Esch. 2 Hen. IV. No. 58, Leic."

⁴ Nichols cites "Esch. 8 Hen. IV. No. 68, Leic."

and knives as his fee,¹ but that as there was no evidence of his right to make off with the spoons (*cochiararia*), that point must be referred to the king. And the king, we read, subsequently decided, on the ground of certain evidence (*pretextu quarundam evidenciarum*), that the earl should have the spoons. But, for us, this is the earliest evidence of a claim to the spoons being recognised.

At the coronation of Henry IV. (1399), according to Sir William Halford's counsel, the same Earl Thomas petitioned to serve the office with "saliers, cotels, et coters," and had his claim allowed. Here one may add the interesting fact that the earl, by his will in the following year, 1st April, 1400, bequeathed as heirlooms his cup of the swan, and the knives and salt-cellar for the coronation of a king.² Accordingly we read, in an MS. account of the coronation of Henry V., that the then Earl of Warwick had "les drapes, les selers, les coclers, que furent mult riche, et tout les autres fees de l'office." Here, you will observe, the cloths (*drapes*) appear among the fees for the first time. According to another Cottonian MS., at the coronation of Henry VII.'s queen, in the third year of his reign, "the office of the pannetry," with its fees, viz. "coteux tranchanz et la sala et le coverpayne," were petitioned for by three persons in right of the earldom of Warwick, as guardians, Nichols suggests, of the infant earl. It is doubtful, however, who was then the actual holder of the earldom. Lastly, at Edward VI.'s coronation, John Viscount Lisle claimed "to be panterer the day of the king's coronation and the queen's; and to bear the salt and the carving-knives from the pantry to the king's table; and to serve by himself, his ministers

¹ Baker renders this decision as "to bear the third sword before the king and also to exercise the office of Pantler." (*Chronicles*.)

² Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*. The great prize, probably, was the "salte," such, for instance, as that which Henry the Seventh acknowledges receiving, 1 Nov. 1485, from Richard Gardiner, merchant of London: "a salte of golde with a cover stondyng upon a moren' garnyshed with perles and precious stones, the which salte was sumtyme belonging to Richard late in dede and not in right Kyng of

England, and delyvered to the said Richard Gardynner by one William Dabenev, late Clerke of the Jewells of the said late pretended kyng." (*Report on Historical Manuscripts in various collections*, II. 296.)

At the actual date referred to in the text (1400) we read of six white silver salt-celiars, gilt on the "swages," without covers, weighing 8 pound 15s., four others, and a cover of a silver-gilt and polished salt-cellar, all late the property of Richard II., and then in the custody of Richard de la Panetrie (*sic*).—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

and deputies, to the office of pantry during dinner-time, and he claimeth to have thereby the same salt and knives, and also the spoons, served to the king's table that day." He claimed that his stepfather, Viscount Lisle, had executed the office at Queen Anne Boleyn's coronation in right of his wife, through whom he himself was "right heir from Richard, Earl of Warwick"; and his claim was allowed.¹ No evidence was produced as to Anne Boleyn's coronation beyond the allegation in Lord Lisle's claim; but in an account of that coronation I find the entry, which refers to his father, "Lord Lisle, panter."² An interesting description of Anne's coronation tells us that "around her was an enclosure into which none but those appointed to serve, who were the greatest personages of the realm, and chiefly those who served 'de sommeliers d'eschançonnerie et de panetrie,'"³ were admitted.

It was confessed by Sir William Halford's counsel that after, at any rate, Elizabeth's reign, there was no trace of the office being exercised or even claimed at coronations; although, as we have just seen, "it was classed with no less a dignity than the butlership (*eschçonnerie*). And, as I observed above, this was the actual ground on which the claim was rejected. But he also failed to adduce proof that the office had ever been claimed in right of the tenure of Kibworth-Beauchamp. Indeed, his own evidence showed that at Edward VI.'s coronation John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, had claimed the office as "right heir from Richard, Earl of Warwick." And here it is not irrelevant to observe that he was heir only of the eldest of the earl's three daughters, and that if the nature and admission of his claim had been known last year to Lord Ancaster's counsel, in the great Chamberlain case, they would possibly have made a strong point of it, as the claim of Lord Ancaster rested mainly on the ground that such offices as these should descend entire to the heir of the eldest daughter; but the instances adduced in proof were all of remote date.

¹ See, for all this, Nichols, *ut supra*, p. 646; and compare for Lord Lisle's heirship of the eldest daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, my article on "The Great Chamberlain Case" in *The Ancestor*, IV. 11.

² *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* 1533, p. 278. A contemporary account published in *Tudor Tracts* (Archibald Constable & Co.) names him as "panterer."

³ *Ibid.* 265.

You will doubtless have observed that we have found nothing in the coronation records to connect the office of the pantler (or the "panmeter") with bread. Sir William Halford's counsel, it is true, stated that "his chief business, if one may guess from the name of his office, was to provide bread; and upon that account, I presume, the coverpane has been always allowed at former coronations to those who have executed this office."¹ But this is a false etymology, though a not unnatural guess, if we may trust the *New English Dictionary*, which states that, as with the "counterpane," the "pane" represents not bread, but cloth. There seems, however, to be reason for doubting this derivation.

The absence of any mention of the bread itself is obviously due to the fact that it was not among the fees claimed for discharge of the office. But there is evidence from other sources which directly connects the bread with the knives and the great salt as belonging to the pantler's office. If we go back, so far as France is concerned, to the close of the thirteenth century, we find a bishop of Angers writing as follows:—"When we were seated there came a noble, Sir Guy de Camilliac, in a tunic, bearing a cloth (*mappam*) upon his shoulder, which he set on the table before us, his officers assisting him; and when this was done, he set two rolls (*panes*) before us with his own hands, and other rolls on the said table at which we were sitting, which office was incumbent on him by reason of the fief of Camilliacum which he holds of us. Wherefore he was bound to undertake the office of *Panistarius* that day After dinner he had all the cloths (*mappas*) of the said places, because it was his right."² Here we see the *panistarius* placing the lord's bread on the table, and also laying the cloth (*mappa*). This laying of the *mappa* we have already heard of as the tenure by which a Countess of Warwick held Kibworth, and we also found an Earl of Warwick alleged to have received, as *panetarius*, the *drapes* at Henry V.'s coronation. But so far as actual claims are concerned "le coverpayne" alone appears. Moreover, there was, from the earliest times, another and recognised claimant to the

¹ Nichols, *ut supra*.

² See, for the Latin text, Ducange (1886), VI. 128.

table-cloths, the *mappas*: this was the napier, the officer of the naperie. At the coronation of Queen Eleanor this officer, after dinner, received the table-cloths as his fees.¹ At the coronation of Richard II. he similarly claimed "les napes quant ils soient suistretz," and again received them after dinner, when they were removed, as his fee.² It is clear then that, in this country, the pantler had no claim to the table-cloth, and this is further confirmed by the fact, to which we shall come, that the table-cloths, in household economy, were not in the pantler's department.

From this it follows that the "coverpane," which was what the pantler claimed, was, as I have already said, something distinct from the table-cloth (*mappa*).

For the details of the pantler's function at the coronation feast we must turn to the instructive directions for another, but a strictly parallel solemnity, *viz.* the inthronization dinner of the Archbishop of York in 1465. At this great feudal ceremony, when George Nevill sat in state, Sir John, "Malyvery" (Mauleverer) officiated as "Panter," a fact sufficient to demonstrate that the post was, as at coronations, honorary. I only regret that the narrative, which I found with some difficulty,³ is too lengthy for quotation at such length as it deserves.

Hereafter followeth the service to the Baron-bishop within the close of Yorke:—

Item, the Yeoman of the Ewrie must cover the hygh Table, with all other Boordes and Cubbordres.

Then the Panter must bring foorth Salt, Bread and Trenchers, with one brode and one narrow knyfe, and one spoone, and set the salt right under the middest of the cloth of estate, the Trenchers before the Salt, and the bread before the Trenchers towards the Reward, properly wrapped in a Napkyn, the brode knyfe poynt under the Bread, and the backe towards the Salt, and the lesse knyfe beneath it towards the rewarde, and the Spooone beneath that towards the rewarde, and all to be covered with a Coverpane of Diaper of fyne Sylke. The surnappe must be properly layde towards the salt endlong the brode edge, by the handes of the forenamed Yeoman of the Ewrie; and all other Boordes and Cubberdes must be made redy by the Yeoman of the Pantry with Salt, Trenchers, and Bread.

Also at the Cubberde in lyke manner must the Panter make redy with Salt, Bread, Trenchers, Napkyns, and Spooones, with one brode

¹ "extractas vero post prandium mappas tanquam suas et ad officium suum spectantes recepit."

² "peracto prandio mappas de mensis subtractas pro feodo suo recepit."

³ In Leland's *Collectanea*, VII. 7, *et seq.*

knyfe for the rewarde . . . and the Carver must go to the table, and there kneele on his knee, and then aryse with a good countenance, and properly take off the coverpane of the Salt, and geve it to the Panter, which must stand still.

[Dinner being over] Then the Panter must make his obeysaunce before the Table, kneeling upon his knee with a Towell about his neck, the one ende in his ryght hande, the other in his left hande, and with his left hande to take up the spoones and knyves properlye, and with his ryght hande to take up the Salt bowyng his knockels neare together, with his obeysaunce, and so return to the Pantry.

The order that the Panter must "make his obeysaunce before the Table kneeling upon his knee" should be compared with Lord Montagu's order, in Elizabeth's days, that his pantler should make "two curteseyes" even to his empty dining table and "a small obeysance" when placing the bread, etc. thereon:¹ for it illustrates the Laudian canon of 1640, advocating "reverence and obeysance" on entering church and chapel, "not with any intention to exhibit religious worship to the Communion Table, the east, or church," etc. It also helps to illustrate "the Black Rubric."

I now pass to a document of the period, the *Liber Niger* of the King's House *temp.* Edward IV. Here we read that

the office of Panetry hath a serjeant, which is called chief Pantrer of the Kinge's mouth and mastyr of this office . . . he receivythe the brede of the serjeant of the bake-house by entayle² . . . other 3 yoman in this office panteres . . . these yomen by assent . . . sette the saltes in the halle and take them up last.

We also read of the "clippinges of bread" which are afterwards found as the recognised fees of pantry servants, and that the countrollers "ofytymes see that they be not pared too nigh the crumbe."³ Among the multitude of other departments we may note "the office of Ewary and Napery."⁴

In the ordinances of King Henry VII. we read that "the karver must see the paintre (*sic*) take assay of the bread, salt, and trenchers."⁵

Those of King Henry VIII., in his seventeenth year, speak of such servants as "buttler, pantler and ewer"

¹ See p. 281, below.

² *i.e.* by tally.

³ *Household Ordinances* (Society of Antiquaries [1790]), 70 and 71.

⁴ *Ibid.* 83.

⁵ *Ibid.* 118.

being present at the king's dinner ;¹ and in later ordinances of the same king we read of "the Serjeant of the pantry . . . dayly tallying with the serjeant of the bakehouse the number of bread that he doth receive of him."² Under Queen Elizabeth, in 1602, we find "the Pantrey" entered as usual immediately after "the bakehouse," while "the Seller," "the Buttery," and "the Ewery" appear as other departments.³ And we read of its fees : "The serjeant hath for his fee all the coverpannes, drinking towells, and other linen clothe of the king's side that are darned"; while "the gentlemen have the like fee of the queene's side," and the yeomen "all the chippings of breade spent within the said office, for the which they find chipping knives."⁴ Here we are at once reminded of Shakespeare's contemporary phrase :—"A good shallow young fellow ; a' would have made a good pantler, a' would ha' chipped bread well."⁵ As we might expect from the conservatism that distinguished the royal household, the connexion of the pantry with the bakehouse and the bread continued close throughout ; when the Gentleman Usher under Charles II. went, as the phrase ran, "for to fetch All-Night for the king," he made his way first "to the pantry, there to receive the king's bread, and well and truly to give the officer of the mouth the saie thereof"; next to the buttery and the pitcherhouse, and then to the ewry, "there to receive the king's towell, bason, and water."⁶ And even under William and Mary, when the Court was on its "removes," the bakehouse and pantry occupied jointly one of the train of vehicles in the lumbering caravan.⁷ Moreover, the "gentleman and yeoman" who was at the head of the pantry was still receiving wages, I have reckoned, at the rate of 7½*d.* a day, the same rate, apparently, as under our Norman kings.⁸

¹ *Household Ordinances*, 153.

² *Ibid.* 232.

³ *Ibid.* 283.

⁴ *Ibid.* 294. For the Ewry (*Aquar'*) the fees consisted of the "diaper" and "plaine clothes" that were "dampned" (p. 296), and this last word is used in other departments, which throws grave doubt on the "darned" of the Pantry.

⁵ 2 Henry IV. II, 4, 258. (See note 2, p. 268 above.)

⁶ *Household Ordinances*, 374.

⁷ *Ibid.* 414.

⁸ *Ibid.* 395. The heads of the Buttery, Chaundry, Accatry, Queen's Privy Kitchen, etc., the Gentlemen Harbingers and the two heads of the cellar, were all similarly receiving, in 1689, £11 8s. 1½*d.* as yearly wages, which odd sum works out at 7½*d.* a day. Payment of wages at the rate of so many pence (or halfpence) a day was

We must turn, however, from the royal household to those of the great nobles if we would obtain full details of the pantler's office and functions. The closing years of the sixteenth and the early ones of the seventeenth century are rich in rules and ordinances for the great households of the time. We will take first the pattern orders suggested for the household of an earl, with its "seller, buttry, pantry, and ewry," the four departments which are regularly found in these elaborate households.¹

Herein we read of the "yeoman and groome of the pantry":

The Yeoman should be a man of seemely stature, wearing his apparell clenly and handsome, in regard he commeth dayly to the Earles table. He is to receive the manchet, cheate, and sippet breade, from the bakers by tale; He and the groome are to keepe the saltes, spoones and knives very faire and cleane. . . . He is every night to accompt to the clarke of the kitchin what breade of all sortes is received, how much spent, and what remaineth. . . . He and the groome are to chipp the breade, but they are not to chopp of(f) great peeces of the bottomes of the loaves to make the chippings the better, which are their fees; but to this the cheefe officers and clarke of the kitchin are often to look (p. 29).²

Of the Yeoman of the Ewry, who here again receives the clothes and napkins from the keeper of the Napery, we read that "albeit he be not so personable a man as the Pantler, yet should goe neate and handsome in his apparell" (p. 30).

Our next authority is "A breviat touching the Order and Government of a Nobleman's house," in which we read (1605) of "The yeoman of the Pantrie" that

Hee is to receave all breade from the baker, and to tallie with him for the same, and to enter the dailie chardge what is spennte and to carrie the salte with the carvinge knife, clensing knife, and forke, and them to place upon the table in dewe order, with the breade at the salte, and then to cover the breade, with a fynne square clouth of cambrick called a coverpaine (which is to bee taken of, the meate being placede on the table and the lorde sett) by the carver and delivered to the pantler.³

the rule in Norman times. In the *Constitutio Domus Regis* the Harbingers and the chamberlain of the chaundry are found receiving 8*d.* a day under Henry I. The sum of 7½*d.* is a quarter of the Spencer's pay under Henry I., and an eighth of that of the Chancellor and *Dapiferi*, which seems to have been the unit.

¹ In the *Northumberland Household*

Book, for instance, we have the "yoman of the Sellar," "yoman o' th' Pantry," "yoman of the Buttry" "yoman o' th' Ewry" (p. 41), the second being also styled the "pantler" (p. 88) or "pauntler" (p. 305).

² R. Brathwait's *Some Rules and Orders for the Government of the House of an Earl* (1821).

³ *Archaeologia*, XIII. 333-4.

This is the passage on which I rely for the meaning of the word "coverpaine." The removal, we see, here takes place precisely as at George Nevill's enthronization feast.

The last of my three selected documents is the most important of all, the finest thing I know on the English ritual of the table. It is buried away in the seventh volume of *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (pp. 174-212), and is styled the "Booke of orders and rules of Anthony Viscount Montague in 1595." In it the noble author writes as follows on the pantler :

THE YEOMAN OF MY PANTRYE AND HIS OFFICE.

I will that the Yeoman of my Pantrye doe receive of the Yeoman of my Seller by Inventorye or billes indented interchangeably betweene them all such plate as shall apperteyne to his office, viz., saltes, plate, trenchers, spoones, and knives hefted with silver, and be answerable to him for the same. I will that he receive the breade of the Baker, by tale, and keepe a true reckonninge of the receipts of the same and doe weekly make accompte thereof to the Clarke of my Kitchen ; I will that being warned by the Yeoman Usher to prepare for my dyett, he doe arme himselfe, and have all thinges in a redynes for my service, and beinge come for by him shall followe him through the Hall to my dnyng chamber dore, and from thence go even with him on his right hande unto my table makeinge eche of them two curtseyses thereto, the one about the middest of the chamber, the other at the boorde ; which done, he shall place the salte, and laye downe the knyves, and then lay myne own trencher with a manchet thereon, and a knife and spoone on either side ; and my wife's in like manner ; at every which service ended, he shall make a small obeysance : and having fully done, and together with the Yeoman Usher made a solempne courtesye, he shall departe so conducted oute, as he came in.

I will that every meale, after the first course, he followe my service uppe havinge a purpyn¹ with breade on his arme and a case of knyves in his hande, to supplye their wantes that shall neede : and after that I am sett that he come upp some tymes to see that there be noe wante of breade or any other thinge that belongeth to his office ; and after every meale ended and the voyder taken awaye, that he come and orderly take off the salte and knyves, and with due reverence return, soe bearinge them downe as he brought them uppe (p. 204).

In this invaluable description we see the "salte" and knives ceremoniously brought to the table and removed therefrom by the pantler precisely as they had been by the great pantler at the coronation feast, and as they

¹ A bread basket (*pour pain*).

had been at the York feast a hundred and thirty years before. The spoons are added, as they had been since Richard II.'s coronation, while the placing of the manchet and service with the "purpyn" directly connect the pantler with the bread from which his name was derived.

Moreover, in another part of this document we read of the "Baker and his office":

I will that my Baker receive all his wheate of my Granator by talle, and deliver his breade by the like talle to my officer of my pantrye, and that att everye monethes ende he doe make accompte to the Clarke of my Kitchin of all the wheate that moneth by him received, and howe many cake of breade he hath delivered the same moneth to my Pantler (p. 209).

It will be remembered that the pantler's duty of accounting by tally with the baker, which occurs in all these documents, was expressly named in Henry II.'s grant of his *panetaria*, in which Odoin is charged to keep account by tally with the king's bakers; also that the *computator panis* is named in the *Constitutio domus regis*.¹

It is clear, however, that the laying of the cloth, as apart from the placing of the "salt," etc. was in England the function of the yeoman of the Ewry,² and that the great pantler, therefore, at the coronation feast cannot have been entitled to the cloth (*mappa*) as his fee. But of far greater importance, as distinguishing the English

¹ It may be interesting to note that in that early document he is immediately followed by the bakers, who had, like Lord Montague's baker, to produce so many loaves from each bushel of wheat.

"modium Rothomagensem, de quo debent reddere xl siminellos dominicos, et cl sal, et cclx panes de pistino." *Liber Niger*.

"the rate that is appoynted him to make of every bushell (viz.) of full and plumme wheat, every loafe to weighe sixteene ounces from the oven, and of barren and hungrye wheate fifteen ounces and an halfe or thereabouts, and that there be made of that size, thirtye caste of bread of everye bushell." (p. 209).

² Even in the Royal Household the Ewry included the Napery, but in the coronation services the two were differentiated and the offices of Napier and of Ewer were vested in different persons. But at the enthronization

feast of the archbishop of York, the cloth ("surnappe"), we have seen, was laid by the serjeant of the Ewry, and this was also the procedure in Lord Montague's household. His Lordship's directions were that the yeoman of his Ewry should "laye the table cloth fayre uppon both his armes, and goe together with the Yeoman Usher with due reverence to the table of my dyett, makinge two curtesys thereto, the one about the middest of the chamber, the other when he cometh to ytt, and there, kissinge ytt, shall laye ytt on the same place where the sayd Yeoman Usher with his hande appoynteth casteinge the one ende the one waye, the other ende the other waye; the sayd Usher helpeinge him to spreade ytt, which beinge spredde and reverence done," the yeoman of the Pantry is to place the "salte," etc. The whole ceremonial deserves to be compared with that of the York feast in 1465.

panetaria, is the fact that, in England, the king's pantler never enjoyed, so far as we can find, that jurisdiction over all bakers which was vested in the *grand panetier de France*, and which, as we have seen, was expressly conferred in the grant by Henry II. of the Norman *panetaria*.

Of the *grand panetier* we read :

On désignait autrefois en France sous le nom de grand panetier un grand officier de la couronne, chargé de servir le roi à table, concurrement avec le grand échanton dans les jours de cérémonie, et sous l'autorité duquel se trouvaient tous les boulangers demeurant à Paris et hors des portes. . . .

L'office de grand panetier était toujours possédé par un homme de la plus haute noblesse. En 1332 Bouchard de Montmorency était *Panetarius Franciæ*, et en cette qualité il eut un procès avec le prévôt des marchands et des échevins de la ville qui, soutenant les intérêts des boulangers, l'entravaient dans l'exercice de sa juridiction . . . Louis XIV., par un édit du mois d'août 1711, supprima la juridiction de ce grand officier, qui plaçait au bas de l'écu de ses armes la nef d'or et le cadenas qu'on paraît autrefois à côté du couvert du roi.¹

In the eighth volume of his *Histoire généalogique de la maison de France*, 1733, Père Anselme devotes eighty pages to his history of the "Grands panetiers de France" (pp. 603-682), at the head of which the *cadenas* and the *nef* are rudely shown in woodcuts. But a better description shows us the richly wrought *nef*, which was replaced in the sixteenth century by the *cadenas*, a square plate two inches high, with a cover, which held the knife, fork, and spoon, salt, pepper and sugar. A still more close connection with the mediæval custom is seen in Montaigne's account of the *cadenas* used by the Cardinal de Sens even in Italy :

"devant ceux à qui on veut faire un honneur particulier . . . on sert de grands quarres d'argent qui portent leur *salière*, de même façon que ceus qu'on sert en France aux grans. Aux dessus de cela, il y a une serviette pliée en quatre ; sur cette serviette le *pain*, le *couteau*, la fourchette, et le *culier*."²

Here we have the salt, the bread, the knife and the spoon, which formed, as we have seen, the pantler's province, with the addition of the fork that marked an advance in civilisation.

¹ *Grand Dictionnaire Universel*, XII. 113.

² *Grand Dictionnaire*, III. 43.