

TUDOR NOBLE COMMEMORATION AND IDENTITY:
THE HOWARD FAMILY IN CONTEXT, 1485-1572

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Thesis submitted for the degree of DPhil in History, Trinity Term 2014

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SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the relationship between the commemorative strategies of English noblemen in the period 1485-1572 and their identity both as individuals and as a social group. In particular, it will look at the Howard dukes of Norfolk in the context of their peers. The five chapters each address a different aspect of noble identity. The first two chapters deal with the importance of kinship and of status. The importance of kinship is evident across commemorative strategies from burial locations to the heraldry displayed at funerals to the references to ancestry in elegies. Having achieved a particular status, noblemen were defensive of their rank and the dues accorded to it. Funerals were designed to reflect social status and the choice of burial location could also indicate a concern with status. However, there was not always a correlation between the scale of commemoration and status. The third chapter examines the role that service to the Crown played in noble identity. Late medieval ideals of military service and a chivalric culture survived well in to the sixteenth century and traditional commemorative forms remained popular, even amongst noblemen newly ennobled from the ranks of the Tudor administration. Chapter four addresses the importance of local power to the nobility of the period. Burial and commemoration acted as a visible reminder of the social order and were of

benefit in maintaining local stability. Noblemen could also use their death as a means of demonstrating good lordship through charity and hospitality. The final chapter examines the importance of religion to a nobleman's identity during a century of turbulent religious change. Studying commemorative strategies allows us to trace noble responses to religious change, the constraints on their public show of belief, and the ways in which they could express individuality.

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LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the relationship between the commemorative strategies of English noblemen in the period 1485-1572 and their identity both as individuals and as a social group. In particular, it will look at the Howard family in the context of their peers. Holders of the title of duke of Norfolk for the majority of this period, they were one of England's premier noble families. Tombs for Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, his son-in-law Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, and one intended for Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk prior to his execution survive in Framlingham parish church, Suffolk. In addition, illustrations survive of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk's pre-1536 tomb at Thetford Priory and post-1536 tomb at Lambeth parish church. There are also detailed accounts of the funerals of the 2nd and 3rd dukes of Norfolk and a selection of epitaphs, poems and portraits relating to the family. By comparing these with similar evidence for their peers, it is possible to explore the ways in which commemoration can shed light on the identity that the nobility sought to present to the world during this period.

The thesis is divided into five chapters each addressing a different aspect of noble identity. The first two chapters deal with the importance of kinship and of status in the creation of a noble identity. Kinship whether by blood or marriage

often formed the basis of an individual's nobility, especially in the case of families that had been noble or gentle for several generations. The conspicuous display of kinship, particularly through the use of heraldry, reflected noble pride in lineage and also its importance in legitimising status. Heraldry was prominent in domestic and religious architecture and furnishings of the period. The first chapter will examine its presence in commemoration throughout the period and show that its use did not necessarily correlate to status or changes in the social make-up of the nobility. Heraldic standards, banners and escutcheons were an important part of funerary furnishings and were prominent in chapels and on tombs. The importance of kinship was also reflected in the choice of burial location, the official mourners at the funeral and, on occasion, the references to illustrious ancestry in epitaphs and elegies.

Having achieved a particular status, noblemen were defensive of their rank within society and the dues accorded to it. There were cases of noblemen taking legal action over the precedence of their title, especially after disputed successions. Aspects of cultural behaviour such as the wearing of cloth of gold were regulated according to rank. The concern with status also manifested itself in an expectation that noblemen display levels of consumption and hospitality commensurate with their position in the social order. The second chapter will explore the means by which burial and commemoration could be used to emphasise social status. Some noblemen made special reference in their wills to their desire to be buried in a fashion appropriate to their degree. In the case of the

funeral, this would be hard to avoid as there was a standard structure to funerals, controlled by the officers of the College of Arms, which distinguished between members of the higher nobility and those of lesser ranks. The choice of burial location could also indicate a concern with status, as in the case of the Howard family who consistently chose to be buried in locations associated with previous dukes of Norfolk rather than with their own gentry ancestors. Tombs would normally also give some indication of status with the use of the appropriate coronets on effigies and over coats of arms. However, there is not always a correlation between the scale of commemoration and status. Some of the wealthiest and most powerful noblemen did not have a tomb erected whilst, at the opposite end of the scale, elaborate tombs survive that were built to commemorate members of the lesser nobility, indicating that they were happy to exercise personal choice.

The third chapter examines the role that service to the Crown played in noble identity and the changes that occurred with the emergence of new noble families from the ranks of the royal administrators. Late medieval ideals of military service and a chivalric culture survived well into the sixteenth century. Many young men from older noble families found rewards serving the Crown as military leaders on campaigns and in the navy. At home they jousted and hunted alongside the young Henry VIII. For the Howards, restoration to their lands and titles in the aftermath of the Battle of Bosworth was largely achieved through loyal military service, and a number of the 2nd duke of Norfolk's younger sons were part of the

close circle of Henry VIII's companions. The epitaph to the 2nd Duke of Norfolk celebrated his successes on the battlefield and the Howard coat of arms was altered to recognise the family's responsibility for the death of King James IV at the Battle of Flodden Field in 1513. Five members of the Howard family were appointed – or restored – to the Order of the Garter during the sixteenth century along with many of their relatives by marriage. When tombs were erected for Knights of the Garter it was normal for their coat of arms to be depicted encircled with the garter and for their effigy to be shown wearing the collar of the order and there is a strong correlation between surviving tombs and membership of the order. Over the course of the century, we begin to see the emergence of men such as John Williams, Edward North and Thomas Audley who achieved ennoblement as a result of their administrative service rather than military prowess. However this chapter will show that, presumably out of a desire to emphasise their new status, their tombs share stylistic similarities with those of the more traditional nobility: John Williams was depicted in armour despite his lack of military service. Whilst different types of service might be mentioned in epitaphs, visually there appears to have been a loyalty to a traditional, military and heraldic image perhaps enhanced by Renaissance designs.

Overlapping to a certain extent with the examination of noble service to the crown, chapter four addresses the importance of local power to the nobility of the period. The nature of local power was multi-faceted, incorporating both official office holding and personal connections. Influence was best exercised when it was

based on personal networks of neighbours and kin. Despite changes in central administration and local government that some historians have seen as part of a deliberate initiative to reduce noble power, the crown continued to rely on the authority and influence exercised by noblemen in the localities. These same networks no doubt resulted in noblemen having a degree of loyalty to particular areas, even amongst those with extensive landholdings, that was reflected during life in the building and acquisition of country houses. This chapter will show that for some this loyalty was further demonstrated in the decision to be buried in close proximity to those houses. It was, however, not purely a personal decision. Burial and commemoration acted as a visible reminder of the social order and of the wealth and power of a particular family and were therefore of benefit in maintaining stability. As a result of the influence that the nobility exercised they were able to act as representatives of the Crown in the area, serving on commissions, raising men and acting to restore order in times of crisis such as during the Pilgrimage of Grace and the 1549 rebellions. These acts of service were sometimes referred to in epitaphs and elegies but not as a matter of course as, for many noblemen, they were not their most prestigious achievements. As well as acting for the Crown, noblemen could also act for the people of a particular area. They provided a route to rewards and to the Crown for people in the localities and were expected to exercise good lordship. Those qualities of lordship were often exercised through the distribution of money and food at noble funerals and sometimes mentioned in elegies.

The fifth chapter examines the importance of religion to a nobleman's identity during a century of turbulent religious change. Given the dangers of outwardly expressing religious beliefs that were not in line with those of the monarch, it is unsurprising that there are no overt statements of religious opposition in commemorative strategies. Rather, religion could be addressed in commemoration, in order to stress that the deceased was not a heretic or recusant, as in the case of the elegy written about the 3rd earl of Derby. The religious changes of the period can be traced through alterations in preferred burial locations. The dissolution of the monasteries resulted in the end of monastic and friary burials whilst the later ending of the belief in the intercessory power of prayer brought an end to requests for burial near the high altar or in front of images. It is interesting to note the confusion or reluctance to commit that marked the mid-Tudor period, with testators rarely making requests for a particular burial location. The religious changes also brought about changes in the standard structure of funerals with a new order for the burial of the dead. There appears to have been little impact on the overall design of monuments, which had always tended to emphasise secular aspects of noble identity. Stylistically many of the changes in tomb design are better attributed to personal taste and Renaissance and humanist influences. The changes in form that did occur conformed to the general trends in religious belief: the move away from inscriptions for prayers for the dead and the depiction of weepers towards children kneeling in prayer and effigies with prayer books. Religious changes also affected the way that we view

noble commemoration as religious imagery was removed from tombs and their surrounding environment. The fact that noble commemoration conformed to the Crown's religion does not mean that there was no scope for individuality, particularly in the pre-Reformation period. Choice of burial location and the clergy conducting the services at funerals reveal preferences for particular religious orders. The banners of images carried around the body during the funeral procession also revealed personal beliefs and sermons could also be personalized to relate to an individual.

By examining tombs in conjunction with archival and printed sources, we are able to reconstruct the commemorative practices of the Tudor nobility and, by doing so, shed new light on noble identity.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wrote this thesis as part of the Representing Re-formation project, funded by the AHRC and EPSRC's Science and Heritage Programme and I thank them for their financial support. The project brought together a multidisciplinary team and the discussions, questions and support of my colleagues have been invaluable. I am grateful for the opportunities it provided and I would like to thank Dr Phillip Lindley, Dr Lisa Ford, Dr Jackie Hall, Dr Adair Richards, Rebecca Constabel and Nishad Karim in particular for their help and encouragement.

My supervisor, Dr Steven Gunn, has been consistently supportive, encouraging and generous with his time. I wish to thank him for all his advice and guidance in Oxford and on the road during our quarterly expeditions to Leicester University. His knowledge and understanding of the Tudor period has been immensely valuable.

The tombs that form a large proportion of my source material are spread across England and it has not been possible to visit them all in person. I am grateful to Dr Steven Gunn, Dr Lisa Ford and Dr Jackie Hall for sharing photos from their personal collections. I also wish to thank Andy Jarvis and Nick Claiden for their patience in visiting churches whilst on holiday and for their help with photography, and Natalie Merry for photographing the tombs in Lowick parish church and Salisbury cathedral on my behalf.

I am grateful to the librarians and archivists of the Bodleian Library, Arundel Castle, the British Library and the College of Arms for allowing me access to their collections, and to the archivist of St George's College, for the private access to the tombs in St George's Chapel, Windsor. During my research I have visited a number of churches and, in particular, I would like to thank the churchwardens of St John the Baptist Church, Stowe-by-Charley; St Michael's Church, Framlingham; and St Mary's Church, Basing and the guides at Sheffield Cathedral and Beverley Minster for sharing their knowledge. Also, I thank Peter Storey of the Brancepeth Archives who corresponded with me regarding the Neville tombs destroyed by fire in 1998.

Finally, I thank Andy Jarvis for his unwavering confidence in me, for his emotional and practical support and for keeping me supplied with biscuits and chocolate.

PREFACE

This thesis was funded as part of the Representing Re-Formation Project sponsored by the Science and Heritage Programme to study the Howard tombs in Framlingham parish church, described by the Principal Investigator, Dr Phillip Lindley, as ‘some of the best and most important Tudor monuments in existence’.¹ The project brought together researchers from the fields of physics, art history, history, archaeology, museum studies and computer science, and professionals from English Heritage and the Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service. At the centre was the 3D scanning and computer manipulation of the tombs of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk and Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond which had previously been intended to be erected in Thetford Priory. Fragments associated with the tombs were also scanned to enable virtual reconstructions of the tombs as they are now and as they were originally intended to look. Throughout there was an exploration of the ways in which the project could engage with the public, including the development of a website, blog, iPad app for use at Thetford Priory, and educational resources. This culminated in an exhibition, Thetford’s Lost Tudor Sculptures, at the Ancient House Museum in Thetford, guidebook and accompanying publication (forthcoming in 2015).

The project was led by Dr Phillip Lindley who was intrigued by the process of initial design, moving and then reassembling of the tombs. He worked closely with the physics team to virtually deconstruct the tombs and understand the

¹ Project website: <http://representingreformation.net/> [accessed 10th May 2015].

different phases of tomb construction, to explore why some components were left out of the final construction, and to produce a virtual reconstruction of the tombs as they were originally envisaged. Scaled 3D prints were produced of the Norfolk and Fitzroy tombs. These formed the centrepiece of the exhibition, alongside surviving fragments and graphics relating to the tombs. The tomb commemorating Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk has attracted comment for its French Renaissance style and it has been speculated that French sculptors were employed in its construction. PhD student, Rebecca Constabel, studied the development of French monumental sculpture, both as an account in itself and in an attempt to clarify the origins and time-frames of the Howard tombs.

As the tombs were originally intended to be displayed in Thetford and Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk had been commemorated there, the priory and its archaeological finds also formed part of the project's investigation. Approaching the tombs from an archaeological perspective, Dr Jackie Hall studied Thetford Priory, the tombs' original locations, considering both the location of the fragments related to the Howard tombs and the broader context of the medieval surroundings. Dr Lisa Ford from the Yale Centre for British Art had been studying Henry Howard, earl of Northampton and joined the project with a focus on the seventeenth-century memorialisation of the Howard family in the form of the retrospective tomb of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey at Framlingham and the lost tomb of Henry Howard, earl of Northampton.

The involvement of a History PhD student in the project was intended to provide historical knowledge regarding the Howards for use by the other collaborators, for instance in the iPad app and exhibition, and to set the tombs in the context of other forms of commemoration and of other noblemen. The thesis was to examine the way in which the Howards, and other Tudor nobility, used commemoration to legitimise their authority and create noble identities. Some of the decisions regarding the scope of this thesis were, therefore, taken with the broader project in mind. In particular, the end date of 1572 was chosen because that was the year in which Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk was executed. Until their creation as earls of Norfolk in 1644 and restoration to the dukedom in 1660, his descendants inherited their title through the maternal line from the earls of Arundel. In keeping with this, their powerbase shifted to Sussex and has remained there ever since. Later generations of the family were buried in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel not in Framlingham. The use of 1572 excludes some commemorative developments that took place in the later years of Elizabeth I's reign but, in terms of the Howards and the Representing Re-formation project, it marks a break in the family's commemorative activity.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACA	Arundel Castle Archives
BL	British Library
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CA	College of Arms
<i>Complete Peerage</i>	George E. Cockayne, <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or dormant</i>
CSPS	<i>*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish</i>
CSPV	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Venetian</i>
L&P	<i>*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII</i> , eds. J. S. Brewer et al
<i>Machyn's Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563</i> , ed. John Gough Nichols
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>Test Ebor</i>	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , Publications of the Surtees Society
<i>Test Vet</i>	N. H. Nicolas, <i>Testamenta Vetusta</i>
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	<i>The Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>

* References in these works are to document numbers unless specified otherwise.

Genealogical Note: Unless otherwise stated, genealogical information is taken from G.E. Cockayne, *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or dormant*, (13 Vols. in 14, London, 1910-1959).

Dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar, with the year beginning on 1st January.

INTRODUCTION

When the armies of Richard III and Henry Tudor took to the field at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, the vanguards of both armies were led by noblemen, the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Oxford respectively. Noblemen acted as the crown's lieutenants, councillors, and companions throughout the sixteenth century, and continued to occupy an important and visible position within English society and politics. As such they have been of interest to historians, from early celebratory accounts of their deeds and valour to analysis of their careers, power, wealth and social role. One popular area of study has been the perceived shift from a medieval culture of honour and decentralised power to a civil society with a centralised state and diminished noble power and influence. In this narrative Tudor monarchs manipulated the granting of offices and financial control to assert royal influence in the regions. This argument was put forward by Mervyn James in his book on the Durham region between 1500 and 1640, and in his essays on society and politics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² For James and other historians, the North in particular is a powerful example of an area that was traditionally dominated by over-mighty subjects and where there was a transition towards noblemen being shown that their power was subordinate to the King's.³

² Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society* (Oxford, 1974); Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture* (Cambridge, 1986).

³ See for example Sean Cunningham, 'Henry VII and Rebellion in North-Eastern England, 1485-1492: Bonds of Allegiance and the Establishment of Tudor Authority', *Northern History*, 32(1996), pp. 42-74; Sean Cunningham, 'Henry VII, Sir Thomas Butler and the Stanley Family: Regional Politics and the Assertion of Royal Influence in North-Western England, 1471-1521', in Tim

Some historians have seen this shift as part of a longer term decline of the nobility in terms of their wealth, lands, military power and of deferential attitudes towards them. For them, that decline made possible the English Civil War in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴

This view of the position of the nobility within English politics and society has been challenged by G. W. Bernard who has argued that nobility had power, 'socially, economically, politically and ideologically.'⁵ He suggested that claims of noble decline are misleading as they are based on an exaggeration of the power of the nobility in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, rather than a concerted policy against the nobility, Tudor monarchs responded to individual instances of incompetence or rebellion. He also questioned suggestions that there was a markedly different approach to regional governance in the sixteenth century or that the role of the nobility in border defence and war had suffered a sharp decline. Finally, he expressed scepticism over a crisis in noble finances, questioning the statistical methods used, the extent to which debt was just part of noble life, and whether the difficulties of a few families should be generalised to a whole social group.⁶ Other debates have centred on the question of factionalism amongst the nobility and at the royal court. In particular, historians have raised questions regarding the extent to which Henry VIII was in charge as opposed to being

Thornton (ed.), *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 220-41.

⁴ See for a classic example, Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965).

⁵ G W Bernard, *Power and Politics in Tudor England* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 1.

⁶ For a summary of arguments on noble power and Bernard's revisions of them see, *ibid.*, pp. 20-50.

manipulated by the men surrounding him.⁷ This is relevant to the power of the nobility as different models of government affect whether we think noblemen were able to exercise power on the basis of their influence in the counties or that they had to be at court and involved in factionalism to have power.

With debate continuing both about the nobility and about broader social, political, economic and religious changes, there are still questions to be asked regarding the extent of noble influence, the position noblemen occupied in society and how these altered during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To this can be added questions about how noblemen from established families sought to consolidate and maintain inherited status whilst the newly ennobled had to find ways to establish their new position in society and fit in to existing ideas about nobility. Historians often approach these questions from a political perspective, looking at the relationship between nobility and the state, institutional changes, the royal court, office holding and military commands. This thesis will focus on the commemorative strategies of the nobility. It will draw on evidence such as the contemporary accounts of their funerals, their choice of burial location, physical memorials erected for them and their epitaphs and elegies. By doing this, we can bring together the study of the nobility with works by historians such as Paul Binski, Clare Gittings, David Cressy, Christopher Daniell, Ralph Houlbrooke and

⁷ Bernard summarises the historiography surrounding factionalism and his stance in, *ibid.*, pp. 1-19.

Peter Marshall on death, burial beliefs and lifecycle across several centuries.⁸ In these works the physical memorial is just one aspect of death studied alongside religious beliefs, will-writing, the act of dying, other forms of commemoration and the supernatural. By approaching the nobility in this manner, we can explore how noblemen identified themselves and their position within society. We can draw conclusions about their values, the aspects of their lives that they prioritised and wished to preserve for posterity and the ideals of nobility that they chose to promote, even at the expense of the realities of their careers.

When deciding how to approach the study of the nobility, it is important to bear in mind that, whilst they were a social group, it was a diverse social group particularly when considered across a time span of nearly one hundred years. Whilst some families such as the Fitzalan earls of Arundel and de Vere earls of Oxford had noble pedigrees stretching back over several centuries, albeit not a direct line of descent in the latter case, others, such as Giles Daubeney and Charles Brandon, were recent promotions from the ranks of gentry courtiers. They would be supplemented during the course of the sixteenth century by promotions from the ranks of the Tudor administration, men such as Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Audley and Edward North. Many of these new men were dependent on the crown

⁸ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996); Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London, 1988); David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death. Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997); Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London, 1997); Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Death, Church, and Family in England between the Late Fifteenth and the Early Eighteenth Centuries', in Ralph Houlbrooke (ed.), *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement* (London and New York, 1989), pp. 25-42; Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002).

and the royal court for their status, and based themselves in London and the neighbouring counties. Individuals with a longer history of land and office holding in the regions, such as the Stanley earls of Derby, could perhaps afford to absent themselves from court, although they were not immune to the demands and influence of the crown. There were lower ranking noblemen, particularly in the border regions, who were even further from the orbit of the royal court to the extent that clerks responsible for parliamentary summons were not always aware of their name or if they had died.⁹ Some families such as the Ogles and Eures barely feature in the records produced in the south. This diversity is evident in their commemoration where broad trends and required rituals are accompanied by variety and individualism. The range of noble experiences and interests also means that there are relatively few studies of the nobility as a whole and a number of those that do exist restrict themselves to a particular reign or region.¹⁰

It is understandable, therefore, that a popular approach to the study of the sixteenth-century English nobility has been the use of the case study. These have encompassed both individual biographies and family based studies.¹¹ Whilst wider

⁹ Helen Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford, 1986), p. 10.

¹⁰ See for example, G. W. Bernard, (ed.), *The Tudor Nobility* (Manchester and New York, 1992); K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973); Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*; R. W. Hoyle, 'Faction, Feud and Reconciliation Amongst the Northern English Nobility, 1525-1569', *History*, 84 (1999).

¹¹ See for example, G. W. Bernard, *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility. A Study of the Fourth and Fifth Earls of Shrewsbury* (Brighton and New York, 1985); Cunningham, 'Henry VII, Sir Thomas Butler and the Stanley Family'; R. W. Hoyle, 'Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland, and the Fall of the House of Percy, 1527-1537', in G. W. Bernard (ed.), *The Tudor Nobility* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 180-211; S. J. Gunn, *Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk 1484-1545* (Oxford, 1988); Mervyn James, 'Change and Continuity in the Tudor North: Thomas First Lord Wharton', in Mervyn James (ed.), *Society, Politics and Culture* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 91-147; James Ross, *John*

conclusions about the nobility can be drawn from these case studies, there is always the concern they may not be representative. By linking individual case studies, broader questions can be asked about the nobility as a social group. In this thesis, the Howard dukes of Norfolk form a starting point in the context of general observations about the nobility and comparison with other individuals. The Howard family are useful because of the number of commemorative sources that survive for them and the work being done on their memorials by the Science and Heritage funded project, Representing Re-formation. In addition, their status and the events of their lives mean that interesting questions can be asked about the use of prestigious ancestry when ennoblement has only recently been achieved, the exercise of regional power, the treatment of executed traitors, how to commemorate illegitimate princes and responses to the dissolution of the monasteries.

In the political and social landscape of sixteenth-century England, the Howards were one of the premier noble families.¹² Their place amongst the gentry and lesser nobility could be traced back to the fourteenth century. However, their rise to the ranks of the greater nobility was comparatively recent. Sir Robert Howard had married one of the daughters of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, d. 1399, a marriage that would give his son, John Howard, a claim on the Mowbray

De Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford 1442-1413 (Woodbridge, 2011); David M. Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune. The Life of Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk* (Athens and London, 1995).

¹² For a fuller summary of the Howard family and their relations with the Tudor monarchs, see S. J. Gunn and K. Claiden-Yardley, 'The Tudors and the Howards' in *The Howards and the Tudors: Studies in Science and Heritage* (forthcoming)

lands when that line ended. John Howard, meanwhile, had developed a career of loyal service first to the Mowbray dukes of Norfolk and then to the Yorkist kings.¹³ His loyalty and skill was rewarded with extensive lands in East Anglia, a position on the royal council and the title of Lord Howard. He helped Richard III secure the throne in 1483 and, in return, received the dukedom of Norfolk whilst his son, Thomas Howard, was granted the earldom of Surrey.

This relatively fast rise through the ranks of the nobility was followed, just two years later, by an equally rapid fall from favour. Continuing to remain loyal to the Yorkists, John Howard, 1st duke of Norfolk was one of the few noblemen to die at the Battle of Bosworth. His son, Thomas, escaped death but was badly injured, attainted and imprisoned in the Tower of London.¹⁴ He remained imprisoned until 1489 when he was restored as earl of Surrey. With his freedom and restoration dependent on the favour of Henry VII, it was to be hoped that Surrey would be loyal and reliable. He spent the 1490s acting as Henry VII's lieutenant in the north, supervising local government and negotiating with the Scots. During the Perkin Warbeck rebellion, James IV of Scotland invaded England on two occasions and both times Surrey successfully repelled the threat. With peace achieved, Henry VII recalled Surrey to the south. He was appointed lord treasurer in 1501 and regularly attended the king's council as one of the great officers of state.

¹³ For the career of John Howard, see Anne Crawford, *Yorkist Lord: John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, c. 1425-1485* (London, 2010). Crawford also considers the circumstances that led to Sir Robert Howard's marriage to the daughter of a duke.

¹⁴ For an account of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk's life and career, see Melvin J Tucker, *The Life of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey and Second Duke of Norfolk 1443-1524* (The Hague, 1964).

Achieving political rehabilitation through his dedicated service, he was able to gradually reclaim his father's lands and parts of the wider Mowbray estates. He was also able to form marriage alliances with a number of notable families and individuals who would go on to achieve prominence. His eldest son, also Thomas Howard, married, firstly, Anne, daughter of Edward IV and, secondly, Elizabeth Stafford, daughter of the duke of Buckingham. When Henry VIII succeeded to the throne in 1509, Surrey's second son, Sir Edward Howard, was one of the new King's close companions, a dashing figure in the tiltyard and revels and in charge of the English navy. Alongside him were his brothers-in-law, Sir Thomas Knevet and Sir Thomas Boleyn.¹⁵ The death of Sir Edward at sea in 1513 deprived the Howards of their closest connection to the King but greater success was to follow for the family.¹⁶

Henry VIII left England in the summer of 1513 to lead an invasion of France, leaving the Howard family behind. On the one hand, this was a snub as it deprived them of easy access to the person of the King and of the opportunity for military glory. On the other hand, that they were given responsibility for guarding England and advising Katherine of Aragon in the King's absence is evidence of their recovery to a position of trust.¹⁷ It also resulted in their overshadowing the King's military successes in France with their own spectacular victory.¹⁸ James IV took the opportunity to declare war on England and the Howards headed north to face him.

¹⁵ David Starkey, *Henry VIII. Personalities and Politics* (London, 2002), pp. 31, 123.

¹⁶ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, pp. 31-2.

¹⁷ Tucker, *Life of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey*, p. 103; Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 33.

¹⁸ Tucker, *Life of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey*, p. 104.

On 9th September, the English army defeated the Scots at the Battle of Flodden with King James dying on the battlefield alongside nearly all the earls and barons who had taken to the field with him.¹⁹ Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, was rewarded with the dukedom of Norfolk whilst his son was made earl of Surrey. They also received grants of land and an augmentation to their coat of arms showing the lion of the arms of Scotland, its mouth pierced with an arrow, on the bend on the Howard coat of arms.²⁰ This heraldry would be prominent in their subsequent commemorations. As duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard continued to act as diplomat and councillor for Henry VIII and his son, Surrey, was also active in royal service, including taking over from his father as lord treasurer.

Thomas Howard the elder died in 1524 and his son succeeded him as 3rd duke of Norfolk.²¹ His role in the political world of Henry VIII's England is complex. He was certainly a powerful and influential figure, a royal councillor who held various high offices, and served the King on embassies abroad and as a military leader. He did not manage to achieve dominance in the King's council in the same way as Cardinal Wolsey or Thomas Cromwell both of whom were able to side-line him for periods of time. He appears to have resented their power and he benefited from their downfalls but we cannot be sure that he actively plotted against them and he acted with them to serve the King. Other threats to his prominence at Henry VIII's court came from within his own family. With nine surviving half and full

¹⁹ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 38.

²⁰ *L&P*, i, 2684 (1).

²¹ For the life of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, see Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*.

siblings from his father's two marriages, the Howards were a dynasty with extensive connections. His brothers-in-law included the earls of Derby, Oxford, Bridgewater and Sussex. Junior male lines of the family were able to establish themselves as members of the nobility, his younger half-brother, William, becoming the 1st Lord Howard of Effingham under Queen Mary and his younger son, Thomas, the 1st viscount Howard of Bindon under Queen Elizabeth.²² Not all members of the extended family were as successful. One of the 3rd duke of Norfolk's brothers-in-law, Rhys ap Gruffydd, was executed in 1531. The woman replaced Katherine of Aragon as queen, Anne Boleyn, was the duke's niece.²³ Neither her rise nor her fall from favour was of much benefit to Norfolk but he did at least escape major repercussions. He similarly escaped entanglement in the affairs of his half-brother, Thomas Howard, who died in jail in 1537 having been condemned to death for contracting a secret marriage to Lady Margaret Douglas.²⁴

A greater threat for the 3rd duke of Norfolk came in 1541-2 with the fall of Catherine Howard.²⁵ Unlike with Anne Boleyn, Norfolk had been involved with presenting his niece to Henry VIII as a replacement for Anne of Cleves. Her indiscretions resulted in the imprisonment of her grandmother, the dowager

²² James McDermott, 'Howard, William, first Baron Howard of Effingham (c.1510–1573)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13946>, accessed 30 June 2014].

²³ There is an extensive literature on Anne Boleyn. For a summary account of her life, see E. W. Ives, 'Anne (c.1500–1536)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/557>, accessed 30 June 2014].

²⁴ Michael Riordan, 'Howard, Lord Thomas (c.1512–1537)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70793>, accessed 30 June 2014]

²⁵ Retha M. Warnicke, 'Katherine [Katherine Howard] (1518x24–1542)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4892>, accessed 30 June 2014].

duchess of Norfolk, her uncle, William Howard, and his wife, and her aunt, the countess of Bridgewater. For a while contemporaries speculated that Norfolk would also suffer but he was able to distance himself from his family, and returned to court and parliament largely unaffected.²⁶ He was not able to escape entanglement when it was the actions of his own son, Henry Howard, earl of Surrey that threatened the family. Surrey was a talented and well-connected man, proud of his family's status and lineage but he lacked discretion.²⁷ With Henry VIII's health failing and Prince Edward still a minor, the political situation in England was tense. Surrey's criticism of new men promoted from lowly positions in society alongside his assertions that Norfolk should be protector of the realm in the event of Henry's death was undoubtedly rash. In December 1546, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London, followed shortly after by his father. The charges finally brought against the Howards related to their use of the heraldry of Edward the Confessor and Thomas Brotherton.²⁸ Surrey was executed on 19th January 1547 and Norfolk escaped the same fate only because of the death of Henry VIII.

After spending Edward VI's reign in prison, Thomas Howard was released by Mary, pardoned and restored to his titles. He sat as royal councillor and led a failed military campaign against Wyatt's rebellion but in August 1554 he died at

²⁶ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, pp. 188-9.

²⁷ For the life of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, see W. A. Sessions, *Henry Howard the Poet Earl of Surrey: A Life* (Oxford, 1999).

²⁸ For an analysis of the heraldic charges brought against Surrey, see Peter R. Moore, 'The Heraldic Charge against the Earl of Surrey', *The English Historical Review*, 116, no. 467 (June, 2001), pp. 557-583.

Kenninghall, having recovered just two-thirds of his previous lands. He was succeeded by his grandson, Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk who continued to build his estates in East Anglia.²⁹ He made little mark during Mary's reign but came to prominence under Elizabeth I. His position at court was complicated by his rivalry with Elizabeth's favourite, Lord Robert Dudley, the two men falling out repeatedly. Ambitious for power beyond his ancestral base in East Anglia, he sought to extend authority of the office of earl marshal in order to improve his own influence and reputation.³⁰ In 1568, with three marriages behind him, he was interested in a proposal that he should marry the exiled Mary, Queen of Scots. His ambition does not appear to have been matched by an ability to navigate the complex politics behind the proposal. Summoned by Elizabeth, he instead retreated to Kenninghall, claiming illness. Imprisoned in the Tower of London and then confined to his London house, the Charterhouse, he was drawn into plots by Roberto Ridolfi to place Mary, Queen of Scots on the English throne as Norfolk's wife. Despite her personal reluctance, parliamentary pressure managed by the Privy Council, meant Elizabeth was left with little choice but to execute the duke on 2nd June 1572.³¹ Their story then is one of great successes, damaging falls from favour and a sense, amongst some of the family, that their status and natural role within English politics was not always suitably recognised.

²⁹ For the life of Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk, see Neville Williams, *Thomas Howard Fourth Duke of Norfolk* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1964).

³⁰ David Gelber, 'Heraldry, Heralds and the Earl Marshal of England, c. 1480-1603: War, Politics and Diplomacy'. Oxford DPhil Thesis, 2011, p. 284.

³¹ M. A. R. Graves, 'The Management of the Elizabethan House of Commons: The Council's "Men-of-Business"', *Parliamentary History*, 2 (1983), pp. 24-5.

Of the four dukes of Norfolk to have died between 1485 and 1572, two are commemorated by surviving tomb monuments in St Michael's Church, Framlingham. Also in the church is the tomb erected in 1614 to retrospectively commemorate Henry Howard, earl of Surrey (Appendix 3/20) and a small altar tomb believed to commemorate a daughter of Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk. The tomb commemorating Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk is incomplete with effigies and heraldry identifying his first two wives, Mary Fitzalan and Margaret Audley (Appendix 3/22). A space was left for an effigy of Norfolk and his coat of arms, whilst his will specified that an effigy be placed on the tomb or mounted nearby but plans for the completion of his tomb appear to have been shelved after his execution.³²

The second ducal tomb commemorates Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk and is at the centre of the Representing Re-Formation project (Appendix 3/21). Work had begun on it at Thetford Priory before 1539 but it was not completed or erected until the mid-1550s. It is notable for its well preserved religious sculpture and French Renaissance influence. The story of its development has been the subject of studies by Howard Colvin and Lawrence Stone, Richard Marks and now of a reassessment by Dr Phillip Lindley.³³ It has twelve niches, containing figures of

³² ACA, MS T5.

³³ H. M. Colvin, and Lawrence Stone, 'The Howard Tombs at Framlingham, Suffolk' ,*The Archaeological Journal*, 122 (1965), pp. 159-71; Richard, Marks, 'The Howard Tombs at Thetford and Framlingham: New Discoveries', *The Archaeological Journal*, 141 (1984), pp. 252-68. An initial publication of Dr Lindley's work was produced to accompany the project exhibition, Phillip Lindley, *Thetford's Lost Tudor Sculptures*, (Leicester, 2013) and an essay is forthcoming, Phillip Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Monument' in *The Howards and the Tudors: Studies in Science and Heritage* (forthcoming).

the apostles in ten of the niches and Old Testament prophets (Plate 31) in the central niches on the east and west ends of the tomb. Dr Phillip Lindley has suggested that a New Testament frieze depicting the Adoration of the Magi that was excavated from Thetford Priory had been intended for the 3rd duke of Norfolk's tomb. As it is marked with the numeral VII, it appears that it was to be part of a series.³⁴

There are two effigies on the tomb, those of Norfolk and one of his wives but there is no heraldry relating to her or to his marriages. Some historians, such as David Head, have assumed that it is intended to represent Elizabeth Stafford, reunited with her husband after years of estrangement when he was released from the Tower.³⁵ However, an alternative suggestion is that the effigy represents his first wife, Anne Plantagenet. This is based on the placement of the female effigy on the right hand side of the male effigy, possibly indicating that she was of higher rank than him.³⁶ The acrimonious relationship between Norfolk and his second wife supports this identification. It is possible that Elizabeth Stafford had wished to marry the earl of Westmorland's heir and that she was hurt by her in-laws' involvement in her father's trial. Certainly the relationship deteriorated after her husband began an affair with Bess Holland and she later accused his servants of violence towards her.³⁷ It can be argued that it was unlikely Norfolk would have wished to be commemorated alongside her. It has been suggested that Anne

³⁴ Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Monument'.

³⁵ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 244.

³⁶ Helen Pitcher, *The Church of Saint Michael Framlingham* (Whitefriars, 2005), p. 6.

³⁷ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 251.

Plantagenet had been commemorated with a tomb at Thetford Priory.³⁸ If we accept the argument that the Framlingham effigies were constructed in the 1550s, it might have been the intention to include Anne as her own tomb had been destroyed.³⁹

Closely linked to the tomb of the 3rd duke of Norfolk is that of Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Norfolk's son-in-law which has also been scanned and reassessed as part of the Representing Re-Formation project (Appendix 3/18). The Fitzroy tomb incorporates a frieze depicting scenes from the Old Testament above heraldic panels (Plate 30). The narrative begins with the creation of Eve; an iconography which Phillip Lindley suggested would have tied in with the tomb being intended for the Lady Chapel at Thetford Priory as Mary was the new Eve. It also has four figures standing on top of the tomb holding shields depicting the instruments of Christ's Passion. Two similar angels were excavated at Thetford and Lindley argued that they are part of a group of additional figures that were intended to kneel on the tomb. This fits in with a description of the tomb with twelve figures on it, although it appears that this is a record of design intention rather than evidence that all the figures were ever present on the tomb. Also excavated were two busts of Old Testament figures with shell niches similar to those on the 3rd duke of Norfolk's tomb which may have been intended to be

³⁸ *The Register of Thetford Priory*, ed. David Dymond (2 Vols., Oxford, Records of Social and Economic History, News Series, 24, 25, 1995-1996), i, pp. 37-8.

³⁹ Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Monument'.

placed on the sides of the Richmond tomb rather than it being dominated by heraldic shields as it is today.⁴⁰

By combining Howard's tomb with that of Fitzroy and with the abandoned fragments, Lindley sees them as 'a complementary pair iconographically and stylistically'. That they were intended to be so heavily dominated by religious symbolism in comparison with surviving noble tombs appears to be testament to the religious conservatism of the Howard family and their desire to be associated with religious themes in death. The appearance of the tombs today is owed to their staggered construction, with the dissolution of the monasteries, the 3rd duke of Norfolk's imprisonment and the need to enlarge the chancel at Framlingham all causing delays. These different phases of construction are also relevant to understanding which pieces of religious imagery were abandoned and which retained. The completion date of the tombs has not been proved but there is a small 1555 carved into Fitzroy's tomb and a 1559 on Howard's tomb that are often taken to relate to their dates of construction at Framlingham. If this is the case then, as Lindley points out, the Fitzroy tomb was completed during Mary's reign when the incorporation of the Old Testament panels and the instruments of the Passion would have been acceptable. In contrast, if Howard's tomb was finished in 1559, then the New Testament panel may have been abandoned in anticipation of a return to the iconoclasm of Edward VI's reign.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Monument'.

⁴¹ Ibid.

The fate of John Howard, 1st duke of Norfolk following his death at the Battle of Bosworth Field is unclear. As a Yorkist supporter whose heir was imprisoned, there would have been limited desire or ability to give him an elaborate funeral. Equally, he had been a duke, so it is possible that he would have been removed to a location chosen by the family. It has certainly been regularly stated that he was buried at Thetford Priory. This version of events appears in Dugdale's *The Baronage of England* with a citation to Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* who in turn states he got the information from the collections of Francis Thynne.⁴² Thynne was an antiquarian in the late sixteenth century, who worked on Holinshed's *Chronicles* and, from 1602, was Lancaster herald.⁴³ His access both to the records of the College of Arms and to members of the Howard family, in conjunction with his own skills as an antiquarian, put him in an excellent position to discover and comment on the burial locations of the dukes of Norfolk. However, we do not know his sources and he was working a century after the Battle of Bosworth. Confusion regarding burial location and the identity of the commemorated could emerge in a much shorter space of time.

Earlier evidence for John Howard's burial appears to be restricted to the depositions prepared for the trial of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey in 1546. These described one tomb as 'one Duke Thomas tom[m]e yt was kild at kinges Rich

⁴² William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (2 Vols., London, 1676), ii, p. 267; John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Islands adjacent*, (London, 1767), p. 551.

⁴³ Louis A. Knafla, 'Thynne, Francis (1545?–1608)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2010) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27420>, accessed 8 Dec 2013].

feld'.⁴⁴ Despite the clear error in name, this has been taken at face value as referring to the Battle of Bosworth and John Howard.⁴⁵ However, writing in the eighteenth century, Thomas Martin had pointed out that the heraldry described is not correct for a Howard tomb. He argued instead that it was the tomb of John de Mowbray, the last of the Mowbray dukes of Norfolk who died in January 1476. There are some difficulties with the heraldry that he uses to make this identification but his argument against it being a Howard tomb is convincing.⁴⁶

Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, is known to have had two tombs erected in his memory. The first of these was in front of the high altar at Thetford Priory. Norfolk had left instructions concerning this tomb in his will, specifying that it was to be constructed according to a design he had prepared with a mason named Wassel and Master Clerke, the master of the King's works in Cambridge, and it was to cost £132 6s 8d.⁴⁷ Whilst no trace of the tomb remains, an illustration has been preserved in the Wriothesley heraldic manuscripts held by the British Library (Plate 14).⁴⁸ This shows a tomb chest with a single figure, although it is unclear whether it was an effigy or a brass engraving. It was probably a departure

⁴⁴ TNA, SP 1/227 f. 128.

⁴⁵ For example, Richard Marks references the deposition when alleging that John Howard, 1st duke of Norfolk was buried on the south side of the high altar, Marks, 'The Howard Tombs', p. 254.

⁴⁶ Martin, *History of the Town of Thetford*, p. 164. In the shields where the deceased's arms are quartered with his wife's arms, Martin argues that the heraldry indicates that the wife must be descended from the Talbot and Beauchamp families. Elizabeth Talbot, the wife of the last Mowbray duke of Norfolk, fits these criteria. However, of the six quarters that make up her coat of arms, one is unidentified and one, which is identified by Martin as the Talbot coat of arms, is not described as having the border that is present on the arms as used by the Talbot, earls of Shrewsbury. It may of course be that the border had not been depicted on the tomb, or that an error was made when writing up the deposition.

⁴⁷ TNA, PROB 11/21/391.

⁴⁸ MS Add. 45131 f. 85r.

from Norfolk's design as his will had stated that it was to have effigies of him and his wife.⁴⁹ The duke is depicted in armour and heraldic tabard but also wearing his coronation robes, coronet and holding the Earl Marshal's staff of office. The sides of the tomb are shown as displaying numerous coats of arms, some under coronets, some within the garter and some incomplete.

The tomb was accompanied by an account of the 2nd duke's career. An inscription on the tomb described the epitaph as being 'aboute the tombe here present' and exhorted those who would learn more of the duke to 'loke in thys table'.⁵⁰ It appears to be an extraordinary example of an epitaph that more nearly resembles a printed elegy in its scope and length. Given the length of the text, it seems improbable that it would have fitted on to the tomb itself and there is no sign of it on the Wriothesley illustration. Possibly, it would have been displayed on a tablet near to the tomb. It begins with an account of his early education and career under Edward IV before going on to recount his service to Henry VII and Henry VIII. Reference is made to his diplomatic missions escorting the Princesses Margaret and Mary to their husbands, his appointments to the privy council and the offices of treasurer and earl marshal and his appointment as 'protector and defender' of the realm in 1520. The primary concern, however, is with his service in the north of England, first against the tax rebels, then as lieutenant general and

⁴⁹ TNA, PROB 11/21/391.

⁵⁰ The text of the epitaph has been preserved in John Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Islands adjacent* (London, 1767), p. 554-60; Thomas Martin, *The History of the Town of Thetford in the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (London, 1779), App. 43-9.

warden of the east and middle marches engaged in protecting the borders and raiding into Scotland. The culmination of this service was his victory at Flodden. It concludes with an account of his retirement to Framlingham as he neared death, his lack of debts on his death and a list of his living children and sons in law.

As the sixteenth-century progressed, rectangular panels became a more common sight on noble tombs and Llewellyn suggests it was common for post-Reformation tombs to include combinations of 'discursive biography, epigram, poetry and motto'.⁵¹ Even then commentators appear to have balanced their desire for heroic verse with a feeling that inscriptions should not be too long.⁵² As such the 2nd duke of Norfolk's epitaph is unusual, if not unique. A near comparison is the Latin epitaph composed by Sir Thomas More for his own tomb which is similar in style and content but it is shorter in length.⁵³

This tomb appears to have been destroyed at, or soon after, the dissolution of the priory. It is not mentioned in the description of the heraldry at Thetford prepared as part of the evidence gathered after Henry Howard, earl of Surrey's arrest.⁵⁴ Rather than being commemorated at Framlingham, a new tomb was erected for the 2nd duke in Lambeth parish church where a number of the wider Howard family were buried. An illustration of the top of this second tomb also

⁵¹ Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 127.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵³ The epitaph was composed after he resigned as Lord Chancellor. By the time Weever transcribed it for his survey of funeral monuments, it was already hard to read. Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments*, pp. 292-3.

⁵⁴ TNA, SP 1/227 f. 128

survives.⁵⁵ It shows the 2nd duke in armour but this time without the heraldic tabard or staff of office and with a plain cloak. There are four coats of arms shown at each corner suggesting it may have been a brass engraving with the depiction of the duke and the coats of arms set into stone as can be seen on the tomb of Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, d. 1542 (Appendix 3/6).

Thomas Martin also reproduced an account of the funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk.⁵⁶ It is a lengthy account of one of the sixteenth century's most elaborate and expensive funerals detailing the mourning at Framlingham Castle, the order, appearance and route of the funeral procession and the order and manner of the offerings at the mass of requiem. The original document is held in the College of Arms and it is worth noting that there are some discrepancies with Martin's transcription.⁵⁷ Martin gives the number of people receiving black livery as one thousand nine hundred but examination of the manuscript account of the funeral held at the College of Arms revealed that it was nine hundred individuals. Financial accounts relating to painter's bills and the number of escutcheons and bannerrolls produced for the funeral were omitted from Martin's transcription.⁵⁸ Further details of the funeral, in particular the theme of the sermon, were recorded in the Register of Butley Priory, the prior having been one of the assistants to the bishop of Ely who presided over the funeral.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ ACA, Henry Lilly, *Genealogie of Howards* (1638), G1/16, p. 120

⁵⁶ Martin, *History of the Town of Thetford*, App. 38-43.

⁵⁷ CA, MS I.7, ff. 56r-60v.

⁵⁸ CA, MS I.7, f. 60.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 58r.

The funeral of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, has received little attention from historians. Indeed, Head states that there is no extant account of the funeral.⁶⁰ There are two sources that refer to the duke's burial, an entry in *Machyn's Diary*, and a manuscript held by the College of Arms.⁶¹ Machyn's entry is brief and much of it has been reconstructed after the original was damaged. It is largely concerned with the funeral decorations and the food provided. The herald's account is longer and provides more details of the people involved and the order of proceedings but has been bound out of order. There are discrepancies between the two accounts. Notably, the College of Arms document states that the funeral was postponed after the duke's death until the end of September where Machyn states he was buried on the second day of October.⁶² Machyn also recorded a second set of obsequies for Norfolk that took place on the fifth day of October at 'sant Mary Overes', presumably the church of St Mary Overies in Southwark.⁶³ The brief description suggests it was similar to the funeral with hearse, masses and mourners. The mourners at this second ceremony included Stephen Gardiner, Sir Robert Rochester, William, Lord Howard of Effingham and Sir George Howard. They were all closely associated both with Norfolk and with the court, and it is possible that they were unable to travel into Suffolk. From the evidence available, there does not seem to have been overlap between the primary figures at Framlingham and Southwark.

⁶⁰ Head. *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 244.

⁶¹ *Machyn's Diary*, p. 70; CA, MS I.11, ff. 34-35.

⁶² CA MS I.11, f. 34.1r, *Machyn's Diary*, p. 70.

⁶³ *Machyn's Diary*, p. 70.

In terms of other cultural and artistic output by the Howard family, surviving sources are mixed and, at times, frustratingly sparse. The Howard family in this period were not notable as literary patrons. However, the 2nd duke of Norfolk owned a collection of religious books, including eight antiphoners, a plain song book, seven mass books, two gospellers and eight hymnals.⁶⁴ They did patronise some writers including Alexander Barclay and John Skelton.⁶⁵ Their deeds, in particular their military actions, are preserved in verse and the favourable accounts were probably written by men patronised by, or hoping to find favour with, the family.⁶⁶ The family's success at Flodden was celebrated in Richard Pynson's account of the battle and in Richard Grafton's edition of John Hardyng's chronicle whilst Barclay composed an elegy for Sir Edward Howard.⁶⁷ Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, and his father were celebrated in Sir John Beaumont's poem *Bosworth Field*, published in the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ It is possible that Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, may have written a political memoir regarding the early years of his life.⁶⁹ The family's most famous literary contribution came from Henry Howard, earl of Surrey. He was a talented poet, responsible for the invention of English blank verse, whose poetry captures his experience of nobility.

⁶⁴ *Medieval Framlingham. Select Documents 1270-1524*, ed. John Ridgard (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 148-9.

⁶⁵ Gunn and Claiden-Yardley, 'The Tudors and the Howards'.

⁶⁶ S. J. Gunn, David Grummitt and Hans Cool, *War, State, and Society in England and the Netherlands, 1477-1559* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 219-20.

⁶⁷ Gunn, Grummitt and Cool, *War, State, and Society*, pp. 219-20; Gunn and Claiden-Yardley, 'The Tudors and the Howards'.

⁶⁸ John Beaumont, *Bosworth-Field with a Taste of the Variety of Other Poems, Left by Sir John Beaumont, Baronet, Deceased* (London, 1629), pp. 1-30.

⁶⁹ Gunn and Claiden-Yardley, 'The Tudors and the Howards'.

Given his connections to other literary figures and his execution on tenuous grounds, it is perhaps unsurprising that more elegiac outpourings were directed towards Surrey than to the four Tudor dukes of Norfolk, beginning with that composed by Sir John Cheke.⁷⁰

Framlingham Castle, the ancestral seat of the dukes of Norfolk, is ruined although it is possible to get a sense of its scale and aspects of its design. There is an inventory drawn up a week after the 2nd duke of Norfolk's death in 1524. It sets out the contents of twenty-nine rooms with a combined value of one thousand four hundred and twenty-one pounds, thirteen shillings and one penny.⁷¹ The Howards' great houses of Kenninghall and Mount Surrey, built during Henry VIII's reign are now lost. In both cases, there are also surviving inventories; this time prepared at the time of the arrests of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, and Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, in 1546.⁷² These provide us with an indication of the size of the two houses; their layout; the people that resided within them; the magnificence of the furnishings; and the clothing, jewels and personal possessions of Surrey, Norfolk and their extended family.

Verifiable portraits survive for the 3rd and 4th dukes of Norfolk whilst Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, was painted on a number of occasions.⁷³ His final portrait

⁷⁰ Sessions, *Henry Howard*, p. 260. Sessions discusses some of the primary elegies in *Ibid.*, pp. 1-7.

⁷¹ *Medieval Framlingham*. ed. John Ridgard, pp. 129-58.

⁷² TNA, LR 2/115-6.

⁷³ Portrait of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, by Hans Holbein the Younger, Royal Collection, c. 1539 RCIN 404439; Portrait of Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk by an unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, 1565, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 6676.

dates from 1546 and is an overt display of wealth and status.⁷⁴ The original is attributed to William Scrots, the court painter, with a payment being made by the council in 1551 for three 'tables', including one of the earl of Surrey. It is a full length image of the earl in the continental Mannerist style.⁷⁵ He is depicted in Italianate dress, holding an expensive pair of white gloves. Although he is not in armour, his rapier and dagger hint at his militarism and the garter and collar of the Order of the Garter speak of chivalry and his membership of an exclusive group. He stands leaning on a broken pillar within an arch that is surrounded classical motifs including vases, putti and foliage. Two statues, one male and one female hold coats of arms. On the left are the arms of Thomas Brotherton and, on the right, the arms of France and England; a technically correct allusion to his royal ancestors but one that was politically inadvisable. Indeed, a painting was used as evidence against Surrey. Accounts of the painting vary but Francis Van der Delft wrote of an image of Surrey leaning on a broken pillar being used as evidence, although the mention of a young child beneath the pillar does not match the Scrots portrait as it survives today.⁷⁶

Relatively few studies of the Howards have been produced, given their

⁷⁴ Portrait of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, by William Scrots, 1546, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 5291. On display at Arundel Castle, West Sussex.

⁷⁵ Sessions, *Henry Howard*, p. 334-5. A version of the portrait is held by the National Portrait Gallery, NPG 5291, but is on display at Arundel Castle. Roy Strong suggested that the all the versions of this portrait, including that at Arundel Castle, are copies as Scrots was commissioned to produce panel pictures but the surviving versions are all on canvas, Roy Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (2 Vols., London, 1969), i, p. 308. However, debate has continued as to the date of the National Portrait Gallery copy, Karen Hearn (ed.), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530-1630* (London, 1995), pp. 51-2.

⁷⁶ *CSPS*, ix, p. 3; Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 52.

social and political prominence. Those that have been published concentrate primarily on their political and military roles rather than the social and cultural aspects of their lives, William Sessions' biography of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, being a notable exception. This thesis will consider the Howards' use of commemoration, including funerals, tombs and epitaphs in presenting a particular identity based on their careers and also their ideals. It will also set them in the wider context of the late-fifteenth and sixteenth-century nobility, looking for both wider trends and individual expressions of identity. The range of sources available is explored below (p. 33) but first it is necessary to consider who the nobility were and how they identified as a group and as individuals. We can then ask both how these identities help us understand commemorative strategies and, conversely, how those strategies can modify our assumptions about the nobility.

To identify who the nobility were for a social and cultural study is not a straight forward task. Some individuals, in particular members of the House of Lords, can be identified as noblemen but even then there are difficulties as the gaps between parliaments meant that there was not always a session for an individual to be summoned to. In addition, the values of nobility and gentility were more widely applied, making it difficult to define a discrete group of individuals. In particular, it is difficult to define the lower boundary of the nobility. There were gentry families who in terms of their careers, connections and values were virtually indistinguishable from, and, at times, wealthier than men with a parliamentary peerage. It is also almost certainly the case that different individuals would have

given different answers as to who was or could be described as 'noble' and on what basis.

Studies of both medieval and early modern nobility have used a number of different approaches to defining the 'nobility'. In his 1972 book on the medieval aristocracy and gift-giving, Joel Rosenthal favoured the strict approach to defining a social class. In his definition, the nobility were the parliamentary peers summoned by individual writ and their immediate kin – sons, brothers and unmarried daughters. In order to avoid bias in quantitative results caused by extremes of noble experience, he then proceeded to exclude close relatives of the royal family and individuals who were the only member of their family to be summoned as a parliamentary peer.⁷⁷ This tightly defined approach was rejected by Kate Mertes when writing about the aristocracy in terms of medieval attitudes. She argued that all those who had wealth and power through a land holding that they did not work themselves shared a culture and used the terms 'noble' and 'gentle' to describe themselves. Therefore, she argued that they should all be deemed as nobility and that 'the continuum of hierarchies between them was itself part of the whole idea of nobility.'⁷⁸ In her work on the noble household she did follow the lead of Rosenthal in excluding 'reigning monarchs and the immediate heirs', the experience of royalty being different again from the nobility,

⁷⁷ Joel T Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise. Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485*, (London, 1972), pp. 4-8.

⁷⁸ Kate Mertes, 'Aristocracy', in Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 44

however, she included the ecclesiastical nobility.⁷⁹

Writing about the nobility of Henry VIII's reign, Helen Miller took a line closer to that of Rosenthal. She acknowledged that men who held courtesy titles were treated as nobility on state occasions, for example heirs to higher noble titles such as Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. However, they did not have the legal privileges of the peerage until they were summoned to the House of Lords.⁸⁰ Her list of the nobility leaves out the holders of courtesy titles and dates titles from summons to parliaments rather than from the date at which they started to be known by a title, for example in the case of Henry Pole, Lord Montagu.⁸¹ She also excluded men such as Thomas Burgh whose father and son both received summons to the House of Lords but who was never summoned himself.⁸² T.B. Pugh's list of nobility during the reign of Henry VII demonstrated a slightly more flexible approach as it lists individuals who 'styled' themselves by a title and, in a note on Richard Hastings, makes the distinction between belonging to the parliamentary peerage and belonging to the nobility.⁸³ In terms of studies looking at noble commemoration in particular, Peter Sherlock included all holders of an English title between 1400 and 1700 that was recognised in their lifetime. He excluded heirs, such as Surrey, who held a lesser or courtesy title but predeceased

⁷⁹ Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250-1600. Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988), p. 5.

⁸⁰ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p. 9.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 259-63.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸³ Pugh, "Henry VII and the English Nobility", pp. 106-10.

their father.⁸⁴

The broad approach of Mertes is perhaps too comprehensive a definition for this study as it would result in a sample too large for the time available. There also seems to be some accuracy in McFarlane's view that, by the mid-fifteenth century, stratification can be seen at the top of English society.⁸⁵ Whilst terms such as 'noble' and 'gentle' may be vague, individuals were interested in their pedigrees and had a sense of their 'degree' and status that could lead to lengthy disputes.⁸⁶ The Howards may have made up part of an extensive continuum of nobility but they were also conscious of their ancestry and perceived position in society, as can be seen in the circumstances leading to the fall of Henry Howard. To understand their identity and commemorative strategies they should be seen in the context of a group with whom they would have related most closely. However, many of the narrower approaches outlined above are too severe in who they exclude. One question that can be valuably asked of noble identity is whether it was shared between all the nobility from those who inherited ancient titles to those who were new creations that may have only been in existence for a generation. By limiting the sample size too much, the ability to ask such questions is limited.

Also, this is a study of a cultural and social identity not of political and legal functions. It is beneficial, as T B Pugh did, to see the nobility as separate from the parliamentary peerage and include those who styled themselves as a 'Lord' and

⁸⁴ Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 21.

⁸⁵ McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, pp. 122-5.

⁸⁶ See for example, Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 11-2, 18-9.

had a shared experience with their relatives and friends even if they never sat in the House of Lords. This study will therefore include all parliamentary peers from the period; individuals who would have been summoned were it not for mental incapacity, title disputes or for predeceasing the next parliament following their succession; and heirs who predeceased their fathers. In addition, younger sons of dukes will be included even when they were not granted their own titles. Men such as Edward Howard or Henry Dudley, the third son of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, who died following the siege of St Quentin in 1557, were clearly identified as lords and would not have had a social and cultural identity inferior to that of a first generation baron.⁸⁷ However, it will not follow the lead of publications such as *The Complete Peerage* in retrospectively classifying individuals as noble by applying modern doctrine when they would not have been considered noble by their contemporaries.

The focus here is on the English nobility so the only holders of non-English titles that will be included are the two earls of Ormond – Thomas Butler and Thomas Boleyn – and Lord Leonard Grey, viscount Grane, who, despite their Irish titles, focused their careers and lives on England and the English court. It will also largely exclude noblewomen and, when determining the age of a noble family, will look at male descent. There is much work that can be done on Tudor noble women. Barbara Harris has demonstrated the active role played by noble women

⁸⁷ Note on Lord Henry Dudley in David Loades, 'Dudley, John, duke of Northumberland (1504–1553)', *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8156>, accessed 23 July 2014].

in the management of households, families and client networks while Melissa Harkrider focused on the response of Katherine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk, and her networks to religious reform and the opportunities it offered them.⁸⁸ However, their female identity was based on different, though at time overlapping, ideas of nobility. To examine all women who might by some measure have counted as part of the nobility would render this study unmanageable. They will not be fully excluded as their inclusion in commemoration can shed light on the image being presented of their husbands and families and they were sometimes responsible for completing commemorative schemes. The one exception to this is Margaret Pole and her descendants who are included because she held her title in her own right. Finally, reigning monarchs, their spouses and their direct, legitimate heirs will not be considered.

Having defined the sample, it is necessary to identify the main elements of noble identity. In many ways the period from 1485 through to 1572 was marked by the transformation of a medieval world to one that is recognisably early modern. Noble identity in the early decades shares traits with that of the earlier fifteenth century. It was rooted in ideals of military service in a practical sense with noblemen still taking the lead on the battlefield and in terms of chivalry and the ceremonial of the tournament field and the chivalric orders. However, whilst the imagery of the knight in armour and the chivalry of orders such as the Order of the

⁸⁸ See for example, Barbara Harris, *English aristocratic women, 1450-1550 : marriage and family, property and careers*, (Oxford, 2002); Melissa Franklin Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England. Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy, 1519-1580* (Woodbridge, 2008).

Garner remained, there was a shift from militarism to administrative service both by the 'traditional' nobility and the new rising men promoted from the ranks of royal government. Henry VIII in particular was willing to make peers and to do so for political purposes, creating change in the peerage.⁸⁹ These men might adopt the symbolism of the military nobleman in order to fit in with an expected image of nobility but that image was diverging from the reality of their lives.

The way in which the new nobility, especially those such as Thomas Cromwell who rose rapidly from humble roots outside both the nobility and the gentry, framed their identity was important because of the hostility that they could face from the existing social group. Without ancestry and a familiar type of career, wealth and an assertion of the rights that accompanied a particular status were essential to fitting in. The visual display of status and assertion of particular rights were not just concerns of the newly ennobled. There are many examples of noblemen asserting their rights to precedence and engaging in extensive building work and conspicuous consumption to show their wealth and social position, indeed displays of appropriate magnificence were expected.⁹⁰ For noblemen from a more traditional background it was a means of displaying their military and political service and their noble lineage, for example the Howards stressed their connections to the Mowbrays and English royalty whilst railing against the low-

⁸⁹ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 36-7.

⁹⁰ The inheritance of titles was a complex business dependent, to a certain extent, on the will of the King as to whether non-direct descendants would inherit the old title or a new creation. This is reflected in the allocated seating in parliament. Miller outlines some of the decisions and disputes surrounding them in Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 11-2, 18-9. For the house as an expression of power and wealth see Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House. Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (London, 1987), pp. 24-42.

born men being promoted by Henry VIII.

As well as spending money on material goods to indicate status, the nobility were also concerned with acting towards others in a way that was appropriate for their social position. Ideals of good lordship and expected behaviour within the community remained constant throughout this period and included the offering of hospitality and charitable giving. As well as social expectation, some of these behaviours were driven by religious beliefs. Religion and piety were important parts of noble identity in this period. However, whilst there were common and accepted means of expressing religious belief, individual engagement with religion was complex and very personal. Noblemen were also forced to engage with the religious changes of the sixteenth century that made them question and adapt their beliefs. Some chose to embrace and support reform, others chose pragmatic conformity and a few risked opposing the Crown in support of their religious identity. This thesis will separate these elements out into five main themes of kinship, status, service and chivalry, local power and religion.

The three main classes of primary sources will be: wills, descriptions of funerals and church monuments. Not all three types of source were generated for every individual and, combined with instances of subsequent source destruction, a wide range of sources is only available for some individuals. The 2nd and 3rd dukes of Norfolk are particularly valuable examples of individuals for whom there is a surviving will, a tomb or illustration of tomb, and a detailed description of the funeral.

Wills are useful documents as they are one of the few sources of evidence about the personal desires of the deceased rather than the actual commemorative activity which was often mediated through third parties. The information that they include can relate to the wishes of the testator in respect of their burial location and any subsequent commemoration. In some cases this could be very specific in terms of describing designs or desired expenditure on tombs. Commemoration did not have to mean physical memorials and wills reveal testators leaving instructions regarding the provision of masses, month's minds, sermons and charitable bequests directed towards alms-giving or education. These types of instructions enable commemoration to be contextualised in terms of religious beliefs. Wills are also useful because, compared to other source types, a large number of them were created and they have a relatively high survival rate. Wills survive for one hundred and five of the two hundred and fifty-seven individuals identified as noble for this thesis. The majority are held by the National Archives although a number of the northern nobility had their wills proved by the prerogative court of York and they are held by the Borthwick Institute, York. A small number have been preserved outside the usual probate records, for example the will of Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk which was never proved as a result of his execution, and a few have been taken from antiquarian transcripts.

The wills, therefore, represent a sample of 41% of the nobility and enable a number of broad conclusions to be made. There are some reservations that must be borne in mind when working with wills. They were not private documents and

some sections, such as the preamble, could use a formulaic structure and language. Historians working on religious beliefs during the sixteenth century have pointed to difficulties in using the language of wills when trying to determine the extent of reformist or conservative ideas within the general population.⁹¹ There are similar issues with using the religious language of wills when looking at the commemoration and its relationship to the religious aspects of noble identity. A will was also created at a particular time when the testator was forced to face his own mortality and they can present a distorted view of their concerns and interests. There was a need to set temporal affairs in order, make provision for personal bequests and make provision for spiritual salvation or charitable bequests. As a result wills can overemphasise the importance of material possessions, religion, charitable actions and family as something that would continue after death. However, despite being written to address a particular situation, there was a lot of scope for individuality within wills that can shed light on the testator's personality. For example, the will of Henry, 1st Lord Marney, d. 1523, includes instructions for his funeral, masses, almshouses, the completion of a chapel attached to Layer Marney church and a description of his desired tomb, whilst Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1543, has no religious preamble or instructions regarding his burial but does make very lengthy provisions for the

⁹¹ See for example, Michael Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles as a Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 50, no. 122 (1977), pp. 246-9.

distribution of his lands and a small reference to the funding of his funeral.⁹²

Artistic depictions of the death bed often show wills being written as the person lay dying and it was possible to dictate a verbal will.⁹³ In reality, the complexity of noble estates meant that it was prudent to have made arrangements in advance. Noblemen might also write multiple wills as their circumstances changed or in advance of going to war, resulting in statements such as that of Henry, Lord Marney in May 1523 that this will revoked any previous wills.⁹⁴ Not everyone revised their will and the will admitted to probate for John Bouchier, earl of Bath, d. 1539, still described him as Lord Fitzwarin.⁹⁵ As a result wills can pre-date the testator's death by a matter of weeks to years. An extreme case was that of Edward, Lord Hastings of Loughborough, d. 1572, whose will was written sixteen years before his death.⁹⁶

Testators used their wills to express their desires and it appears that their contemporaries did take them seriously and attempt to act on them. When William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton and Lord Privy Seal, died in October 1542, it was an awkward situation for his fellow commissioners in the North. They were in the middle of preparing an invasion of Scotland and, when it became apparent that Southampton would not live, the commissioners pleaded with the Privy Council to send a man north to take over the command of the vanguard. Thomas

⁹² TNA, PROB 11/21/156; TNA, PROB 11/30/425.

⁹³ Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England*, pp. 32-3.

⁹⁴ TNA, PROB 11/21/156.

⁹⁵ TNA, PROB 11/28/525.

⁹⁶ *Test Vet*, ii, pp. 740-2.

Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk added a personal plea to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Thomas Wriothesley for a replacement to lead Southampton's men, ideally the Lord Admiral, Lord John Russell, or, failing that, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford.⁹⁷ Despite these pressing concerns, Sir Anthony Browne, one of the other commissioners and Fitzwilliam's half-brother, took the time to write to Russell and Wriothesley and ask that Wriothesley contact Fitzwilliam's widow to comfort her and to get a sight of the will in order to determine whether he had asked to be buried in a particular location. Rather than hurriedly bury the body without reference to the will, they were going to leave the confined body in the main parish church of Newcastle until they returned from their military expedition.⁹⁸

However, it is necessary to recognise that the wishes of testators could not always be acted on or were overridden. We can see evidence of this in the case of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, d. 1545, whose will requested that he be buried at Tattershall but who was actually interred in St George's Chapel, Windsor.⁹⁹ In the case of Lord Hastings of Loughborough, the will was not even admitted to probate.¹⁰⁰ There are also cases of wills seeking to rectify the failure of previous generations to provide suitable commemoration. William Blount, Lord Mountjoy,

⁹⁷ *The Hamilton Papers. Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century*, ed. Joseph Bain (2 Vols., Edinburgh, 1890), i, pp. 267-8.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁹⁹ TNA, PROB 11/21/391, PROB 11/31/456; BL, Add MS 45131, f. 85r; Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1109, ff. 142-6.

¹⁰⁰ David Loades, 'Hastings, Edward, Baron Hastings of Loughborough (1512x15?-1572)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12563>, accessed 10 Sept 2014].

d. 1534, writes that he had been 'negligent' in providing tombs and laying stones over friends as he 'should have done'. In an attempt to make up for this negligence, his will asks his executors to try and provide various tombs including for himself, his third wife, and possibly his fourth wife. He wished that a 'better fashioned tomb' be made for his father and brother and that a stone be laid over his first wife because she did not have one as her father 'promised at sundry times, to have removed her, and did not'.¹⁰¹ In these cases, we have to recognise the distinction between the valuable information contained in wills about the deceased's wishes and actual commemoration that can also tell us about the living, their concerns and the restrictions on them.

Sources such as funeral accounts and tombs show us the commemoration that was undertaken. Written sources describing noble funerals can tell us where an individual was buried and the ceremonial, charity and hospitality that accompanied their interment. Noble funerals in this period were under the control of the College of Arms. They dictated how much black cloth was used to make gowns for those attending, based on their rank; oversaw the painting of the various heraldic banners and decorations; organised the procession; and, through their attendance, represented royal authority. In return, they received a substantial fee.¹⁰² They also tended to write the most detailed descriptions of funerals.

The practice of lodging funeral certificates with the College of Arms developed in the late sixteenth century. Prior to this, their descriptions of funerals

¹⁰¹ TNA, PROB 11/25/473.

¹⁰² Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, pp. 171-4, 181-2.

are sparser. Whilst this is unfortunate, the fact that the recording of funerals was in development meant that the earlier accounts were less formulaic and lengthier compared to the later funeral certificates which, in line with the earl marshal's orders of 1568, list the deceased's date of death, place of burial, their marriages, their issue, the ages of their children at the time of the funeral and whether they were married.¹⁰³ The longer descriptions include a wealth of information that can include the route of the procession, the people involved in the funeral, the alms giving and religious observances, and the funeral furnishings. In some cases, they are accompanied by illustrations of the funerary accoutrements such as banners and the hearse. The marked difference between descriptions and certificates is evident in the case of Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1572, for whom there is both a two paragraph funeral certificate and a nine folio description of the event.¹⁰⁴

A handful of the fuller descriptions and financial accounts, such as those for the funeral of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland, d. 1489, have been collated and published in antiquarian collections and histories.¹⁰⁵ Others are distributed between copies in manuscripts held in the Bodleian and British libraries and

¹⁰³ *Munimenta Heraldica 1484-1984*, ed. G. D. Squibb (The Publications of the Harleian Society, New Series, 4, 1985) p. 104.

¹⁰⁴ *Lancashire Funeral Certificates*, ed. T. W. King and F. R. Raines (Chetham Society, Remains, Historical and Literary, Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, 75, 1869), pp. 4-5; Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 215-223.

¹⁰⁵ See for example, the account of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk's funeral printed (with errors) in Martin, *History of the Town of Thetford*, App. 38-43. The accounts for Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland's funeral are printed in *Desiderata Curiosa: Or, a Collection of Divers Scarce and Curious Pieces Relating Chiefly to Matters of English History* (2 Vols., London, 1779), ii, pp. 246-7.

manuscripts held in the archives of the College of Arms. The records are somewhat skewed towards the later decades of this period as the heralds moved towards more uniform recording of funerals. Where accounts do survive for the earlier period they tend to be for the higher ranks of the nobility, individuals such as the 4th earl of Northumberland; John, viscount Welles, d. 1499; Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk; and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. For the 1550s and 1560s, short descriptions of noble funerals are included in the diary of Henry Machyn. Machyn took an interest in recording the pageantry of London and the funerals of prominent citizens and nobility. His interest stemmed from his position as a supplier of funeral trappings and the diary began as a record of the funerals that he supplied. As a result, whilst his entries sometimes provide details of the number of guests and the hospitality associated with the funeral, they primarily record the escutcheons, pencelles and bannerrolls being produced for the funeral.¹⁰⁶ When studying funerals, it is important to bear in mind Kevin Sharpe's warning that we are dependent on texts to describe events. Words cannot capture the experience of viewing or participating in those events and, therefore, our understanding of them is necessarily limited.¹⁰⁷ However, noble funerals formed an important part of the spectacle of Tudor England, alongside pageants, tournaments, progresses and coronations.

Tomb monuments and their location form a central part of this thesis

¹⁰⁶ See *Machyn's Diary*, pp. vii-ix for his interest in funerals.

¹⁰⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London, 2009), pp. 51-2.

because they are a visible and lasting form of commemoration that could convey a number of aspects of noble identity. They are also a central part of the commemoration of the Howard family. There are a number of approaches to the study of monuments, indeed Nigel Llewellyn has recently reflected that it is 'a field that is inherently interdisciplinary'. As visual objects that have social, cultural and religious functions, and that can incorporate personal and religious images, they are of interest to art historians, archaeologists, researchers of history, genealogy, and heraldry, anthropologists and sociologists.¹⁰⁸ There has been an interest in the study of monuments dating back to early antiquarians in the sixteenth century, resulting in an extensive historiography incorporating a range of approaches to the source material.

In recent decades, the study of late medieval and early modern art has moved from a concentration on artistic style and origin to an understanding of art within the context of the society that produced it. Artwork of all kinds, including memorials, is now considered in terms of audience, function and patronage. However, Llewellyn suggests that within this, the study of monuments has remained largely antiquarian in style, not fully incorporating the critical approaches of art historians, and is dominated by case studies rather than 'thematic and synoptic histories'.¹⁰⁹ This approach can be seen in the publications of local history and archaeology societies and of the Church Monuments Society

¹⁰⁸ Nigel Llewellyn, 'The State of Play: Reflections on the State of Research into Church Monuments', *Church Monuments*, 28 (2013), p. 7.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

and Monumental Brasses Society. Examples in this period include descriptions of the tombs of Lords Parr of Horton and Dacre of the South, as well as the various articles on the tombs of the Howard family at Framlingham.¹¹⁰ Slightly broader case studies are those looking at the work of craftsmen, such as Bayliss' article on Richard Parker or those looking at the memorials of a particular family.¹¹¹ The advantage of family case studies is that it helps us understand the family, their identity, culture and aspirations. Meanwhile our knowledge of the family can further inform our understanding of the memorials. An excellent example of this is provided by Nigel Saul's study of the medieval memorial brasses of the Cobham family, who were seeking to ensure a lasting presence at a time when the family line was about to die out.¹¹²

Although less common, a wider approach has been taken by Llewellyn himself in his study of post-Reformation monuments and by Peter Sherlock and Phillip Lindley.¹¹³ These studies incorporate a huge range of monuments, either in the early modern or medieval period, with reference to style, context and how society interacted with them. However, they do conform to another norm of the study of monuments, dividing the material on a periodic basis either using the

¹¹⁰ Jon Bayliss, 'The Monument of William, Lord Parr, at Horton (Northamptonshire)', *Church Monuments*, 23 (2013), pp. 78-88; George Elliott, 'A Monumental Palimpsest. The Dacre Tomb in Herstmonceux Church', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 148 (2010), pp. 129-44; Stone Colvin, 'The Howard Tombs at Framlingham, Suffolk', 'The Howard Tombs at Thetford and Framlingham'.

¹¹¹ Jon Bayliss, 'Richard Parker "the Alabasterman"', *Church Monuments*, 5 (1990), pp. 39-56; Jonathan Edis, 'Beyond Thomas Kirby: Monuments of the Mordaunt Family and Their Circle, 1567-1618', *Church Monuments*, 16 (2001), pp. 30-43.

¹¹² Nigel Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England. The Cobham Family and Their Monuments 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001).

¹¹³ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*; Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*; Phillip Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship. Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, 2007).

medieval/early modern boundary or the pre/post Reformation boundary. This thesis is, therefore, relatively unusual in that it will study commemoration across the traditional dividing lines of periodization. In terms of the historiography of church monuments, it will draw on both the art historical and historical approaches and, whilst using case studies, they will be approached comparatively. However, that comparativeness is restricted to the study of the nobility and across a much shorter time rather than being an ambitious study of all social classes across several centuries.

Fifty-one surviving monuments have been identified and described in the appendix to this thesis representing twenty percent of all noblemen who died between 1485 and 1572.¹¹⁴ This relatively small percentage is made smaller by the exclusion of six tombs from the main body of the analysis. These are the tombs of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, which was constructed in 1614, Thomas, 1st Lord Darcy of Ciche at St Osyth's, Essex which was erected c. 1580; the tomb of Thomas Wriothesley, 1st earl of Southampton which is a joint monument with his wife and son, constructed in 1582 in accordance with the wishes of the 2nd earl; the tomb of Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester which was constructed in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth I; and the tombs of the 1st and 2nd Lords Mordaunt which were constructed in 1571-5 and 1592-3 respectively.¹¹⁵ These tombs were all

¹¹⁴ There are two tombs commemorating Thomas, Lord Wharton and one tomb commemorating both Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre and his heir. The effigies commemorating the 1st and 3rd earls of Derby have been treated as one entry in the appendix.

¹¹⁵ Nikolaus Pevsner, revised by Enid Radcliffe, *Suffolk* (London, 2nd ed. 1974), p. 218; Nikolaus Pevsner, revised by Enid Radcliffe, *Essex* (Harmondsworth, 2nd ed. 1965, reprinted 2000) p. 342;

constructed post-1572, sometime after the death of the commemorated individual and as part of subsequent family commemorative strategies.

Whilst the number of tombs is small, this is not unexpected because of attitudes towards tombs and churches both in the sixteenth century and in subsequent centuries. Being noble did not automatically equate with the building of tombs and monuments. They were an expensive investment, they were not always deemed necessary either by the deceased or by their descendants and plans could be disrupted by unexpected events. For some, a death through sickness or battle contributed to a tomb not being constructed, even where instructions had been left precisely for those reasons. This is also a period in which there were many high profile executions. It is rare to find memorials in these circumstances no doubt as a result of the political sensitivities and embarrassment surrounding the circumstances of their death. The tomb of Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk exists because it was constructed before his execution in 1572. However, it is notable that the effigy requested in his will to complete the monument was never commissioned.¹¹⁶ Two other monuments to executed noblemen, Thomas, Lord Darcy of Temple Hurst, d. 1537 and Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, d. 1547, were erected some considerable time after the event. Darcy's tomb is believed to date from the 1560s and Surrey's tomb dates from 1614.¹¹⁷

VCH, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, iii, p. 231; John Newman, *Gwent/Monmouthshire* (New Haven and London, 2002), p. 16; Edis, 'Beyond Thomas Kirby', pp. 38, 40.

¹¹⁶ ACA, MS T5.

¹¹⁷ Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 218; Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London 1: The City of London* (London, 1997, reprinted 1999), p. 208.

The surviving tombs do not correlate exactly with the individuals that requested them. This is partly because some requested tombs were never built whilst others were built but not referred to in wills. It is also a result of subsequent tomb destruction. Prior to the dissolution of the monasteries, a number of noblemen were buried either in the London friaries or in monasteries and priories around the country. Occasionally it is possible to determine that a tomb was constructed for them as in the case of John Blount, lord Mountjoy who was commemorated alongside relatives in the Church of the Greyfriars, London. In this instance, a register survives detailing the tombs in the church.¹¹⁸ Often it is not possible to be certain whether a tomb was built in a monastery or friary church and, if they were, it is likely that they were destroyed. That is not to say that there was wholesale destruction. The Dacre family tombs still survive at Lanercost Priory but are now in the open. Some tombs were preserved but only by being moved as in the case of the tombs of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk and Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond or the effigies believed to be those of the 1st and 3rd earls of Derby, removed from Burscough Priory to Ormskirk. Further destruction of noble memorials has occurred over the centuries through iconoclasm, events such as the great fire of London and church reorganisation.

Antiquarian sources sometimes reveal the existence of tombs that were already lost or damaged during the author's life, such as that of John Nevill, Lord

¹¹⁸ *The Greyfriars of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Aberdeen, 1915). For John Blount, Lord Mountjoy's tomb see p. 90, 'Et ad sinistram eius in tumba eleuata in archu jacet dominus Johannes Blunt, dominus de Mountjoy...qui obiit 14 die mensis Octobris A^o dni. 1485.'

Latimer, d. 1542/3, which was described by John Weever as ‘broken in pieces’.¹¹⁹ However, these sources can be ambiguous. Stow lists Robert and Henry Radcliffe, earls of Sussex amongst those buried at St Laurence Poultney.¹²⁰ Christian Steer has stated that they were both commemorated with tomb monuments.¹²¹ Based solely on Stow this claim does not appear clear cut as, elsewhere in his survey, he specifically talks about individuals having monuments. Antiquarian accounts rarely provide much descriptive detail, although epitaphs are often transcribed.¹²² On occasion tombs were sketched before they were destroyed or altered. The Wriothesley heraldic collection in the British Library includes illustrations of the lost tomb of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk at Thetford Priory and of the tombs of Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand, d. 1508, and William, viscount Beaumont, d. 1507, at the London Blackfriars.¹²³ A sketch of the tomb of John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford, d. 1513, at Colne Priory is also preserved in the British Library and a sketch of the tomb of the 2nd duke of Norfolk in Lambeth is in the archives at Arundel Castle.¹²⁴ Other sketches were prepared for antiquarians including the lost tomb of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, in the Church of St.

¹¹⁹ Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments*, p. 161.

¹²⁰ Stow, John, *A Survey of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (2 Vols., Oxford, 1971), i, p. 223.

¹²¹ Steer, Christian, ‘Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, c. 1240-1540’, in Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess (eds.), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (Donington, 2010), p. 137.

¹²² Multiple examples of transcribed epitaphs can be found in Stow, *Survey of London* and Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments*.

¹²³ BL, Add MS 45131, ff. 82r, 85r.

¹²⁴ The illustration of the 13th earl of Oxford’s tomb has been consulted in Ross, *John de Vere*, where it is reproduced from BL, Add MS 27348, p. 31; ACA, Lilly, *Genealogie of Howards*, p. 120.

Paul's, London, and the tomb of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland, d. 1489, as it appeared in 1661.¹²⁵

The scarcity of surviving examples for a narrow group of individuals that are unevenly spread across the country means that it is not always possible to draw meaningful conclusions about regional influences on noble tomb construction but they do appear to fit into broader trends identified by Nigel Llewellyn. He points to particularly high numbers of tombs in the southern and south-eastern counties, stretching into Essex and Cambridgeshire as opposed to the sparseness of monuments in the far north and Cornwall. He also points to the influence of the London workshops on these areas that were within reach of London by water and, in many cases, lacked the local materials for constructing tombs. In contrast, there were active, local alabaster workshops producing monuments in the West Midlands and local manufacture was common in the northern Midlands counties.¹²⁶

In keeping with this picture, there are clusters of noble tombs in Essex and Cambridgeshire and in the West Midlands. The tombs of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, d. 1539, located in Castle Hedingham and Thomas, Lord Audley, d. 1544, and buried in Saffron Walden, are both attributed to Cornelius Harman, a Dutch

¹²⁵ For the earl of Pembroke's tomb see William Dugdale, *The History of St Pauls Cathedral in London* (London, 1658), p. 88. The illustration of the 4th earl of Northumberland tomb has been consulted in Horrox, Rosemary, 'The Later Medieval Minster', in Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 38 where it is reproduced from CA MS RR 14.C, f.89.

¹²⁶ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 60-77.

tomb-maker.¹²⁷ Although they are not stylistically identical, they both make distinctive use of the same black limestone of the type usually said to be touch or Tournai 'marble'.¹²⁸ The same stone was used on the tombs of the 1st and 2nd lords Marney, d. 1523 and 1525, and buried at Layer Marney; the tomb of George Brooke, Lord Cobham, d. 1558, and buried in Cobham, Kent; and the tomb of Edward, Lord North, d. 1564, and buried in Kirtling, Cambridgeshire. This similarity creates a regional grouping despite the different dates of the tombs and the differences in family background.

Similarly, the tombs of Walter Devereaux, viscount Hereford; Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon; and Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland form a grouping of alabaster tombs with standing figures along the sides (Appendix 3/15, 19, 24; Plate 32). Again, despite a span of construction dates that potentially stretched from the 1530s to the 1560s, they form a distinct Midlands grouping. This can be attributed to the strength of the alabaster workshops of the West Midlands and Jon Bayliss has listed them all as the work of Richard Parker, although only the Rutland tomb is documented as Parker's work.¹²⁹ A geographical outlier to this group is the tomb of George Manners, Lord Roos which, whilst alabaster and making use of standing figures along the sides, is located in St

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 70, 210.

¹²⁸ Tournai 'marble', a dark limestone from the Tournai region, has been identified as a component several tombs. However, researchers now believe that some stone identified as Tournai 'marble' may have come from other northern European quarries. It is impossible to determine the origin from visual inspection alone, F. Dimes, 'Sedimentary rocks' in J. Ashurst and F. Dimes (eds.), *Conservation of Building and Decorative Stone* (2 Vols., Oxford, 1990), i, pp. 61-134.

¹²⁹ Bayliss, 'Richard Parker', pp. 41-2.

George's chapel, Windsor and commemorates an individual who died in 1513 (Appendix 3/23; Plate 9). Bayliss did not attribute it to Parker but it does point either to shared stylistic tastes within the Manners family or to Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland having commissioned both his and his father's tombs. Whilst it does not incorporate standing figures, the tomb of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, is also attributed by Bayliss to Parker and, in a later article, he has suggested that the tomb used to commemorate William, Lord Parr of Horton, was Parker's work.¹³⁰ Parker's popularity amongst noblemen based in the midlands is given further weight by the will of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, d. 1534, which provided that, were he to die in Derby or Stafford, his tomb should be constructed by Parker and John Smith, freemason of Derby.¹³¹

Where tombs have survived they are not necessarily in their original location and features have sometimes been lost as in the case of the 4th earl of Northumberland's tomb in Beverley Minster which originally had a canopy. During the eighteenth century, the canopy was deemed to be unsafe and, rather than attempting restoration, it was dismantled and the stones used to repair the choir of the minster.¹³² Epitaphs have proved particularly vulnerable to loss, either through the destruction of the whole tomb or the subsequent erosion of carvings. Again, antiquarian descriptions are of use here as they noted down epitaphs that they deemed to be particularly interesting or noteworthy. The erosion of heraldry

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 41; Bayliss, 'Monument of William, Lord Parr', pp. 78-88.

¹³¹ TNA, PROB 11/25/473.

¹³² Ivan Hall, 'Beverley Minster Observed', in Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 100.

and epitaphs means it is not always possible to identify the individual being commemorated and incidents of misidentification have occurred in church histories. Until their destruction in a fire of 1998, a number of tombs belonging to the Neville family were housed in St Brandon's church, Brancepeth. One of these was described by Leland as located in the quire but moved, and cut down in size, during the nineteenth century. Leland stated that it was the tomb of a Neville who 'lakkid Heires Males', which would suggest that it was the tomb of the 2nd earl of Westmorland.¹³³ However, some commentators have questioned this identification because of the use of Yorkist insignia on a Neville tomb from the 1460s and the style of the armour.¹³⁴ Meanwhile, a second tomb that had survived at Brancepeth until the fire of 1998 is sometimes held to be that of Ralph Neville, 3rd earl of Westmorland, d. 1523.¹³⁵ There is also doubt over this as earlier writers claimed that it was the tomb of the 3rd earl's wife and their son, Lord Ralph Neville.¹³⁶ Some weight would seem to be given to this interpretation as Lord Ralph and his mother were buried in a chapel on the south side of the quire at Brancepeth, presumably where the tomb was originally constructed, while the 3rd earl of Westmorland was interred in the parish church at Hornby.¹³⁷ On the other hand, it was not unheard of for noblemen to be buried in a different location from

¹³³ *The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535-1543*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (5 Vols., London, 1964), i, p. 72.

¹³⁴ Henry J. Swallow, *De Nova Villa: Or the House of Nevill in Sunshine and Shade* (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1885), pp. 300-1.

¹³⁵ Nikolaus Pevsner, revised by Elizabeth Williamson, *County Durham* (New Haven and London, 2000), p. 117.

¹³⁶ Swallow, *De Nova Villa*, p. 302.

¹³⁷ *Itinerary of John Leland*, i, p. 72.

their tombs whereas it is unusual for a grown man to be commemorated just with his mother. This raises a third possibility that the tomb was for Lord Ralph Neville but in conjunction with his wife rather than his mother.

The Neville tombs at Brancepeth serve as a reminder both of the difficulties associated with tomb identification, even in the case of prominent families, and of the continuing fragility of early modern tombs. In addition to accidents such as that at Brancepeth, tombs remain vulnerable to the remodelling of churches. The baptistery at St Botolph's without Aldgate which houses the tomb retrospectively commemorating Thomas, Lord Darcy of Aston was not created until the twentieth century so, whilst it is fortunate that the tomb has survived a complete eighteenth-century church re-build and subsequent remodelling, we are no longer seeing it in its original architectural context.¹³⁸ Other tombs have been moved from their original location, including that of Henry Neville, 5th earl of Westmorland which is now placed over floor memorials that post-dated his death and John, Lord Cheyney whose tomb now forms part of a line of tombs in the nave, created when three of the cathedral's chapels were destroyed in 1789.¹³⁹ Some have been moved at a later date to form part of new visual statements. At one point the tomb of Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon was part of a complementary pairing of tombs (with that of his descendant mounted on the wall above his chest) but now stands in the centre of the chapel whilst the memorial to

¹³⁸ Bradley and Pevsner, *London 1: The City of London*, p. 207-8.

¹³⁹ Nikolaus Pevsner, revised by Bridget Cherry, *Wiltshire* (New Haven and London, 2002), pp. 391, 415, 417.

the 2nd earl of Cumberland was placed in its current position in the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁰ Information for these moves is patchy, with the records for some churches providing considerably more detail than others.

In addition to the context of tombs being changed by their movement within a church, there were other material adjustments that alter the way in which tombs are viewed. The survival of fragments of medieval stained glass such as the heraldic pane in the 4th duke of Northumberland's chapel reminds us that churches and chapels patronised by noblemen would have been filled with other imagery, both religious and heraldic. It is also thought that tombs that appear to have blank shields would originally have had the heraldry painted on them. We are used to seeing plain-coloured tombs when in reality they would have been brightly coloured and, particularly in the 1970s, some were restored to reflect that. As well as tombs, churches themselves were usually painted but have subsequently been whitewashed as a result of religious changes and developments in aesthetic fashions. The advent of electricity has changed the way in which churches and chapels are lit. The rhythm and language of Catholic liturgy; the use of lights and incense; and the altars and chapels with their own priest saying prayers and masses meant would have had impact on the sounds and smells within a church, both on a day to day basis and on special occasions. The combination of these structural, decorative and liturgical changes means that the appearance of tombs and their visual impact on observers has changed with time. Despite

¹⁴⁰ A photograph of the 19th century placement of the Hastings tomb is mounted in the church; Enid and Roger Pyrah, *The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, Skipton* (Skipton, 2002), p. 11.

understanding the changes to the environment in which tombs were situated it is difficult to imagine and reconstruct the social, religious and cultural atmosphere experienced in the sixteenth century. Our own experience of commemoration, therefore, is not the same and we cannot fully capture the range of emotions that they would have felt.

Whilst our understanding of these tombs may be altered by their movements and the changes in their surroundings, they are, nonetheless, preserved and accessible to the public. Another, modern, risk to monuments is the abandonment of churches that have become too costly to maintain in the face of shrinking congregation sizes. If a church is sold into private ownership then the owners become responsible for the monuments. It is possible that they may then be neglected or public access denied. In the case of sixteenth-century noble tombs, this is a risk faced by the tomb of William, Lord Parr of Horton, the parish church at Horton having been closed since 1998 with the possibility that it will be sold off.¹⁴¹

In addition to epitaphs on tombs, a handful of printed elegies and poems celebrating noblemen and their actions survive for this period and shed light on alternative forms of commemoration beyond the physical memorials. There are too few of them to attempt any comparative work and it is a shame that more do not survive as they are valuable evidence of the virtues and actions celebrated and aspired to by the nobility. The elegies used in this thesis include examples from

¹⁴¹ For a description of the tomb and of the threats to tombs as a result of church closures see, Bayliss, 'Monument of William, Lord Parr', pp. 78-88.

both the start and end of the period but are restricted to members of the higher nobility. It is not always easy to determine the origins of elegies or their intended audience. The epitaph for Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, was printed by Richard Pynson but the authorship seems unclear. It has been attributed to John Skelton but this seems to be incorrect.¹⁴² Other examples are more clearly identifiable in terms of authorship, printer and even intended point of sale. John Denton's epitaph on the death of Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, was printed in London by William Williamson and Thomas Churchyard's epitaph for William Herbert was imprinted by William Griffith with the intention that it be sold at his shop in St Dunstan's churchyard.¹⁴³

The question of where elegies were to be sold is important as, if we are to determine that noblemen used commemoration to present a particular identity and even, in some cases, attempted to create commemorative schemes, it is necessary to consider who the audience was and how they would have understood and engaged with commemoration. The handful of wills and letters that deal with the planning of tombs and funerals tell us about their importance to the deceased or their living representatives but do not reflect their reception by wider society. Henry Machyn provides a rare example of a diary that reflects an interest in commemoration and it is useful for details of funerals. However, given

¹⁴² *The epitaffe of the moste noble [and] valyaunt lasper late duke of Beddeforde* (London, 1496), STC (2nd ed.)/14477.

¹⁴³ John Denton, *An Epitaph vpon the death of the right honourable Edward Earle of Darby*, STC (2nd ed.)/6674; Thomas Churchyard, *The epitaphe of the honorable Earle of Penbroke, Baron of Cardiffe, and knight of the most noble order of the garter* (London, 1570), STC (2nd ed.)/5227.

his trade, it is an atypical interest. Similarly, royal proclamations and antiquarian accounts show an interest in preserving tomb monuments but amongst a specialised sub section of society. The families of the deceased can also be seen as a receptive audience for commemoration although the longevity of that receptiveness was not guaranteed. The loss of tombs as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries and subsequent iconoclasm reveals that not all families sought to preserve their ancestral monuments in the face of religious change but a number did and went on to add to family mausoleums. In the case of the Howard family, there is evidence that anecdotal stories about commemoration were preserved in written texts in subsequent generations.¹⁴⁴

In terms of the wider population, the nature of the audience and the extent to which commemoration had an impact is unlikely to have been uniform. It is useful to think in terms of written, visual and participatory commemoration. Written elegies or histories were by their nature restricted in their audience to the literate portions of society. That is not to say that they were confined to noble circles. There was an appetite for pamphlets and an interest in accounts of Tudor military successes. When considering these texts, the author's intent should be borne in mind, particularly the audience they were writing for and whether they were patronised by the family. John Skelton's elegy to Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland appears personal in tone, advising the young 5th earl of

¹⁴⁴ Henry Howard, earl of Northampton recounted a story relating to Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk's funeral in a publication of 1583), Henry Howard, *A defensative against the poison of supposed prophecies*, (London, 1583, reprinted 1620), p. 119.

Northumberland but it also addresses the commons over their murder of the earl and was published later in the sixteenth century, opening it up to a wider audience.¹⁴⁵ In the majority of cases, the authors appear to have been writing for a wider audience and with the intention of praising their subject and, perhaps, to find favour with a living patron. As a result, they present idealised accounts, of noble and virtuous subjects and shed light on which aspects of noble identity contemporaries felt gave the renown that the subject desired.

Literacy levels did not present a barrier to viewing visual commemoration, whether that is architectural symbols or funerary spectacles. Kevin Sharpe has acknowledged Sydney Anglo's argument that people did not understand complex iconography and emblems and accepts the danger of taking the interpretation of spectacles too far but warned against underestimating the awareness of visual symbols. People were familiar with emblems and the 'language of signs' was widely understood.¹⁴⁶ Certainly heraldry, used on clothing, banners and buildings would have been both a familiar sight and, given its origins as a means of identification, would have been understood even by those below the level of the nobility and gentry. However, it should be questioned whether understanding heraldry meant that these forms of commemoration had a sustained impact.

In contrast, a noble funeral was a one-off occasion. For the residents of Framlingham and the surrounding area, over thirty years passed between the

¹⁴⁵ BL, Royal MS 18 D II, ff. 165r-166v. The poem is printed in, *Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry in Two Volumes*, ed. Ernest Rhys (2 Vols., London, 1906, reprinted 1910), i, p. 124-30.

¹⁴⁶ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 48-9.

deaths of the 2nd and 3rd dukes of Norfolk, and it is plausible that an individual would witness only one noble funeral in his or her lifetime. When they did occur, the scale of the procession would have been a memorable disruption, or distraction. A large number of other people also played an active role in the planning and execution of a noble funeral. This was commemoration as a participatory act and we should ask whether it would have had a more vivid impact on the wider population than a monument.

Whilst it appears that there were audiences for Tudor noble commemoration, albeit ones with limits, it was not possible to control the way in which it was interpreted. The image that noblemen sought to present might not be the one that was remembered. Other representations could also be pervasive. As the Tudor monarchs found, by using new methods of propaganda debate was opened up, counter-representations emerged and the language used to represent authority could be used to critique it.¹⁴⁷ Commemoration can be used to see noblemen trying to control their image and respond to attacks on their reputations. Tombs in particular represented England's political and social structure and history but iconoclastic attacks meant that they might not survive to make the intended impression. It was not necessarily the representation of a secure identity with a solid foundation. As Sharpe has argued, images of monarchs can be read as a response to crisis or a painting over of other representations, and

¹⁴⁷ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 74, 177.

this can also be applied to commemoration.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, attacks on monuments were also an attack on political and social hierarchies. Commemoration could not guarantee the manner in which the deceased was remembered but, given the range of commemorative forms utilised by the Tudor nobility, it is clear that they believed it was a good method of controlling their image after their death.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 47.

CHAPTER 1 – KINSHIP

For the nobility of late fifteenth and sixteenth-century England, family was of central importance. The wealth and power of the established families was rooted in their ancestry, marriage could maintain or advance social status, and family members could provide the route into royal service or the means to exercise power through the granting of offices to relatives. There was an intense pride in illustrious relatives and the privileges that had been inherited from them. That is not to say that all noblemen placed loyalty to their family above all else. The 3rd duke of Norfolk was quick to distance himself from his extended family in times of crisis to prevent any scandal attaching to himself or his close relatives.¹⁴⁹ However, pride and loyalty to their immediate family is a strong element in the commemoration of the period including the choice of burial location and the design of tombs.

The importance of family can be detected from the early stages of the commemorative process. Of the one hundred and five surviving noble wills, nineteen percent make reference to the deceased's wife or wives. The ways in which they were referred to encompass both those requests for physical closeness in death such as Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon who stated that, should it be convenient he 'wolde be buried in the Chapell of Teverton by my lady my wife' and those requests such as that of John, 2nd Lord Marney who requests that his tomb have an image of himself and brass images of his two wives but does not explicitly

¹⁴⁹ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, pp. 128-9, 85, 88.

state that all three bodies would be interred in the same place.¹⁵⁰ A slightly smaller number, fifteen percent, refer to burial near their ancestors, often their fathers. The count of noblemen choosing to be buried or commemorated in a church where their ancestors had been buried or commemorated is no doubt higher than this suggests as not all felt it necessary to refer explicitly to their ancestors in their wills. For example, Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk only refers to being buried in the tomb built to commemorate his wives without giving its location. That tomb is located in Framlingham parish church alongside the tombs erected to commemorate the 3rd duke of Norfolk and the duke of Richmond but the family connection might have gone unnoticed if the will was being considered in isolation.

It was common for requests to be buried near ancestors to be connected to paternal ancestry, a reflection of the most common source of inherited power and wealth. When Henry, Lord Marney, d. 1523, asked to be buried in Layer Marney Church 'where diuerse of myn Aencestours lye' he was referring to previous generations of the Marneys not to his mother's family.¹⁵¹ Thomas Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, d. 1524, requested to be buried in the collegiate church at Arundel.¹⁵² This meant being buried alongside Fitzalan earls of Arundel dating back to the early fifteenth century. Other noblemen, such as Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, d. 1530, and Henry, Lord Paget, d. 1568, were more explicit in asking to be buried

¹⁵⁰ TNA, PROB 11/16/435, PROB 11/21/540.

¹⁵¹ TNA, PROB 11/21/156.

¹⁵² TNA, PROB 11/21/478.

near their fathers.¹⁵³ However, some noblemen did choose to be associated with their maternal relatives. George Manners, Lord Roos, d. 1513, is buried in the chapel founded by Sir Thomas St Leger in St George's Chapel, Windsor. St Leger was Manners' father-in-law and the brother-in-law of Kings Edward IV and Richard III. Whilst the Roos title was an ancient barony that dated back to the thirteenth century, Roos himself was newly promoted to the title through his mother and burial in the St. Leger chapel no doubt created an association with his wife's more prominent relatives. It is not clear whether the desire to create such an association rested with Roos or his heirs as his will requested only that he be buried near to his place of his death and at the discretion of his executors.¹⁵⁴ Members of older noble families were not above creating a commemorative association with their maternal relatives. Edward Stafford, 2nd earl of Wiltshire, d, 1499, requested that he be buried in St. Peter's Church, Lowick "in oure Ladye Ile by my grantfader Grene".¹⁵⁵ Stafford's father, John Stafford, had been the third son of the duke of Buckingham which placed him a good position to achieve advancement to the earldom of Wiltshire but the extensive lands centred on the manor at Lowick were inherited through John Stafford's marriage to Constance Green. It seems likely that Edward Stafford felt a greater affinity to Lowick and the maternal ancestor from whom he had inherited than to his Stafford relatives. Thomas West, Lord la Warr, died 1554, also initially sought to be commemorated at Boxgrove Priory near the manor of

¹⁵³ TNA, PROB 11/24/141, PROB 11/51/153.

¹⁵⁴ TNA, PROB 11/17/487.

¹⁵⁵ TNA, PROB 11/11/602.

Halnaker, which had been inherited by his wife, Elizabeth Bonville, in 1498.¹⁵⁶ The chantry chapel that he commissioned c. 1538 still survives at Boxgrove.¹⁵⁷ That he was buried at Broadwater not Boxgrove was a result of political developments rather than personal choice.

That there was loyalty to family and ancestors should not be taken to mean that burial alongside them was sought at all costs or that there was an overriding impulse to preserve ancestral tombs and burial locations. The Fiennes family provide an extreme example of the extent to which individuals were prepared to recycle existing memorials and the lack of care given to monuments, particularly once the male line had died out. The monument to Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre of the South, d. 1533 and his son at Herstmonceux is believed to have been constructed by incorporating elements such as canopied niches that pre-date the tomb chest and possibly came from an earlier tomb (Appendix 3/16). Meanwhile, the effigies have been moved from Battle Abbey and probably originally represented Lord Hoo, died 1455 and his half-brother, Thomas Hoo, died 1486, a male line that had ended by the 1530s (Plate 1).¹⁵⁸

The willingness of families to abandon memorials and ancestral burial locations is evident in the aftermath of the dissolution of the monasteries when many of the institutions that held memorials were closed down and the churches

¹⁵⁶ Michael Riordan, 'West, Thomas, eighth Baron West and ninth Baron de la Warr (1472–1554)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29099>, accessed 7 Aug 2014].

¹⁵⁷ *VCH, Sussex*, iv, pp. 146-7

¹⁵⁸ A description of the tomb, its different elements and its restoration is in Elliott, 'A Monumental Palimpsest', pp. 129-44.

dismantled. The Howard family appear, if anything, to have been unusual in their efforts to save Thetford Priory from dissolution. Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, wrote to Henry VIII requesting that if the Priory was not turned into a college, he be permitted to purchase it and turn it into a parish church. In the letter, he referred to the priory church as being the burial place for the duke of Richmond, the King's illegitimate son; the duke's late wife, the King's aunt; the duke's father and others of his ancestors.¹⁵⁹ Not only was the church of importance to him as the burial place of his family but he attempted to appeal to Henry VIII's sense of family to secure the future of the church. When this failed, he arranged for the tombs that were being constructed for himself and his son-in-law, Henry Fitzroy, to be moved and erected in Framlingham parish church. The decision to do so may have been aided by the fact that the tombs had, in all probability, not been assembled at that point. There certainly does not appear to have been any attempt to move the tomb of the 2nd duke of Norfolk to Framlingham. However, a new tomb was constructed for him in the Howard Chapel at Lambeth Church indicating a continued interest in the memorialisation of family members.¹⁶⁰ As this was the burial place of his second wife, Agnes Tilney, it is possible that this decision represents her influence rather than his son's.

Although they were unusual, the Howards were not completely alone in attempting to salvage some element of their family's pre-dissolution commemoration. Thomas West, Lord de la Warr wrote to Cromwell pleading the

¹⁵⁹ *L&P*, xiv, pt. 2, 815.

¹⁶⁰ An illustration of this second tomb survives in ACA, Lilly, *Genealogie of Howards*, p. 120.

cause of Boxgrove Priory of which he was ‘founder’, and which contained many of his ancestors, his mother in law and a chapel built for his own burial.¹⁶¹ This was followed up with a petition from de la Warr and his wife to Henry VIII asking for the church to remain standing as their parish church, with its bells still in place. They also wished for various other buildings to remain standing and to be allowed to purchase the church ornaments and rent the demesne lands.¹⁶² Unlike at Thetford Priory, the plea was successful. De la Warr purchased the church and other buildings and was granted a lease of the site of the priory and the manor of Boxgrove.¹⁶³ Part of the monastic church was converted into a parish church ensuring the survival of the de la Warr chantry chapel.¹⁶⁴ However, after he fell from royal favour in 1538 and was investigated for treason, Lady de la Warr was informed that Henry VIII wanted Halnaker. They were left with no choice but to exchange Halnaker, Boxgrove and other Sussex lands for property in Hampshire.¹⁶⁵ With the connection to Boxgrove broken, de la Warr abandoned his chantry chapel and was commemorated with a tomb in Broadwater parish church, alongside that of his father.¹⁶⁶

In contrast, the priories of Burscough and Earls Colne were not converted

¹⁶¹ *L&P*, x, 552; Rev. Edward Turner, ‘The Priory of Boxgrove’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 15 (1863), p. 104.

¹⁶² *L&P*, xi, 1468.

¹⁶³ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p. 228.

¹⁶⁴ Nicholas Antram and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Sussex: East with Brighton and Hove* (New Haven and London, 2012), p. 117. Although, this edition incorrectly identifies it as being the chantry chapel of the previous Lord de la Warr (d. 1526).

¹⁶⁵ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p. 228-9.

¹⁶⁶ Frederick Harrison and O. H. Leeney, ‘The Church of St Mary, Broadwater’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 74 (1933), pp. 125-7.

nor were the monastic burial locations of the Lords Roos. The earls of Derby, Oxford and Rutland appear to have joined the duke of Norfolk in choosing to remove monuments rather than abandon them. Three of the four stone effigies representing the Stanley family and preserved in Ormskirk parish church are believed to represent Thomas Stanley, 1st earl of Derby, and his two wives (Plates 19 and 21). Derby had been buried at Burscough Priory, and the effigies are thought to have been removed to Ormskirk from there.¹⁶⁷ Tombs commemorating the medieval earls of Oxford were preserved and eventually ended up in a passageway behind the house built on the priory site in the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁸ They were subsequently moved to St. Stephen's Chapel, Bures, Suffolk in 1935.¹⁶⁹ More prominent are the tombs commemorating the early Lords Roos which were moved from Croxton Abbey and Belvoir Priory and form part of the Rutland mausoleum in the chancel of St Mary's Church, Bottesford.¹⁷⁰ Elsewhere many traditional noble burial places were dissolved without the deceased's heirs creating new family burial traditions and the surviving noble tombs from before 1536 tend to be those that were located in parish churches, cathedrals and private chapels. The tombs of the Lord Dacres of the North are poignant testimony to the abandonment of medieval family burial traditions as they still stand in the ruins of

¹⁶⁷ CA, MS I.15, ff. 147-8; Richard Pollard and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Lancashire: Liverpool and the South-West*, The Buildings of England (New Haven and London, 2006), p. 534.

¹⁶⁸ *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (4 Vols., London, 1916-1923), iii, p. 88.

¹⁶⁹ Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 125; Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 164.

¹⁷⁰ Nikolaus Pevsner, revised by Elizabeth Williamson, *Leicestershire and Rutland* (London, 2nd ed. 1984, reprinted 2001), p. 105-6.

Lanercost Priory.¹⁷¹

Once the burial location had been chosen, it was necessary to organise and perform the funeral ceremony. This provided the opportunity for a substantial display of ancestry, marriage and current family strength both through the people playing a ceremonial role and the use of heraldry. The presence of family and heraldry in the funeral ceremony was a constant throughout the century, remaining largely unaffected by religious developments or alterations in the social origins of the nobility. The decline of the heraldic funeral in the early seventeenth century has been attributed in part to the focus on the correct ceremonials and attendees rendering them impersonal, rather than attendance being voluntary, and that spouses were prevented from mourning one another because the mourners had to be the same gender as the deceased. The mourners who took part in the funerary rituals had to be the same status as the deceased, preventing any but eldest children from acting as mourners, and the heralds were concerned only with getting the correct number of mourners of the right rank rather their relationship to the deceased.¹⁷² This interpretation emphasises the political role of the ritual, presenting a view of society where the power of the aristocracy continues unbroken and no one individual is indispensable.¹⁷³ It is perhaps unduly harsh as the heralds did not always strictly apply the regulations; to begin with it

¹⁷¹ Phillip Lindley, 'Heraldic Tomb Monuments', in Henry Summerson and Stuart Harrison (eds.), *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 2000), pp. 158-65.

¹⁷² Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, pp. 175, 91-2.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

would have been impossible for dukes and marquises to have eleven mourners of the same status as themselves when only a handful of dukedoms and marquises existed. The sixteenth century funeral did have scope for the inclusion of many family members, as mourners and in other supporting roles, and non-familial participants often had a relationship with the deceased that will be explored below (p. 156) based on a shared experience of royal service.

The heraldic funeral required the participation of a chief mourner, usually the deceased's heir. In most cases, as for the marquis of Winchester this meant the eldest son or grandson of the deceased. When someone else filled the role it was often because the male line had come to an end. Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex, d. 1540, had no direct male heir and his corpse was attended by his son-in-law, Lord Parr. It could also occur when the heir was too young to take on the role as in the case of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, d. 1545, who was attended by his son-in-law, the Marquis of Dorset, presumably as his eldest surviving son was just ten years old.¹⁷⁴ The chief mourner was supported by a number of other mourners. The exact number seems to have been formalised along the lines of rank as the century progressed. They were usually drawn from amongst the close relatives, extended family, friends and colleagues of the deceased. The Howards were a large noble family and often had more than one surviving son. This was amply displayed to the world at the funeral of the 2nd duke of Norfolk in 1524.¹⁷⁵ His mourners were primarily drawn from amongst his family members. Three of them were his sons –

¹⁷⁴ *Machyn's Diary*, p. 70; CA, MS I.15, f. 214r; Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1109, ff. 142v-143r.

¹⁷⁵ CA, MS I.7, ff. 56v-60v.

his chief mourner and heir, Thomas Howard, and his younger sons, Lords Edmund and William Howard. A further four of the mourners – the earl of Oxford, Thomas Boleyn, Henry Radcliffe and Rhys ap Griffith - were the duke's sons-in-law. A bit more tangentially, Lord Fitzwalter was Henry Radcliffe's father, making him part of a broad network of interlinked families. His funeral also reveals that younger relatives could take on some of the responsibilities of the chief mourner by acting as their deputy. Norfolk's body was placed in the chapel at Framlingham Castle prior to his funeral. While it rested there, three masses were sung daily and attended by the mourners. However, because his eldest son, the earl of Surrey, was on business with Henry VIII, Lord William Howard, his son by his second wife, stood in as deputy for the chief mourner.¹⁷⁶

The funeral of William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, d. 1572, was also dominated by his family. The list of nine mourners was headed by his sons, the Lords St. John, Thomas, Chideok and Giles. The role played by his younger sons supports the argument that the heralds did not strictly insist on the highest status mourners that could be found. It is unlikely that it reflects a lack of involvement by the College of Arms, as four officers of arms, including Garter King of Arms were in attendance. Four of the mourners were gentlemen and it is possible that the 'Mr Oughtrid' that completed the list was Henry Oughtred, the second husband of the Marquis' granddaughter, Elizabeth Paulet. A further five individuals with the surname 'Powlet' are listed amongst the individuals playing supporting roles in the

¹⁷⁶ CA, MS I.7, f. 56r.

funerals such as bearing the bannerrolls. It is likely that these men were drawn from the ranks of the deceased's grandsons and great-grandsons. Similarly, the Mr Courtenay listed as one of the two potential train bearers could have been a great-grandson, by Elizabeth Paulet's first husband, Sir William Courtenay of Powderham.¹⁷⁷

It was normally possible to find at least one kinsman, as in the case of Suffolk's funeral. Similarly, at the funeral of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk who had few suitable, close male relatives, the chief mourner was still his grandson, the young Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk, and his sole surviving son, another Lord Thomas Howard, was a supporting mourner.¹⁷⁸ When there was not a large network of male relatives or where they were unable to attend the funeral, the people playing functions in the funeral reflected other connections such as those made through military service or local office holding. It was rare to have no relatives at the funeral at all. One exception where there were no relatives of the deceased present amongst the primary mourners was that of Henry Percy, 6th earl of Northumberland in 1537.¹⁷⁹ His chief mourner was the Lord Butler, son of the earl of Ossory, aided by Lord Burgh; Ralph Sadler, who had been trusted with arrangements for the funeral; Sir Anthony Wingfield; John Gostwick; Mr Greneway and Richard Cromwell. All these men were closely associated with the

¹⁷⁷ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 211-14.

¹⁷⁸ CA, MS I.11, f. 34v.

¹⁷⁹ There is a synthesis and analysis of the two accounts of the funeral held by the College of Arms in Gerald Broce and Richard M. Wunderli, 'The Funeral of Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland', *Albion*, 22, no. 2 (1990), pp. 199-215.

crown and had acted for it against the Pilgrimage of Grace.

The lack of relatives in this case, whilst unusual in a wider noble context, is explainable in the context of Northumberland's career. He had no children and had disinherited his brothers and other heirs not of his body in 1536.¹⁸⁰ The letters first proposing that the King should be named his heir spoke of 'debylytery and unnaturalness of those of my name.'¹⁸¹ By the time of his death, the elder of his brothers, Sir Thomas Percy, had been attainted and executed, Sir Ingram Percy was imprisoned in the tower, and he was in the process of handing his estates over to Henry VIII. With family out of the picture, why were those men in particular chosen as mourners? They had little in the way of connections to the Percies or to the northern regions where they had traditionally exercised influence and none of them were of equivalent rank to the deceased. It could, as Broce and Wunderli suggested, reflect the government conquest of the Percy family.¹⁸² However, this would require there to have been a deliberate campaign by Henry VIII against the earl of Northumberland with a desire to display symbolic dominance by the crown. An alternative explanation is that, Henry VIII was now Northumberland's heir. Given the symbolic aspects of a heraldic funeral in representing the transfer of power from the deceased to his heir, Henry VIII could have been the most appropriate choice as chief mourner. Except that the King did not attend noble funerals so a proxy would have to go in his place. Loyal, royal servants would be

¹⁸⁰ Hoyle, 'Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland', p. 196.

¹⁸¹ *L&P*, viii, 166. Hoyle considers this to have been misdated, Hoyle, 'Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland', p. 208.

¹⁸² Wunderli, 'Funeral of Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland', p. 214.

the natural choice.

The heraldic funeral had a particular function as a means of displaying the power and authority of the crown and the nobility. As such it was not structured to focus on the grieving process. This is further exaggerated by the fact that the heralds were concerned with recording that the funeral was done properly and in good order rather than noting the demeanour and behaviour of the participants. In reality, funeral attendees often had real attachments to the deceased and a sense of grief at their passing. It was not a light undertaking to be part of a heraldic funeral. At the 2nd duke of Norfolk's funeral, it was noted that the days were so long that the mourners had both their long funeral gowns to wear in the towns and their short, riding gowns to wear the rest of the time. Similarly, their horses were fully trapped in the towns but had demi trappings the rest of the time.¹⁸³ There was then the need to attend several services including, in the Catholic period, three masses on the day of the burial itself, complete with offerings.¹⁸⁴ Even allowing for the fact that the principal mourners, in particular chief mourners, would send proxies in their place for some of the services, it was a substantial commitment. It would seem plausible that, to undertake so much effort, some personal desire to commemorate the deceased must have been felt.

The heralds' accounts do provide some clues as to the emotional impact of funerals on the living. The chief mourner, usually the closest relative, did not necessarily attend all the masses, with deputies stepping in to make their offerings.

¹⁸³ CA, MS I.7, f. 57r.

¹⁸⁴ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 837, ff. 135-7.

In some cases, this is because they were elsewhere as in the case of the 2nd duke of Norfolk. At the funeral of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, d. 1554, his chief mourner, the 4th duke of Norfolk was present in Framlingham but did not attend the masses of the Trinity and Our Lady, being fetched only for the mass of Requiem. Possibly, the strains and emotions of the day were too much for the sixteen-year old duke. This would appear to be borne out by the fact that, the night before, the heralds noted that after the dirige, the mourners had been conveyed to the castle to 'compose'.¹⁸⁵ Emotion was not just reserved to the immediate family. In the account of the 2nd duke of Norfolk's funeral, it was observed that, after the head household officers and gentlemen ushers had broken their staves and thrown them into the grave, they 'maid great mournyng'.¹⁸⁶ There are also indications that the sense of grief was even greater when death of an individual also represented the ending of a noble family line. Machyn recorded that 'the mone' was greater for Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, d. 1554, because he had died without issue.¹⁸⁷

Having the opportunity to ceremonially mourn a deceased relative appears to have been more of an issue for noblewomen than men. The funeral descriptions written by the heralds for noblemen make no mention of women and all the supporting individuals are male. That is not to say that women were never present at these funerals. The accounts for the funeral of Henry Percy, 4th earl of

¹⁸⁵ CA, MS I.11, f.34.3v.

¹⁸⁶ CA, MS I.7, f. 59v.

¹⁸⁷ *Machyn's Diary*, p. 71.

Northumberland in 1489, include a £15 payment for twenty gowns for gentlewomen.¹⁸⁸ That the heralds did not mention the women in their descriptions indicates that they were primarily interested in the political aspects of the funeral not the grieving. The prioritisation of the politics and social order in noble funerals is further supported by the fact that there were so few women at Northumberland's funeral relative to the hundreds of male poor men, foot men, lords, gentlemen, yeomen and priests. There is no reference to gowns for higher status women that could refer to his own relatives but, equally, the accounts do not have any payments relating to the chief and principal mourners either, suggesting that their gowns were paid for elsewhere. In contrast, heralds accounts of the funerals of noblewoman, mention male attendees. In part this is because of practicalities; women were unlikely to have carried standards, so men filled roles that the heralds were interested in recording. The assistants to the mourners could also be male. This allowed male relatives to play a role in the ceremonials rather than simply attending. Funeral accounts for noblewomen are also more specific in mentioning both noblemen and their wives. At the funeral of Muriel Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk and his first wife, Elizabeth Tilney, the Lady mourners were drawn from her extended female relatives and the knights assistant to the body and esquires for the body from her extended male relatives. The heralds also listed gentlewomen attendees, lords in mourning and knights and

¹⁸⁸ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, p. 247.

esquires.¹⁸⁹ Again, this possibly reflects the political interests of the heralds, in that men turning out for any funeral were of more interest than women, than the significance of the funeral for the attendees.

The College of Arm's involvement in noble funerals also included overseeing the provisions of suitable furnishings. Funerals for those of the rank of banneret or above incorporated both the deceased's standard and a banner of their arms (Plate 2).¹⁹⁰ Bannerolls of arms were carried during the funeral procession, displaying descent, marriages and progeny. The church was decorated with escutcheons and penselles of arms as were any churches where the body rested overnight on its way to the place of burial. Some noblemen distributed escutcheons not just to the churches where the body rested but also to any churches that were passed en route. During the funeral procession of the 2nd duke of Norfolk, five escutcheons were given to every church that sent out a procession to meet the corpse.¹⁹¹ At the centre of the funeral was the hearse erected in the middle of the church where the body would rest and around which the stools for the mourners were placed. These were elaborate structures with a canopy referred to as the majestie and bordered with drapery called the valance. They usually incorporated taffeta and velvet and trimmed with fringes of silk. The rails and barriers were hung with black cloth and the whole decorated with pencilles and

¹⁸⁹ BL, Add MS 45131, ff. 69v-77r.

¹⁹⁰ *Machyn's Diary*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

¹⁹¹ CA, MS I.7, f. 57v.

escutcheons.¹⁹² When Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, died in 1571 a hearse of 12ft by 9ft and 30ft high was erected in the church at Ormskirk. The whole construction was covered in black cloth, velvet, taffeta and silk fringe and then decorated with escutcheons, pencelles and his 'words'. A sketch depicting a similar structure for the funeral of William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, d. 1572, (Plates 3 and 4) is preserved in the Bodleian Library and shows that it was embroidered with his motto, 'Aymes Loyalte'.¹⁹³ The heraldic funeral ceremony included the offering of heraldic achievements, the helm and crest, coat of arms (tabard), target and sword.¹⁹⁴ These were significant in terms of their representation of the nobility's traditional status and role within later medieval society but the tabard and the target also incorporated the deceased's coat of arms whilst the crest was personal to the deceased's family.

Once the funeral was finished the heraldic achievements and banners would be hung in the church as a memorial to the deceased and their family. That memory could be reinforced by means of the effigies and heraldry on tombs. Marriages could be depicted via images on tombs, with noblemen lying alongside their wife, or wives. The three tombs belonging to the Manners family in this period all depict couples (Plates 5 and 6, Appendix 3/23-5). The choice of effigies was made problematic when a nobleman predeceased his wife or when he had multiple wives. Some tombs such as that of Edward Stafford, earl of Wiltshire, d.

¹⁹² See for example, the funeral of Edward Stanley, earl of Derby (d. 1572), Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, f. 216.

¹⁹³ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, f. 212.

¹⁹⁴ For a description of the different achievements see *Machyn's Diary*, p. xxxi.

1449, do not depict couples. In Wiltshire's case this is possibly because he predeceased his wife. However, tombs could be completed whilst some, or all, of the commemorated were living. The tomb of Walter Devereaux, viscount Hereford, d. 1558, (Plate 7, Appendix 3/15) was probably constructed during his lifetime and certainly before the death of his second wife yet it depicts both his wives.

Not all noblemen who had multiple marriages were commemorated alongside all their wives. The tomb intended to commemorate the 4th duke of Norfolk depicts only two of his three wives. The inclusion coats of arms of the Fitzalan and Audley families, indicates that the effigies were intended to represent his first two wives, Mary Fitzalan and Margaret Audley, although neither lady was interred at Framlingham (Plate 8, Appendix 3/22). Where the heraldry of the noblewoman's family is not included it can be difficult to identify which wife was being commemorated. As described above, there has been debate over the identity of the female effigy on the tomb of the 3rd duke of Norfolk (p. 14). The two alternatives represent quite different commemorative strategies. If he was commemorated alongside his first wife, Anne Plantagenet, then a statement is being made about Norfolk's marrying a descendant of a prestigious, and royal, dynasty. Elizabeth Stafford was also from a high status family but, as the mother of Norfolk's surviving children, being commemorated alongside her could be interpreted in terms of the future of the Howard family. This would be given further weight if it was the 4th duke of Norfolk who commissioned the effigies, possibly to commemorate his parents. Without further evidence to either identify

the duchess or to shed light on Norfolk's intentions, then questions are likely to remain about both.

Tombs could also make connections to previous and future generations. John, Lord Marney, d. 1525, requested his executors to place on his tomb, 'oon Image of brasse for every of my two wyves Dame Cristian and Dame Brygett' but he also wanted the tomb and his effigy to be made of the same stone as had been used for his father's suggesting that they were designed to be seen as a pair.¹⁹⁵ Using stylistic similarities to create connections between generations is also evident in the tombs at St Mary's Church, Old Basing where the tombs commemorating the 1st and 2nd marquis of Winchester are almost entirely identical. Increasingly, tombs came to depict family in terms of progeny as well as ancestry and marriage alliances with children appearing on the tomb as standing or kneeling figures. The 'lineage tomb' depicting the deceased's family as miniature figures around the chest appears from the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁹⁶ These figures are often described as weepers but they are not normally dressed in mourning garments or shown as grieving.¹⁹⁷ The earliest surviving noble tomb from this period that commemorates an individual alongside depictions of his children is that of George Manners, Lord Roos. He died in 1513 and is buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle. Along the sides of his tomb are six female and six male standing figures; these would appear to represent his six daughters and five

¹⁹⁵ TNA, PROB 11/21/540.

¹⁹⁶ Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages. History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), p. 149.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-6.

sons. The sixth male figure was presumably included for the purpose of symmetry (Plate 9, Appendix 3/23). Other tombs with standing figures include the tomb of Lord Roos' son Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1543, and the tombs of Walter Devereaux, viscount Hereford, d. 1558; Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568; and Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, d. 1560. Huntingdon's tomb has names carved under the figures making it possible to identify them (Plate 10, Appendix 3/19). It would be a mistake to assume that all of these are intended to represent children. Wharton's tomb at Healaugh has two shields on each side, and each of them is flanked by a male and a female figure (Plate 11, Appendix 3/46). Closer inspection reveals that, unlike the Roos tomb where each standing figure is made to an individual design, on the Wharton tomb, there is one design for the male figures and one for the female figures. They also resemble the primary effigies. It seems probable that they are meant to represent Wharton and his wives with the figures standing alongside their halves of the coats of arms. A variation on the standing figures is found on the tomb of Henry Neville, earl of Westmorland, d. 1564, which has figures carved along the side but they are kneeling (Appendix 3/29). The tomb of Henry Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1563 also has three kneeling stone figures on it representing his children (Plate 12, Appendix 3/24).

The figures depicted on tombs could be supplemented by inscribed epitaphs. The majority of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk's epitaph is devoted to his military career rather than an account of his lineage but family did not go completely unmentioned. The epitaph ended with a focus on the future

generations, listing Norfolk's sons, his daughters and the various high ranking noblemen to whom they had been married.¹⁹⁸ The 2nd duke of Norfolk's epitaph was unusual in its length and most sixteenth-century epitaphs are either inscribed around the edge of a tomb chest or, in the second half of the century, on small panels. None of these allowed for the same level of eloquence and detail. It was usual for epitaphs to provide details of any marriages entered into by the deceased. The tombs of George Manners, Lord Roos, d. 1513; Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, d. 1542; and Henry Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1563, all refer to their wives and their wives' ancestry. They could also draw attention to the deceased's parentage and, on occasion, other relatives. Weever records the epitaph of Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond at the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre as having stated,

'Hic iacet Thomas filius Jacobi, comitis Ormundie, ac fratris Jacobi, comitis Wilts & Ormundie...'¹⁹⁹

Similarly, the tomb of Edward, Lord North at Kirtling lists his four children and two sons-in-law.

As with funerals, heraldry was a constant presence on tombs in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the case of the pre-Reformation tombs, heraldry provided a useful aide-memoire to the living allowing them to identify the commemorated long after they had passed from immediate memory and, it was to be hoped, encouraging them to pray for their souls. However, it is evident that the

¹⁹⁸ Martin, *History of the Town of Thetford*, App. 49.

¹⁹⁹ Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments*, p. 187.

heraldry was also used to celebrate family rather than purely for religious purposes because there is no obvious trend from frequent to infrequent use over the century. Traditional, late medieval style tombs displaying multiple coats of arms are more likely to have been found in the pre-Reformation era but there are tombs from the mid-sixteenth century with more than one coat of arms whilst some of the early examples made discrete use of heraldry.

One of the earliest surviving Tudor noble tombs is the tomb of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland who was murdered in 1489 (Appendix 3/34). The tomb is located in a private chapel that was constructed in the aftermath of his death in accordance with the wish expressed in his will that, should he die in Yorkshire, he be buried in 'the college church of Saynte John of Beverley'.²⁰⁰ Rather than displaying large shields with quartered coats of arms, the tomb is decorated with small heraldic shields and badges that bear testimony to the ancestry of the Percy family (Plate 13).²⁰¹ The tomb was originally covered by a stone canopy which was sketched for William Dugdale in 1661. The sketch reveals that the canopy was also decorated with the earl's coat of arms, the Percy badges of the crescent and shacklebolt and the motto 'Esperance ma comforte'.²⁰² Nonetheless the heraldry on the monument was subtle compared with the tombs of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk (Plate 14); and Thomas, Lord Dacre, d. 1525 (Appendix 3/10) which had a number of large coats of arms carved into the sides of the tomb chests.

²⁰⁰ *Test Ebor*, p. 305.

²⁰¹ Nicholas Dawton, 'The Medieval Monuments', in Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 150.

²⁰² Horrox, 'Later Medieval Minster', p. 38.

Although heraldry was important, that did not mean that it was guaranteed to be completed or to last. The tombs of the earl of Wiltshire, d. 1499 (Plate 15, Appendix 3/39) and John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, c. 1491-2 (Appendix 3/35), have shields in place but they are blank. It is possible that the heraldry was painted on and has now been lost.

During the sixteenth century, there appears to have been a general move towards fewer coats of arms on tombs and experimentation with their placement. This shift appears to have been driven by the expansion in types of memorial rather than religious changes rendering the heraldic aide-memoire for prayers obsolete. There are few surviving noble tombs from the later 1530s and the 1540s when religious upheavals first began but those that were erected make use of heraldry. George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, d. 1538, was commemorated in the parish church of St Peter and St Paul, now Sheffield cathedral, with a tomb chest that is medieval in appearance and has coats of arms along both sides (Plate 16, Appendix 3/42). The same is true of the tomb of Henry Clifford, 1st earl of Cumberland, d. 1542 (Appendix 3/6), and of John Russell, earl of Bedford, d. 1555 (Appendix 3/36). Later in the century, new styles began to emerge and the tomb of Henry Manners, 2nd earl of Rutland, d. 1563 used a table design with the effigies underneath and a vertical panel mounted on the table-top with an elaborate coat of arms on each side rather than multiple coats of arms around the sides of the tomb (Plate 17, Appendix 3/25).

Changes in style were both gradual and interspersed with other individuals

continuing to favour a more traditional style for their tombs. Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon (Plate 10, Appendix 3/19) and Thomas, Lord Wharton (Plate 11, Appendix 3/46) may have made use of standing figures on the side of their tombs but they were interspersed with traditional heraldic shields. Meanwhile, the tomb intended for Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk and made before his execution in 1572 only displays heraldic shields and ducal coronets on the sides (Plate 8, Appendix 3/22). In these cases, there may have been a deliberate attempt to use the tomb to show their claim to belong to a traditional, noble family both in terms of displaying full lineages and in terms of the style of their tombs.

The importance of lineage and heraldic display to the Howard family is evident across the generations and the tomb built for the 4th duke of Norfolk is yet another example. The Hastings family had an impeccable lineage of gentility stretching back to the twelfth century and had first achieved ennoblement with a barony under Edward IV.²⁰³ Wharton was slightly different in that he was newly ennobled, and had personally risen from a gentry background to “break the hold of the Border magnates on the great March offices.”²⁰⁴ However, his gentry ancestry was rooted in the world of the border lords and military service, fighting at Solway Moss and serving in noble households. It was to this medieval world that his house at Healaugh and also his tomb at Healaugh harked back.²⁰⁵ Where fewer coats of

²⁰³ Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings Third Earl of Huntingdon* (London, 1966), pp. 4-5.

²⁰⁴ Mervyn James, 'Two Tudor Funerals', in Mervyn James (ed.), *Society, Politics and Culture* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 183.

²⁰⁵ James, 'Change and Continuity in the Tudor North', pp. 125, 36.

arms are used on a tomb it is perhaps better attributed to personal choice as to whether to make a statement by using traditional forms or by adopting Renaissance styles.

Tombs could incorporate familial heraldry by other means. The effigies of the 2nd duke of Norfolk (Plate 14), Edward Stafford, earl of Wiltshire (Plate 18, Appendix 3/39), and that believed to belong to the Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1504 (Plate 19, Appendix 3/40) were depicted wearing surcoats decorated with their coat of arms. Such effigies appeared on occasion throughout this period. The brass image of Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, d. 1570, (Plate 20, Appendix 3/7) shows him wearing a heraldic surcoat and the effigy believed to represent Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1572, (Plate 21, Appendix 3/39) is also wearing one. More common is the use of the deceased's helm, complete with crest, as a pillow for their head and the heraldic beasts of both their and their wives' families being used as footrests.

Individual tombs should be understood not just as stand-alone objects but in the context of the other tombs and decorations that surrounded them. As has already been noted, burial was often sought near to family members. Where tombs were constructed, this created a family mausoleum either within a private chapel, as in the case of the Talbot family, or within the main body of the church, as in the case of the Howard family. Some historians ascribe the growth of family commemoration to the religious changes of the sixteenth century but it is clear that family mausoleums existed before then with the tombs of the 4th earl

Northumberland and the earl of Wiltshire forming part of group of family tombs, located in close proximity to each other. Tombs could also be constructed retrospectively for previous generations, in order to give the impression of a family mausoleum. When William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, d. 1534, wrote his will, he made provision not only for the construction of his own tomb but also for those of his family.²⁰⁶

It was not just about proximity to other tombs, but also to the decorative schemes of the churches themselves, now often lost or diminished. The Percy chapel that houses the tomb of the 4th earl of Northumberland originally had a commemorative scheme of stained glass windows that reflected his life and family. The windows originally showed the earl's family in prayer with him and the body of the earl being prepared for burial by his grieving relations. These images were viewed alongside heraldic glass panels.²⁰⁷ Of these windows, just one panel survives today, showing the earl's coat of arms (Plate 22). A few small fragments of additional medieval glass have been rescued and used as a decorative border for the coat of arms. One of the fragments depicts a shacklebolt within a crescent, a symbol which combined two of the Percy family badges.²⁰⁸ In addition the window jambs in the chapel are decorated with stone angels bearing carved shields displaying the Percy badges and coats of arms.²⁰⁹ The use of church windows to

²⁰⁶ TNA, PROB 11/25/473.

²⁰⁷ Horrox, 'Later Medieval Minster', p. 39.

²⁰⁸ Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge, 2000), plate 5; Michael Powell Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales* (3 Vols. In 4, Woodbridge, 2009), ii, pt. 2, pp. 224-6.

²⁰⁹ Dawton, 'Medieval Monuments', p. 150.

depict family and kinship complemented installation of domestic stained glass panels showing family pedigrees. Leland describes the Neville residence of Raby Castle as having a little chamber with plain windows which had been put in to replace coloured glass showing the family pedigree.²¹⁰

The language of heraldry was one that would have been familiar both to other members of the nobility and to the wider society. There was a long-standing tradition of using heraldic badges as shorthand for particular individuals in printed texts and ballads. From the late fourteenth century, political verses recounting the wars with France, Lancastrian seizure of power and the Wars of the Roses identified the leading personalities by their badges. Alongside the historical accounts, there was also a genre of prophetic texts that used badges and coats of arms.²¹¹ Circulation of texts using heraldic symbols was not restricted to those that could afford to patronise poets or chroniclers, critical or satirical texts might be publicly distributed as had happened with the notorious verse referring to Richard III as a 'Hog'.²¹² Public awareness of the prophetic texts is also reflected in official fears resulting in legislation forbidding political prophesying, including fortunes told on the basis of 'arms' and 'badges'.²¹³

Within a particular locality, the badges of local lords would have been a familiar sight. The Tudor monarchs sought to restrict the extent of noble retaining

²¹⁰ *Itinerary of John Leland*, i, p. 75.

²¹¹ For analysis of the use of badges in verse see Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, I, pp. 89-107.

²¹² Charles Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda and Popular Opinion During the Wars of the Roses' in Ralph A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, The Crown and The Provinces In Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1981), p. 16.

²¹³ *The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. A. Luders et al (11 Vols., London, 1810-28), iii, p. 850.

but the issuing of liveries, in accordance with the law, was permitted and servants wearing heraldic badges on their sleeves would have been a familiar sight.²¹⁴ The use of heraldry by noblemen, including on tombs and in funeral ceremonies, was a form of propaganda that proclaimed power, lineage and political loyalties.²¹⁵ However, the prevalence of heraldry may have lessened its impact. Unlike a funeral where people fulfilled a participatory role and which might have been a one-time occurrence in their lifetime, a tomb was an observed constant and the heraldry was not unique in its surroundings. Tombs visually dominated a church and there was an implication that they should prompt people to prayer, or to reflect on a virtuous model, but, for the local congregation, familiarity might breed a lack of engagement and memory that would be compounded as generations passed. This is evident in the vague identification of some tombs by antiquarians such as John Leland and contrasts with the ideal of the monument as genealogical source.²¹⁶ Even the most imposing of monuments could become commonplace when viewed on a regular basis. They formed part of a wide-spread, long lasting and subconscious display rather than being intended to make a stand-alone statement.

Contemporaries recognised that monuments did play a role in preserving the memory and genealogy of noble families. In 1560, in the face of continuing

²¹⁴ Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel. Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 137-41.

²¹⁵ Adrian Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda' in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 102-4.

²¹⁶ In addition to the examples of the Westmorland tombs outlined above, Leland referred to a tomb in Beverley Minster as belonging to 'Eleanor, wife to one of the Lord Percies', *The Itinerary of John Leland*, i, p.46.

attacks on tombs by iconoclasts, Elizabeth I issued a proclamation prohibiting the destruction of church monuments. The initial concern expressed was that, by spoiling and breaking up monuments, it extinguished 'the honourable and good memory of sundry virtuous and noble persons deceased'. However, the problem went beyond that. The destruction of tombs was also perceived as damaging the understanding of families in the country who had descended from the commemorated persons. It was feared that this could prevent 'the true course of their inheritance'.²¹⁷ Thereby tombs, with their heraldry and epitaphs, were given an important role in proving entitlement to rights, status, coats of arms and titles.

In addition to visual celebration of family, a lasting memorial could be achieved through the composition of elegiac poems. The epitaph of Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, d. 1495, makes considerable use of illustrious kinship, helped no doubt by Bedford's relationship to the Lancastrian dynasty.²¹⁸ It refers in passing to his arms being those of England and France quartered; his entitlement to these arms was rooted in the fact that his mother was Catherine of Valois, dowager Queen of England and daughter of Charles VI of France. In several places, the elegy makes use of the heraldic symbolism discussed above (p. 85), referring to Bedford as 'bromecod' rather than by name. The broom plant with pods was Bedford's badge and broom-cods appear on his seals. It was another connection to his royal relatives as the broom-cod was the badge of the kings of France. It had also been

²¹⁷ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. P. L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (3 Vols., New Haven and London, 1964-1969), ii, p. 146.

²¹⁸ The epitaffe of the moste noble [and] valyaunt lasper late duke of Beddeforde (London, 1496), STC (2nd ed.)/14477.

used as a badge by Richard II and the Lancastrian kings, including widely by Bedford's half-brother, Henry VI, who, amongst other uses, had a collar of esses and broom-cod.²¹⁹ The high status of his family is elaborated on elsewhere in the poem. He was 'broder & uncle to kynges in degre', a reference to his relationship to his half-brother Henry VI and nephew, Henry VII as well as being 'Grete uncle and uncle to prynces thre', referring to Edward of Lancaster, Arthur Tudor and Henry Tudor. It was not enough to stress their secular status, the poem also draws attention to the unofficial cults of sainthood that had grown up around Henry VI and Edward of Lancaster, giving them spiritual status. Little evidence exists of the cult of Edward of Lancaster, one of the few examples being a payment in Elizabeth of York's privy purse accounts for a pilgrimage on her behalf.²²⁰ This elegy provides further evidence of the existence of the cult, of the royal family's awareness of it and that it was established enough to enhance Bedford's reputation. Skelton also claims for Bedford, lineal descent from Aeneas of Troy, a reference to the medieval legend that ascribed the discovery and founding of Britain to Brutus, a descendant of Aeneas.²²¹

Whilst other elegies do not make as much use of the deceased's family, they do make passing reference to birth or blood. The printed epitaph on the death of Walter Devereaux, viscount Hereford describes him as, 'A lorde by birthe, and of

²¹⁹ Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, ii, pt. 1, pp. 56-8.

²²⁰ N J Rogers, 'The Cult of Prince Edward at Tewkesbury', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 101 (1983), p. 188.

²²¹ *Geoffrey of Monmouth: History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Michael D. Reeve and Neil Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 6-8, 26-8.

ancient blod'.²²² Similarly, Skelton's elegy on the death of the 4th earl of Northumberland notes that he was 'Of the blode royall descending nobelly'.²²³ Another feature of some elegiac poems was the section addressed to or about the heir. Skelton spoke to the 'yonge lyon', the 5th earl of Northumberland, then just twelve years old, telling him,

'Grow and encrease, remember thyn astate,
God the assyst unto thyne heritage,'²²⁴

Whilst Skelton is looking backwards, talking of the new earl growing into his heritage, John Denton's epitaph on the death of Edward Stanley, earl of Derby in 1572 talks in terms of the concept of fame living on into the future. He finishes his poem with the lines,

'As hée in honour runne, a happie race to ende:
So to his sonne now Noble Earle, God graunt him grace to bend.
To treade his Fathers trace, to staye in Gospell pure:
so shall he liue in fathers fame, that euer shall endure.'²²⁵

The opportunities for achieving that family fame were numerous. Connections with ancestors could be maintained by the same burial location and the erection of monuments only enhanced the sense of a family mausoleum. The family could be depicted on tombs with figures representing spouses and, in some cases, children. The extensive use of heraldry on tombs and in churches both allowed the deceased to be identified and commemorated their ancestry. The

²²² 'Ancient Biographical Poems, on the Duke of Norfolk, Viscount Hereford, the Earls of Essex and Queen Elizabeth', ed. J. Payne Collier, in *The Camden Miscellany*, III (London, 1855), p. 17.

²²³ BL, Royal MS 18 D II, f. 165r.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 166r.

²²⁵ Denton, *Epitaph vpon the death of the right honourable Edward Earle of Darby*, STC (2nd ed.)/6674.

funeral was another forum for the celebration of the family with its heraldry and the participation of the deceased's relatives. It could either demonstrate the continuity of a noble line or act as a bittersweet celebration of a now extinct line. Elegiac texts offered the opportunity both to commemorate family and to exhort future generations to emulate their deeds. When choosing which of their ancestors and kinship networks to focus on, noblemen acted with an eye to which connections were the most beneficial in terms of power, wealth and status.

CHAPTER 2 – STATUS

Maintaining a correct status was important within late medieval and early modern English society. It went hand in hand with both ancestry and kinship and with service, as those were the means by which status and entitlement were determined. Evidence of the importance of correct status in sixteenth-century England and the resulting disputes can be found in numerous locations. Miller details the case of Sir Maurice Berkeley who was promoted to the peerage, his uncle having been the last Lord Berkeley three decades earlier. Initially treated as a new creation seated low down amongst the barons, Lord Berkeley held out to have his family's older claim to the peerage recognised. He was eventually listed as the holder of a barony that appeared in the order of precedence alongside those created during the fifteenth century.²²⁶

Social protocols and correct procedure were deployed to distinguish between estates and to represent their position within the social hierarchy. This is evident in the courtesy books that were written at the time. These set out which estates were equal to each other and the impact that this had on social interaction from the etiquette of bowing and giving way in doorways to the number of people that should be seated together at a dinner mess.²²⁷ Whilst these were behaviours enshrined in etiquette and traditions, some distinctions between ranks were enshrined in law. The sumptuary legislation of the period controlled the fabrics

²²⁶ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 18-9.

²²⁷ See for example, *The Babees' Book. Medieval Manners for the Young*, ed. Edith Rickert and L. J. Naylor (Cambridge, Ontario, 2000); William Fiston, *The Schoole of Good Manners* (London, 1609); Francis Hawkins, *Youths Behaviour, Or, Decency in Conversation Amongst Men* (London, 1646).

that could be used by particular ranks, distinguishing on the grounds of fabric type, provenance and quantity. At the same time, as with property and lifestyle, there was an expectation that a magnificence of dress appropriate to rank would be maintained within the confines of the legislation. For the reign of Henry VIII, these issues are covered in Maria Hayward's study of clothing and legislation.²²⁸ The amount of fabric to be used in a particular situation, such as for black gowns at funerals, was dictated by the estate of the person in question.²²⁹ Evidence of these concerns with the correct display of status can be found in the commemorative activities of the nobility in terms of protocol, and in their expenditure and stylistic choices.

Whilst it was a society that supposedly had clear hierarchies that were increasingly policed, it was also one where status was in negotiation and perceptions of it could vary. Hierarchical legislation such as the sumptuary laws was complex. At the highest levels, the royal family, dukes, marquises and earls could be easily set apart but, further into the social structure, the hierarchy descends into a difficult attempt to define the relative status of the heirs of knights against royal household servants, legal professionals or wealthy gentlemen. It is also evident that individuals stepped beyond the strict boundaries of the law. The inventory of Thomas Cromwell's wardrobe in 1527, reveal that he was dressing above his status, no doubt a reflection of his growing role in the

²²⁸ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*.

²²⁹ See for instance in the case of funerals, MS Ashmole 837, f. 138.

service of Cardinal Wolsey and the King.²³⁰ Cromwell, and his rise to power, also provides an illustration of the fluidity of status. Whilst, rising up the social ranks was not new the move had tended to come from the ranks of the county gentry. The sixteenth century and the expansion of government bureaucracy brought with it an increasing number of individuals employed in administrative service, who found that royal service brought with it enhanced entitlements, rewards and titles. It also brought challenges to the status based structures of the royal household. Under the ordinances of 1539-40, councillors of the rank of earl or above were able to dine at the table of the duke of Suffolk, lord president of the council, but barons and bishops ate at the table of the Lord Privy Seal, Thomas, Lord Cromwell. This meant that Cromwell, the leading councillor at the time, had to dine separately from his senior colleagues on the council. His creation as earl of Essex, was in part giving him the status he needed to interact with senior councillors within the social structures of the household and court.²³¹

Given that status could be complex, debated and visually expressed, it is unsurprising to find that noblemen were concerned with how they were perceived. Members of older noble families were keen to distinguish themselves from the new men that they saw gaining influence and subverting the natural order of things. When evidence was being collected in 1546 regarding Henry Howard, earl of Surrey's views on the impending Protectorate, it was reported

²³⁰ *L&P*, iv, pt. 2, 3197; analysed in Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 311.

²³¹ David Starkey, 'Court, Council, and Nobility in Tudor England', in Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (eds.), *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 196-7.

that Surrey deemed his father, the duke of Norfolk, to be 'meetest' to govern the Prince. Surrey considered this to be the case, not just because of his father's achievements or expertise but because of his estate. In contrast, he considered that, 'those men which are made by the King's Majesty of vile birth hath been the distraction (sic) of all the nobility of this realm.'²³² This sentiment was repeated when it was proclaimed that he had been found guilty and condemned to death. At that point he is said to have declared that the King sought 'to get rid of the noble blood around him, and to employ none but low people.'²³³ Despite the tensions, members of the established nobility participated in the ceremonials surrounding the investiture of these new men. To do so was to celebrate nobility whereas a refusal to participate would have diminished their social group and weakened their own status.²³⁴

Faced with such complex attitudes towards them, newer members of the nobility no doubt felt the pressure of conforming to expected norms, in order to disguise perceived differences in their estate. It was necessary to have the property, expenditure and lifestyle expected of a particular office or social rank. Even before he was created Lord Audley, Thomas Audley was arguing that he needed more property because a Chancellor had never had so little to live on and

²³² *L&P*, xxi, pt. 2, 555.

²³³ Sessions, *Henry Howard*, p. 409.

²³⁴ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p. 37.

it would be commented on if he did not hold 200 marks of land at his death. After all, he noted, a lawyer or a merchant 'would not be so satisfied'.²³⁵

It was not just the newly ennobled families that were concerned with their ability to maintain a lifestyle commensurate with their status. When Edmund de la Pole came of age in 1493, having inherited the dukedom of Suffolk from his father a year earlier, he found himself with insufficient wealth for the maintenance of his new status. Ducal estates had been settled on his elder brother, the earl of Lincoln, during their father's lifetime and, following Lincoln's execution and attainder had been forfeited to the crown. He acquired a licence to enter some of his brother's estates but in return had to make annual payments during his mother's lifetime and accepted the lesser title of earl of Suffolk.²³⁶ Thirty years later, Henry Grey, half-brother of Richard Grey, earl of Kent, d. 1523, did not inherit the earldom because he could not maintain it with his estate.²³⁷

The promotion of kinship and the status that an individual perceived they had inherited was not without its risks within the Tudor court. The importance of ancestry and hereditary right was not lost on the nobility of the early sixteenth century, or on Henry VII and Henry VIII. The country had only just emerged from conflict based on competing claims to the throne. The Tudor monarchs were keen to establish their dynasty whilst being aware that they did not have the only, or

²³⁵ *L&P*, vi, 927.

²³⁶ Sean Cunningham, 'Pole, Edmund de la, eighth earl of Suffolk (1472?–1513)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22446>, accessed 29 April 2014],

²³⁷ *Complete Peerage*, vii, p. 169.

indeed, the strongest, claim to the throne of England. Accusations that a nobleman spoke of the king's death especially when backed with a claim to royal status, could lead to execution as Edward Stafford, 3rd duke of Buckingham discovered. The Howard family did not have the same claim to royal blood but, through the female line, they inherited lands that had belonged to the Mowbray family and laid claim to the heraldry granted to the Mowbrays with its connections to Thomas of Brotherton. Their use of that heraldry would be used against the earl of Surrey.

It is evident from the language used in wills that noblemen were considering their status and the perception of it as they approached the moment of death. There was a concern that burial, its associated funerary ceremonials and any commemoration should be fitting to the status of the deceased. Of the surviving noble wills from this period, fifteen percent of them refer to the deceased's 'estate' or 'degree', either in relation to the funeral or a tomb. These references are spread across the period with no obvious trend towards an increase or decrease in their frequency. It is however, notable that most of the requests come from testators whose families were newly ennobled and the majority are lower-ranked noblemen. The four higher ranked noblemen to mention their degree were Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, d. 1495; William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton, d. 1550; William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, d. 1570; and Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk, d. 1572. Of these, Norfolk and Bedford had the least cause to be insecure about their status and therefore least need to remind their executors that they wished to be suitably commemorated. Norfolk was the highest

ranking nobleman in the country when his will was written in 1571; earl marshal in charge of the College of Arms, and part of what was, by then, an established noble family. His concern that his funeral 'be done accordinge to the state and Degree it hath pleased God to call me unto' points to pride in his status rather than any doubt over his position.²³⁸ Bedford had the security of his royal connections and his desire that his tomb 'be hono[r]able made after the state that it hath pleased god to call me to' also seems to be a reflection of pride in his family, in keeping with the emphasis on his ancestry in his elegy.²³⁹

In contrast, both Southampton and Pembroke were newly created as earls, Southampton a courtier and administrator, Pembroke the grandson of an earl but through an illegitimate line. Ensuring that they were accorded a level of commemoration appropriate to their newly achieved status no doubt seemed of importance to them. Amongst the lords to make reference to their degree or estate, most were either first or second generation to hold a noble title. The exceptions being William and Charles Blount, lords Mountjoy, d. 1534 and 1544, and Edward Stanley, lord Mouteagle, d. 1523. In the case of Mouteagle, whilst his father was an earl, it was not guaranteed that he would be given his own title or be made a knight of the garter. Those honours were earned by him and a combination of pride and insecurity shared by all newly ennobled men probably drove his insistence that his funeral be done 'in like maner and fourme as other

²³⁸ ACA, MS T5.

²³⁹ TNA, PROB 11/10/591; The epitaffe of the moste noble [and] valyaunt Iasper late duke of Beddeforde (London, 1496), STC (2nd ed.)/14477.

barons of England being of the order of the garter have be used and accustomed to be buried'.²⁴⁰

At the same time, there was a concern amongst some testators that they would be buried with an unseemly level of commemoration and expenditure. The number expressing this view is relatively small, just eleven percent of surviving wills referred to avoiding 'pompe'. In a small number of cases, these were the same testators that had also asked for a funeral or tomb appropriate to their degree. William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, d. 1534, declared to his executors that if he 'were of gret substaunce bothe of lands goodes I wolde not haue...any pompose Buriall' but followed it immediately with 'prouyded that I may e haue a convenient tombe fforasmoche as it please god and the king to call me to the order of the Garter'.²⁴¹ Lord Mouteagle's will made the connection between the two requests even more explicit. Being buried in a manner that was the norm for a lord who was a knight of the garter meant 'avoyding pompe and vainglory of this worlde'.²⁴² The small number seeking to avoid excessive display is not entirely unexpected as it was not until the seventeenth century that night time and private funerals became increasingly popular and, even then, the concern was primarily about regaining control from the heralds than necessarily reducing spending and extravagance.

²⁴⁰ TNA, PROB 11/21/407.

²⁴¹ TNA, PROB 11/25/473.

²⁴² TNA, PROB 11/21/407.

However, these wills were not early Protestant forerunners of seventeenth-century critics of the heraldic funeral, some of whom were motivated by classical burial rites and others by Puritanical beliefs.²⁴³ With three exceptions – those of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffok, d. 1545; John Brydges, Lord Chandos, d. 1557; and George Brooke, Lord Cobham, d. 1558 – all the references to avoiding pomp pre-date the dissolution of the monasteries. Even those three wills cannot be said to have been written at a time when the religion in England was strongly Protestant. This would seem to indicate that the desire to avoid unnecessary display and expenditure was part of a wider trend in late medieval piety. Similar attitudes had existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries both amongst the Lollard knights who also sought to avoid elaborate burials and focused on bequests to the poor, and amongst some of their opponents such as Archbishop Thomas Arundel whose family had a tradition of humility in burial.²⁴⁴ This should not be interpreted as meaning that noble testators wanted a simple funeral, stripped of all its trappings. A certain degree of pomp, suitable to the degree of the deceased was necessary to avoid bringing dishonour to the family. Lord Mouteagle's funeral without vainglory was still to include black gowns for his children, friends and servants, alms of one hundred pounds or more for poor folk, payments to the priests and clerks and his helmet and arms to be set up in the

²⁴³ Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, p. 198.

²⁴⁴ J. A. F. Thomson, 'Knightly Piety and the Margins of Lollardy', in Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond (eds.), *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 99-106.

chapel.²⁴⁵ The reputation of the deceased and their descendants could be damaged by the funeral that they were given and too simple a funeral could attract negative comments.²⁴⁶

Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk discovered the cost of being too literal in avoiding pomp when he was responsible for the burial of his son-in-law, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, d. 1536. Richmond was an unusual case in that he was the son of a King but he was illegitimate and, at the time of his death, he had not been recognised as Henry VIII's heir. His death had also come at a young age when his marriage was not yet consummated, and it was unlikely that much thought had yet been given to his funeral and commemoration. There is little evidence of procedure for noblemen who died young and at the beginning of their careers. He was, however, one of only three dukes in England at that time and it might have been expected that his funeral would reflect this fact. Instead, Norfolk travelled into Norfolk from the court to make the arrangements for what was to be a simple funeral, under the impression that the King wished that Richmond's body be secretly conveyed and buried. This would prove to be a misjudgement as Norfolk later received messages indicating that the King was displeased because Richmond had not had an honourable burial.²⁴⁷ Henry VIII's unhappiness may have been behind Norfolk's decision to erect a large tomb for Richmond alongside his own.

²⁴⁵ TNA, PROB 11/21/407.

²⁴⁶ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750* (Oxford, 1998), p. 291-2.

²⁴⁷ *L&P*, xi, 228, 233.

It is easy to see why the low-key funeral could have been interpreted as a slight or insult, given Richmond's status and royal, albeit illegitimate, blood. Even when Henry Percy 6th earl of Northumberland, d. 1537, was buried in a churchyard with reduced expenditure and ceremonials, it was still clearly a heraldic funeral. It followed the standard form and had the standard accoutrements but had been scaled down from the norm for an earl's funeral so that there were fewer mourners and those that attended were of a lower status. There were fewer banners, probably fewer escutcheons and, as far as can be told from the incomplete accounts, less money spent on alms and food. In all, the cost was probably closer to that of Lord Dacre than to other earls and dukes.²⁴⁸

The need to find a balance between avoiding excessive pomp and producing a large enough display of power, helps to explain why Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor with a heraldic funeral. His will requested that his body be buried in the collegiate church of Tattershall 'without any pompe or outward pryde of the worlde' and with no black gowns or coats to be given to anyone except his servants and the torch bearers at the funeral but his funeral does not stand out as substantially different from other noble funerals.²⁴⁹ The main difference was not that any elements of the funeral had been left out but that their order had been reversed. The dirge, burial and feast which usually took place at the end of the funeral were on the first day. The

²⁴⁸ Wunderli, 'Funeral of Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland', pp. 212-3.

²⁴⁹ TNA, PROB 11/31/456.

next morning they reassembled for the mass of requiem, sermon and offerings followed by a second dinner.²⁵⁰ Rather than relating to avoiding pomp, these changes seem to have had more to do with the availability of the principal mourners. The day before the body was moved from Guildford to Windsor, a dirige was said at which only the Marquis of Dorset, the chief mourner as present.²⁵¹ When the procession assembled the next day, a number of the other mourners were not present and their place had to be taken by gentlemen assistants until they arrived at Windsor.²⁵² In light of this, it probably appeared sensible to move those elements of the funeral that required the participation of the principal mourners to the second day.

A comparable account in terms of status of the deceased and the details recorded is that of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk. Norfolk's funeral does appear to have been on a grander scale than Suffolk's. Where there were forty poor men with torches at Windsor to meet Suffolk's corpse, Norfolk had four hundred torch bearers and whilst the same amount of money was distributed to churches along the way, five of Norfolk's escutcheons were handed out as opposed to one of Suffolk's.²⁵³ When he asked for there to be no pomp, it is possible that Suffolk meant for there to be the bare minimum of display and expenditure for the funeral of a man of great estate rather than the excesses of Norfolk's funeral.

²⁵⁰ Bodliean, MS Ashmole 1109, ff. 142-6.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, f. 143r.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, f. 144v.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, ff. 143v, 144v; CA, MS I.7, ff.57-8r .

Achieving the level of display needed to avoid dishonouring the family could place financial burdens on the deceased's estate. The costs involved could be extensive, ranging from the maximum of one hundred marks allocated to his funeral by Lord Hussey to the funeral of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland which cost over £1,000.²⁵⁴ In May 1527, Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland arranged the funeral of Henry Percy, 5th earl of Northumberland, according to the instructions of Thomas Wolsey. He had a tight schedule to work to and Wolsey had assigned him a sum of money but he was struggling with household costs. There was a 'great resort of strangers', and the 5th earl had died leaving a shortage of meat, fish and money. Money, he wrote to Thomas Hennege, would have to be borrowed or the household would disperse before the funeral and that would be 'a dishonor'.²⁵⁵ He was able to save some money as the lack of time to send to London for cloth for liveries meant that they had to use the coarser, cheaper cloth that they could source locally. Some money was also 'reserved' from the dole and the housekeeping at the time of the funeral because fewer 'priests, scholars, poor folk, noblemen...gentlemen' had attended than expected. This was because of the proximity of the funeral to Whitsunday and highlights that, sometimes, outside events thwarted noblemen in their attempts to put on an extravagant display.²⁵⁶

The structure of a heraldic funeral was designed to signify the deceased's status. In the sixteenth century the heralds of the College of Arms oversaw the

²⁵⁴ TNA, SP 1/122, ff. 159-77; Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, p. 247.

²⁵⁵ *L&P*, iv, 3134.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 3184.

planning in accordance with rules laid out on the basis of rank.²⁵⁷ They also took part in the funerals, assisting with marshalling the procession and playing a ceremonial role in the offerings. Their involvement was intended to represent royal authority and to ensure that social order was seen to be maintained, that noble 'virtues' were displayed and that the status of the deceased, and of those attending, was recognised.²⁵⁸ With hindsight and the evidence of the nobility rejecting the heraldic funerals in the seventeenth century, it is possible for historians to overemphasise the interference and control exercised by the heralds.

Certainly Officers of Arms attended noble funerals but the number of officers in attendance varied. At one end of the scale, only Clarenceux King of Arms and Richmond Herald attended the funeral of John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford in 1513 whilst at the other end Garter King of Arms, Clarenceux King of Arms, Richmond Herald, Windsor Herald and Carlisle Herald attended the funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk.²⁵⁹ There is also evidence of the heralds being slow to respond and difficult to contact. Following the death of John Bouchier, earl of Bath, in February 1561, William Barneby, the family's agent in London, was in discussion with Clarenceux herald and reported back to the countess on the progress on the coat armour, standard and crest for the

²⁵⁷ Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, p. 188. Examples of the different proceedings at funerals are available in Bodleian, MS Ashmole 763, ff. 78r, ff. 159-60, 177-9; MS Ashmole 836, ff. 43-5, 49; MS Ashmole 837, ff. 133-9.

²⁵⁸ Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, p. 174

²⁵⁹ CA, MS I.7, ff. 45r-46r, 59r.

funeral.²⁶⁰ However, in the second letter he says that he cannot send a herald down to the earl's home because 'all ye harrald[es] be at thys p[re]sent wt my lord of Norff Grace'. He suggested that the countess would have to send a man to Kenninghall to talk with Clarenceaux about the matter.²⁶¹ A few days later, another of the countess' men wrote to her to explain that the heralds were with the duke of Norfolk on business but that a few of them would be able to attend the earl's funerals as they ought to.²⁶² Clearly, despite the fact that the heralds were supposed to be responsible for making the arrangements and received a substantial fee for their work and attendance, it was sometimes up to the family to make sure that everything was done as it ought to be.

The fact that families were prepared to go to the effort to track the heralds down and ensure that they would fulfil their expected roles underlines that the principals behind the ceremonials were accepted as important. The deceased needed to be seen to have had the correct funeral and their entitlement to particular ceremonials was recorded, especially if there was any possibility of their status being questioned. When William Courtenay died in 1511, he had received letters patent from Henry VIII creating him earl of Devon but had not yet been invested. This was clearly a difficult situation in terms of funeral protocol and a decision had to be made as to whether he should be buried according to a status that he had not yet officially assumed. He was buried as an earl but the herald's

²⁶⁰ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave MS 88, i, nos. 145-6.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, no. 146.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, no. 148.

account of the funeral stressed that it was by the King's commandment that Courtenay should be named an earl because of "suche fauour" as the King bore unto him.²⁶³

In theory it appears that the number of banners of arms, penselles and escutcheons at a noble funeral ought to have been related to the deceased's status. According to College of Arms of guidance, for the funeral of an earl a painter was to prepare a great banner of arms, a standard, a buckram escutcheon for the majestie, six great escutcheons, six escutcheons for the corpse, a further seventy-two escutcheons and one hundred and eight penselles for the hearse.²⁶⁴ However, the evidence of funeral accounts suggests that those instructions were not followed with noblemen of all ranks exceeding that number of escutcheons although penselles seem to have been less popular. There was also variation between funerals rather than a uniform appearance.

It does not appear to be the case that the variation was driven by status as both lesser and higher ranking noblemen had several hundred of these furnishings. It seems more likely that the difference can be explained by varying desire to celebrate ancestry and to do so in an extravagant fashion. However, in some cases, the variation can be explained by the nature of different sources. The account for the 4th earl of Northumberland's funeral recorded the £3 spent on sixty buckram escutcheons for 'the Chaire, Herse and Church' but made no mention of

²⁶³ CA, MS I.3, f. 33v.

²⁶⁴ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 763, f. 178v.

escutcheons to be displayed elsewhere.²⁶⁵ In contrast, the escutcheons in metal, colour and buckram escutcheons purchased for the 2nd duke of Norfolk's funeral probably included those distributed to local churches and those displayed at Framlingham as well as those used at Thetford Priory. The accounts are somewhat confusing but indicate that between 300 and 400 escutcheons were purchased from the painters.²⁶⁶ Table 1 shows the available information regarding heraldic furnishing at a selection of noble funerals throughout this period. It seems clear that, with a few exceptions, funerals had between 100 and 200 each of escutcheons and penselles, regardless of the status of the deceased.

There is a more obvious correlation between status and the bannerrolls of arms, otherwise known as bannerrolls of progeny or marriage, with Lords being more likely to have only four bannerrolls. However, this does not seem to have been a strict convention as Machyn recorded that John, Lord Williams had eight.²⁶⁷ The two with the greatest display of marriages, are Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk and Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland. In both cases, there was an illustrious ancestry and status to refer to and, perhaps, a political necessity to remind the world of that history. Given the small sample, this must, however, remain speculative. Certainly, in all these cases, the result would have been an extravagant and colourful display of ancestry, marriages and status.

Part of the funeral ritual was the declaration of the deceased's titles and status by

²⁶⁵ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, p. 247.

²⁶⁶ CA, MS I.7, f. 60.

²⁶⁷ *Machyn's Diary*, p. 217.

one of the heralds accompanied, in the pre-Reformation period, by a request to pray for the deceased. These were factual statements but there was also no modesty to them. They would list the deceased's primary title, major offices they held and membership of the Order of the Garter, if appropriate. In the case of the ducal funerals of Suffolk and the 2nd and 3rd dukes of Norfolk, the deceased's status was further emphasised by using the protocol of naming them as the right noble high and mighty prince.²⁶⁸

Also indicating status was the ritual of a mounted man-at-arms riding into the church mounted on a courser to offer a war axe. This was in addition to the offering of the heraldic achievements that formed a part of all noble funerals at the time and was restricted to those of the rank of earl or above.²⁶⁹ When writing their accounts, heralds were at pains to draw attention to the difference in the funerals of the higher nobility. In the account of William Courtenay's funeral, the heralds' noted that it was a ritual that 'maye none have under thastat of a Erlle by auncient p[re]sedents'.²⁷⁰ At the funeral, Sir Edward Carew arrived at the church wearing the arms of the deceased, mounted on a courser trapped with the deceased's arms and bearing a war axe. He was escorted to the quire by Sir John Arundell and Sir William Sandys, plus officers of arms, before alighting from the courser which was presented to the sexton as his fee. Carew then offered the axe

²⁶⁸ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1109, f. 145r; CA, MS I.7, f. 59v, MS I.11, f. 34.3v.

²⁶⁹ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 837, f. 135v.

²⁷⁰ CA MS I.3, f. 35r.

Name	Title	Year of Death	Number of Bannerolls of Arms	Number of Penselles	Number of Escutcheons
Henry Percy	Earl of Northumberland	1489	12	100	60
Henry Marney	Lord Marney	1523	4	120	192
Thomas Howard	Duke of Norfolk	1524	8	100	300-400
George Talbot	Earl of Shrewsbury	1538	6	96	106
Thomas Howard	Duke of Norfolk	1554	12	144	144
Henry Parker	Lord Morley	1556	4	-	96
Thomas Vaux	Lord Vaux	1556	-	12	72
John Bray	Lord Bray	1557	-	-	72 (CA, MS I.15, f. 281r) or 96 (<i>Machyn's Diary</i>)
John Bruges	Lord Chandos	1557	4	96	96
Henry Radcliffe	Earl of Sussex	1557	-	-	120
William Windsor	Lord Windsor	1558	4	72	144
John Williams	Lord Williams	1559	8	120	144
Thomas Stanley	Lord Mounteagle	1560	8	-	82
Francis Talbot	Earl of Shrewsbury	1560	8	120	198
John de Vere	Earl of Oxford	1562	8	-	120
William Grey	Lord Grey of Wilton	1562	4	96	134
William Paget	Lord Paget	1563	Mentioned but no number given	48	More than 12
William Paulet	Marquis of Winchester	1572	4	-	At least 30

TABLE 1: HERALDIC FURNISHINGS MENTIONED IN ACCOUNTS OF NOBLE FUNERALS. BASED ON DESCRIPTIONS OF FUNERALS IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS AND *THE DIARY OF HENRY MACHYN*.

to the bishop of London who was conducting the mass of Requiem.²⁷¹ The same offering and the same wording about its not being permitted to those under the estate of earl occurred at the funeral of John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford in 1513.²⁷² The mounted man at arms also featured at a number of other prestigious funerals in the sixteenth century including those of the 2nd and 3rd dukes of Norfolk.²⁷³

Unlike, the other offerings which survived to the end of this period despite their Catholic connotations, the mounted man-at-arms begins to disappear from heraldic funerals. Indeed, it appears to have become optional or, at least, a less noteworthy part of the funeral before the major Protestant transformations. The account of the funeral of Charles Brandon in 1545, which had much in common with the funerals of late medieval England, refers to heraldic offerings but not the offering of the war axe.²⁷⁴ Despite its omission from that particular funeral, it would not be accurate to argue that it had disappeared completely at that point in the sixteenth century. At the funeral of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk in 1554, Bluemantle pursuivant of arms fetched the knight dressed in the duke's armour, riding a richly trapped courser and bearing the duke's axe. He was led to the altar by Sir Harry Sidney and Sir Richard Southwell and offered the axe.²⁷⁵ It may be that this was a throw-back to an earlier time typical of an old and

²⁷¹ Ibid., ff. 34v-35r.

²⁷² CA MS I.7, f. 46r.

²⁷³ Ibid., ff. 59r, MS I.11, f. 34.3r.

²⁷⁴ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1109, f. 146r.

²⁷⁵ CA, I.11, f. 34.3r.

conservative nobleman. Certainly, the offering of the axe is not mentioned in the accounts of the funerals of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke in 1570 or Edward Stanley, earl of Derby in 1572.²⁷⁶

Instead, the means of distinguishing the higher ranks of the nobility appears to have shifted to increased control of the number of official mourners attending the deceased. Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk was somewhat unusual at the time of his death in that he had nine mourners.²⁷⁷ In contrast, William Courtenay, earl of Devon, John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford, and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk only had seven mourners, the same number as Henry, Lord Marney who died in 1523.²⁷⁸ In the middle of the century, Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk had nine mourners as did Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, and William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, in 1572. Meanwhile, William, Lord Dacre, d. 1563 and Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568 only had seven mourners at their funerals, suggesting a stricter stratification on the basis of rank.²⁷⁹ These later funerals are beginning to match the prescription for number of mourners based on the degree of the defunct preserved in the Ashmole collection at the Bodleian library. This document specifies that a duke should have thirteen mourners, a marquis eleven, and earl nine, and a baron seven mourners. It is undated but the implication appears to be that, from the 1560s, the College of Arms was either beginning to regulate the number of mourners to a greater extent or to enforce existing

²⁷⁶ TNA, SP 12/67, ff. 153-5; MS Ashmole 836, ff. 215-23.

²⁷⁷ CA, I.7, f. 57v.

²⁷⁸ CA, I.11, f.34v; Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 211, 219.

²⁷⁹ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 181, 189.

stipulations more stringently.²⁸⁰

As with the intervention of Henry VIII to ensure that William Courtenay was buried as an earl, there are rare incidents where the involvement of individuals other than the executor and the heralds indicate an interest in the funeral on the basis of status. When John, viscount Welles died in 1499, he was married to Cecily of York, Henry VII's sister-in-law. Following her husband's death, one of her first actions was to send a message to the King. It was decided that Welles would be buried at Westminster in the Lady Chapel, where Henry VII was to be buried, according to 'the kynge[s] mynde and pleasur[e]'. Members of the council were commanded to discuss how the body would be transported, what clothing should be provided for the attendant 'astate[s] and Lorde[s]' and who should accompany the corpse. The conclusion to the latter question being that it should be 'the best of the courte'.²⁸¹

The identity of the funeral attendees and their status could go some way towards demonstrating the status of the deceased by revealing the circles in which they moved. The heralds noted that the guests at the funeral of William Courtenay, earl of Devon included the papal ambassador, and Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester and, in 1511, the keeper of the privy seal and one of Henry VII's leading ministers.²⁸² Similarly, the identity of the clergymen presiding over the funeral or delivering the sermon could reflect the social importance of the

²⁸⁰ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 837, f. 137v.

²⁸¹ BL, Add MS 45131, ff. 14r, 60v.

²⁸² CA, MS I.3, f. 34v; C. S. L. Davies, 'Fox, Richard (1447/8–1528)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2010) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10051>, accessed 16 Jan 2014].

deceased. The mass of Requiem for Courtenay was sung by Richard Fitzjames, the bishop of London. The sermon was delivered by Dr Standish of the Greyfriars who had become a popular court preacher since preaching before Henry VIII in February 1511, and, again, reflected the circles in which Courtenay had operated.²⁸³ The sermon at the funeral of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in 1545, was delivered by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was active in politics and diplomacy. He then sang the mass of requiem with the assistance of Henry Holbeach, bishop of Rochester and the King's almoner.²⁸⁴

Reputation was based in part on the behaviour of individuals within their private spheres and good housekeeping was notable. Machyn stated of Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, d. 1554, that he was 'the best howssekeper in Sussex in thes days'.²⁸⁵ The household could, therefore, be used to display virtues and, as a result, hospitality came to demonstrate knightly generosity.²⁸⁶ Whilst good housekeeping and hospitality was expected of all those who aspired to gentility, noblemen were seen to be set another level apart. Felicity Heal suggests that the nobility were perceived to have the 'peculiar quality of...magnificence'. Their wealth and resources meant that they were able to indulge in expensive consumption and display. By putting on elaborate displays of magnificence, the nobility were

²⁸³ CA MS I.3, ff. 34v-35r; Andrew A. Chibi, 'Standish, Henry (c.1475–1535)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26231>, accessed 23 Sept 2014] .

²⁸⁴ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1109, f. 145v; Margaret Bowker, 'Holbeach, Henry (d. 1551)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13477>, accessed 15 Aug 2014]; C. D. C. Armstrong, 'Gardiner, Stephen (c.1495x8–1555)', *ODNB*, (Oxford 2004; online edn., "008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10364>, accessed 15 Aug 2014].

²⁸⁵ *Machyn's Diary*, p. 71.

²⁸⁶ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), p. 23.

demonstrating their ability to dominate the social hierarchy and their right to do so.²⁸⁷ Funerals offered an opportunity to demonstrate good housekeeping, generosity and charity on a grand scale by distributing doles and providing meals for the funeral attendees. The details of these will be discussed in relation to the exercise of local lordship and religious beliefs but it is worth noting that it also enhanced the reputation of the deceased and their families. At the same time the position of the deceased's heirs in the social hierarchy was being affirmed, minimizing the political and social disruptions of the death of a nobleman. The provision of a funeral feast enabled the heir to renew relationships that might have been altered by the previous title-holder's death and display his continued wealth and power thus providing social stability. It was also the venue for giving the heralds their fee and livery and for the new lord to give the old lord's household officers their offices and new staves.²⁸⁸

Viewed from a modern perspective, noble choices of burial location do not appear to have been driven by a concern with status in terms of seeking interment in the institutions that we would now consider to be prestigious. Prior to the dissolution of the monasteries, there were requests for burial in some prestigious foundations such as Giles, Lord Daubeney at Westminster Abbey but over the whole period there are many more references to parish churches located in small, rural villages.²⁸⁹ These were, however, areas where the nobility held sway as

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 24.

²⁸⁸ CA, MS I.7, f. 52v; MS Ashmole 836, f. 223.

²⁸⁹ TNA, PROB 11/16/445.

landlords and magnates. As we will see later, burial here could reflect local power and connections but the act of burial and commemoration also served as a reminder of the deceased's status in the area and, it would be hoped, their descendants' continuing status. There was often also a continuation of a burial tradition associated either with a family or a title that further bolstered the retrospective impression of the deceased's status.

In the case of the Howard family, the locations in which individuals were buried during this period reflect a concern with a title and status to which they had only recently been elevated. As discussed above (p. 17), it remains difficult to determine whether John Howard was buried at Thetford. The same problems do not surround the burial location of Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk. His will clearly stated his desire to be buried at Thetford alongside instructions concerning the construction of his tomb and there are records of his funeral and tomb.²⁹⁰ Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk left the choice of burial location to the discretion of his executors.²⁹¹ However, we know that he was constructing tombs for himself and his son-in-law, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, at Thetford Priory at the time of its dissolution.²⁹² The importance of Thetford Priory to the Howard family, seen by them as a 'new but ancestral mausoleum', was a reflection of their

²⁹⁰ TNA, PROB 11/21/391; CA, I.7, ff. 56r-60v; BL, Add MS 45131, 85r; Martin, *The History of the Town of Thetford*, App. 38-43..

²⁹¹ TNA, PROB 11/37/171.

²⁹² *L&P*, xiv, pt. 2, 815.

desire to emphasise their status and to draw parallels with their rather weak ties to an illustrious and royal ancestry.²⁹³

Thetford Priory had been the burial location for their predecessors, the Mowbray dukes of Norfolk who, themselves, had ties through the female line to Thomas Brotherton, a son of King Edward I. Seeking burial alongside the Mowbrays created a stronger association between them and the Howards despite the fact that the Howards had only gained the title through marriage to the youngest Mowbray heiress. The visual associations of a Howard tomb surrounded by Mowbray and royal heraldic imagery should not be underestimated. The importance of such connections and images to the Howards can be seen in their insistence that they were entitled to bear Brotherton's arms as the Mowbrays had been. They were not alone in recognising the importance and power of imagery. The fact that it was possible to accuse Henry Howard, earl of Surrey of treason on heraldic charges is evidence of how seriously his contemporaries took the correct use of heraldry and that they could interpret messages behind the images.

The desire to associate themselves with previous holders of the duchy of Norfolk can be seen in the burial decisions made after the dissolution of Thetford Priory. Despite having built a grand and expensive house at Kenninghall, none of the Howards were buried or commemorated near to their new home. Rather, the tombs of the 3rd Duke of Norfolk and the Duke of Richmond that had been intended for Thetford were erected in Framlingham parish church, in the shadow

²⁹³ *Register of Thetford Priory*, i, p. 37.

of the castle. The lordship of Framlingham can be traced back to the Bigod earls of Norfolk in the twelfth century, being passed from them to Thomas Brotherton and then to the Mowbray family. At the point of commemoration, the Howards were aligning themselves with that long-standing tradition rather than with their new properties. It was a short-lived connection. Between the execution of the 4th duke of Norfolk and the creation of Thomas Howard as earl of Norfolk in 1644, the family's primary title was that of earls of Arundel. With their geographical focus shifted to Sussex, the Howards began to associate themselves with the local interests and lineage of their new title, their burials predominantly taking place in the FtizAlan Chapel of St Nicholas' Church, Arundel.

The connection between status and burial location for other peers can be seen in several cases where the deceased was related to the royal family. In the case of John, Viscount Welles, half-uncle and brother-in-law to Henry VII, his interment in Westminster Abbey, where Henry VII intended to be buried himself, would have sent a clear message about his status and kinship to royalty. Similarly, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor near to the place where Henry VI was buried.²⁹⁴ It was a royal chapel and one that was closely intertwined with the Order of the Garter and the chivalrous world to which Brandon had belonged. The decision not to bury him at Tattershall, Lincolnshire as he had requested may have been due to his death in London, quite some distance

²⁹⁴ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1109, f. 145v.

away.²⁹⁵ However, the decision to bury him in Windsor instead of another church was probably due to his status as close companion and brother-in-law to Henry VIII, the king to whom he owed his prominence and nobility. Other members of the nobility who, whilst not related to their royal masters, were closely associated with them, also sought to be buried near to them. Giles, Lord Daubeney, had requested that he be buried in the Monastery of St Peter of Westminster where King Henry VII, 'entendeth his body to be entyred.'²⁹⁶ Continuity can be seen here with the preferences of later medieval noblemen. William, Lord Hastings, a close companion of King Edward IV, was buried and commemorated with a small chantry chapel in the same aisle of St George's chapel, Windsor as the King.

Within the church, noblemen could normally obtain a favourable burial location and pay for the disruption involved in lifting the paving slabs to allow the digging of a grave. In the pre-Reformation period, this meant burial in holy locations such as near the high altar or within private, chantry chapels. Afterwards, the religious topography of the church was altered but prominent locations within the main body of the church or family chapels, remained popular. It was normal for noblemen to be buried within the church where their graves would be visible, protected from the elements and separate from the majority of the population. A rare exception is Henry Percy, 6th earl of Northumberland, who was buried outside the church in Hackney.

²⁹⁵ TNA, PROB 11/31/456.

²⁹⁶ TNA, PROB 11/16/445.

There are differing interpretations as to why the 6th earl of Northumberland was interred outside. Broce and Wunderli saw the decision as one of a number of reductions to the funeral ceremony that demonstrated 'the ruin of the Percies' and 'the triumph of the Tudors' over them.²⁹⁷ In contrast, Richard Hoyle did not accept that the funeral symbolised a conquest of the Tudors. Indeed, his whole analysis of the fall of the Percies sees royal government stepping in when noble families miscalculated and, in Northumberland's case, accepting the earl's decision to name the King heir, rather than actively victimising Northumberland.²⁹⁸ He questioned whether Northumberland's quick burial, outside a church in Hackney rather than with his ancestors, was a decision made by the earl himself, 'a final self-effacement, a definitive rejection of family and status' that was in keeping with the path that his life had taken.²⁹⁹ It is impossible to do more than speculate as to who was responsible for deciding where Northumberland would be buried and how extravagant the ceremony would be. However, it is plausible that the scaled down heraldic funeral and the outside burial reflected Northumberland's indebtedness and the diminishment of his estates without a need for there to be any grand context of Tudor triumphalism over a noble family.

The tomb as a means of identifying status is both useful and also complex. Tombs are a clear statement of status and their function as a means of expressing status was understood by contemporaries, as is evident in the will of William

²⁹⁷ Wunderli, 'The Funeral of Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland', pp. 213-5.

²⁹⁸ Hoyle, 'Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland', pp. 200, 203-4.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

Blount, Lord Mountjoy, d. 1534, which explicitly stated that he wished a tomb to be built 'by reason that the King hath called me to the Order of the Garter'.³⁰⁰ The placement of a tomb in a prominent location within a church indicated the influence and wealth of the deceased. This was further supported by the employment of skilled craftsmen, the use of expensive building materials and exposure to fashionable, stylistic motifs. There is little information about the cost of noble tombs or the contracts drawn up with the stonemasons but, where records do survive, it is clear that tombs could be substantial investments. In 1495, Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, made provision in his will for 100 marks to be allocated to the construction of his tomb.³⁰¹ Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk requested that the precise amount of £132 6s 8d be spent on his tomb. At a similar time, Henry, 1st Lord Marney was making provisions both for his tomb and for finishing the chapel that was to house it. He did not allocate an exact amount of money to be spent, but he stipulated that profits from his lands should be used to fund the construction.³⁰² The tombs of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk and Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond were being built in 1539 at a combined cost of £400.³⁰³

Not everybody invested such large amounts into their physical monuments. The tomb of Thomas Manners, 1st earl of Rutland, was built in alabaster at a cost of

³⁰⁰ TNA, PROB 11/25/328.

³⁰¹ TNA, PROB 11/10/591.

³⁰² TNA, PROB 11/21/156.

³⁰³ *L&P*, xiv, pt. 2, 815.

just £20.³⁰⁴ The earls of Rutland do appear to have been concerned with demonstrating and enhancing their status, having spent money on the church at Bottesford and moved the medieval Roos tombs into it. That less was spent on the 1st earl of Rutland's tomb than on the 3rd duke of Norfolk's reflects not that they had less pride in their status but the financial situation at the time of Rutland's death. Although, Rutland had purchased monastic lands that had great potential value, he had not yet paid for those lands and left debts and legacies of around £8,400. Alongside the uncertain finances, he also left a minority with no heir to immediately take control of the situation.³⁰⁵ It is understandable that the money available for his tomb was limited.

Other tombs show signs of money-saving approaches. The tomb of Thomas, Lord Wharton at Healaugh depicts both his wives in effigial form (Appendix 3/46). It is clear that, whilst effort has been made to distinguish between the upper bodies of the two women, their bottom halves are the same, suggesting that they were carved to a standard template. In addition the small figures on either side of the coats of arms are identical, again suggesting a standard template (Plate 11). It would be reasonable to assume that purchasing standardised carving was cheaper than commissioning fully personalised designs. This would seem to be in keeping with delineation on the grounds of status and wealth. The social position of the dukes of Norfolk and the duke of Bedford, both in terms of their rank and that of

³⁰⁴ *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland* (4 Vols., London, 1888-1905), iv, pp. 440-1.

³⁰⁵ Lawrence Stone, *Family and Fortune. Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1973), p. 167.

their ancestors, outstripped that of Wharton. Precise noble income and wealth can be difficult to determine but there is no doubt that there was a large disparity between Wharton and the Howards. When Lawrence Stone estimated the gross rentals of noblemen in 1559, the duke of Norfolk was the only nobleman in his top band with a gross rental of £6,000. Wharton was in the seventh of eight bands with an estimated gross rental of £500-£999.³⁰⁶ Whilst Wharton and Marney were similar in that they are the first of their family to be ennobled, Marney was a courtier with a more immediate connection to the royal court than Wharton who operated primarily in the north of England.

Tombs have also been held to represent relative status within a marriage, as has been seen in the case of the effigies of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, and his wife (p. 14). The assumption used in that case is that the right-hand figure is the one of higher social status. This is supported by general etiquette regarding the relative positioning of individuals. Books written to educate children were not common before the late sixteenth and early-seventeenth century, when attempts were made to rectify the omission and set down proper etiquette. At that time it was noted, no doubt drawing on usual practice, that when two individuals were walking together, the higher status individual should be on the right. When walking three abreast, the high ranking individual should be positioned in the middle.³⁰⁷ This positioning on the basis of rank also appears to be borne out in the images of sixteenth-century England. The Whitehall mural painted by Hans Holbein depicting

³⁰⁶ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 760.

³⁰⁷ Hawkins, *Youths Behaviour*, p. 13.

Henry VIII with Jane Seymour, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York positions the Queens on their husband's left hand side, from the perspective of the depicted figures. In contrast, the portrait of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk and his wife, Mary, Queen of France attributed to J. Gossaert al. Mabuse places her on his right hand side, a reflection of her considerably higher social status.³⁰⁸ Where the status of individuals was equal, the male appears to have taken precedence as in the case of the seal used by Mary I and Phillip when they were ruling England jointly which depicts Phillip on Mary's right hand and the wording of legislation and proclamations that listed his name first. Mary and Philip highlight the fact that the idea of husbands ruling their wives dominated public perception and, ritual attempts to overcome this had little impact.³⁰⁹

For the most part, noble tombs follow the same patterns. Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1543 (Plate 5); John, Lord Williams, d. 1559 (Plate 23); and John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, d. 1487, are all depicted on the right hand of their wives' effigies. In these cases the husband was of high social status. Even John de la Pole who was married to, Margaret Fitzalan, a descendant of one of England's oldest earldoms could draw on his position as an heir to the throne. Of those noblemen who are commemorated alongside both wives, such as Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568; George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, d. 1538; and Henry Neville, earl of Westmorland, d. 1564, all have their effigy between those of their wives. This applies even in the case of Wharton whose second wife was a daughter of the 5th

³⁰⁸ Reproduced in Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, Plate IIIA.

³⁰⁹ Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London, 2008), pp. 159-61.

earl of Shrewsbury, suggesting either that gender overrode social background or that the symmetric aesthetics of the tomb were more important than exactly representing social hierarchies.

There are other exceptions. Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, d. 1560 (Plate 24); Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, d. 1542; and Edward, Lord Stourton, d. 1535 are all depicted with their wives' effigies on their right hand side. Of these, only Cumberland could be said to be outranked by his wife, Margaret Percy who, as the daughter of Henry Percy, 5th earl of Northumberland, descended from the more ancient earldom, although the baronies that preceded their earldoms were of a similar age. In contrast, Henry Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1563, is depicted on the right hand of his wife, Margaret Neville, daughter of the 4th earl of Westmorland, who descended from both an older earldom and an older barony (Plate 6). It could be that the daughter of an earl did not have sufficient rank to override the relationship between husband and wife. It is also possible that there was a conscious effort to emphasise the husband's social status. Whilst the Roos barony dated back to the thirteenth century, the Manners family had acquired it relatively recently and through the female line, and perhaps sought to disguise this and enhance the earl's own status at the expense of his wife's. This would appear to be supported by the fact that the 1st earl of Rutland preserved Roos tombs at the dissolution and moved them from their original, monastic locations, to his new mausoleum in Bottesford parish church, suggesting a familial interest in ancestry

and status.³¹⁰ There is no sign that the earls of Rutland sought to include their Manners ancestors in their commemorative strategy, either by moving tombs, if they existed, or commissioning retrospective monuments, suggesting that their concern was with those ancestors that brought them status. The tomb of the 1st earl's father, George Manners, Lord Roos was also not moved from St George's Chapel, Windsor. This may in part have been because St George's Chapel was not dissolved so there was no outside factor forcing a move but, also, it was a prestigious location to be buried in.

An alternative suggestion is that effigies were arranged in relation to the high altar with the higher status individual next to the altar. This would raise further questions over the confidence with which we can use positioning to identify the female effigy on the 3rd duke of Norfolk's tomb as Anne Plantagenet as it puts that the duke's effigy is in the preferred position on the tomb. It also makes it harder for us to read tombs that have been moved from their original locations. The exceptions and the speculation over the motivation behind them, raise the question of whether contemporaries would have expected to look at tombs and be able to read the relative social status of the commemorated individuals. It also raises the question, if there was no expectation that the higher status individual is located on the right hand side of the tomb, can we use the positions of effigies to confidently identify the commemorated individuals in the absence of heraldry and inscriptions.

³¹⁰ Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, p. 102.

That a tomb could express the status of the deceased did not mean that it was not necessary to have a tomb to demonstrate your status. Peter Sherlock has suggested that, during the period from 1400-1700, probably only a third of the nobility had a physical memorial. He posited that tombs were not standard objects constructed by the majority of the wealthy population of England and therefore that tombs were constructed for a particular purpose³¹¹ His figures are in keeping with the evidence of wills written in the period from 1485-1572 when roughly a third of surviving wills refer to a tomb. Of course, some tombs, such as that of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk were built despite not being mentioned in a will. This could be because the tomb had already been constructed, as in Norfolk's case; because instructions had been given verbally or in a separate contract; or because the tomb had been constructed by the descendants on their own initiative. However, these are balanced out by those tombs that were requested but do not appear to have been constructed.

In addition to not being necessary to show status, unlike a funeral tombs did not always illustrate the subtleties of stratification within the nobility. The domination of a church by a particular tomb or collection of tombs could be achieved both by high ranking families such as the Howard dukes of Norfolk in St Michael's Church, Framlingham or the Manners, earls of Rutland in St Mary's Church, Bottesford. However, it was also achieved by the Lords Mordaunt at All Saints Church, Turvey or even Thomas, Lord Wharton's tomb in the tiny church of

³¹¹ Ibid., pp. 20-1.

St John the Baptist in Healaugh. This domination reflected their status within the local area as opposed to within the overall social hierarchy. The magnificence of a tomb could be enhanced not just by the size of the tomb but also by the materials used and the quality of the craftsmanship. Again, there was not a direct correlation between these elements of tomb construction and the social hierarchy of sixteenth-century England.

The final iteration of the tomb of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk at Framlingham makes use of Caen stone, an expensive material that had to be imported from France. However, it is problematic to draw conclusions regarding ideas of status purely from this information. Firstly, evidence suggests that the initial phase of construction on the Howard tombs at Thetford Priory used clunch, a chalky limestone found in the east of England, including in the vicinity of Thetford. The Howards were initially making use of a stone local to their place of burial rather than incurring the costs of importing stone from overseas. It does not appear that the 3rd duke felt that expensive building materials were essential to his commemorative strategy. The switch to using Caen stone appears to have come when Thomas Howard, the young 4th duke of Norfolk commissioned his own tomb and constructed the tomb intended for himself and his wives.³¹² The change would seem to say more about the ambitions of a young man who had grown up in the unfavourable shadow of an executed father and imprisoned grandfather than those of the 3rd duke of Norfolk.

³¹² Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Monument'.

A similar lack of concern with using expensive material is evident in the tomb of the 5th earl of Westmorland. Despite his social status and the fact that his ancestor, Ralph Neville, 1st earl of Westmorland had an elaborate alabaster tomb, the 5th earl was commemorated with a wooden tomb, a building material that was easy to work, light to transport and available at a cheap price.³¹³ Conversely, where material from outside the immediate area was used it was not restricted only to the highest ranking individuals. The tombs of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, d. 1540; Edward, Lord North, d. 1564; and Lord Audley, 1540, all make use of black 'marble' that would have been imported into the east of England. The building materials used for tombs seem to have been connected to a greater extent by the wealth of the individuals and their connections outside a small locality rather than any inherited status.

A similar trend can be detected in the influences on the design of the tomb. The tomb of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk is often commented on for its Renaissance detailing and the quality of the workmanship which is described in relation to French workmanship and influences.³¹⁴ His father's tomb design did not have the same foreign influence but had been drawn up with Wassel, a mason of Bury and Master Clerke, the master of the King's works in Cambridge.³¹⁵ His social position was such that he was able to draw on the same craft expertise as the royal family. Another tomb that is set apart for stylistic reasons is that of Henry, Lord

³¹³ Pevsner, *County Durham*, pp. 427-8; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 205-6.

³¹⁴ Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 218

³¹⁵ TNA, PROB 11/21/391

Marney, d. 1523. Its design was clearly influenced by Italianate trends at the royal court in the 1520s. Again, the connecting factor between the newly ennobled Marneys and the dukes of Norfolk was their wider cultural connections, Marney at court and Howard both at court and in his diplomatic missions to France.

Where status was explicitly depicted on tombs it was usually in relation to privileges and heraldry that were controlled and regulated. Membership of the Order of the Garter could enhance the status of an individual and members such as the dukes of Norfolk and the earls of Rutland displayed their coat of arms surrounded by the garter (Plate 14 and 17). If there was an effigy on the tomb, then it would be depicted wearing the garter and chain of the Order which will be explored in greater detail in chapter 3 (p. 165). It was also common for earls and dukes, and their spouses, to be depicted wearing the coronet appropriate for their status and for their coat of arms to be surmounted by the same coronet. This is evident on the Howard tombs at Framlingham. Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk is depicted wearing his coronet whilst all the heraldic shields on the tomb intended for Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk and that commemorating Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond (Plate 25) were surmounted by coronets, although a number have now broken off. Epitaphs on tombs usually stated the factual information of the deceased's title, for example, 'here lyethe buried george maners knight lord roos' (Appendix 3/22).

Whilst it is difficult to equate particular aspects of tomb construction, such as design, cost or materials, with social stratification, it is the case that those

noblemen who have tombs were often engaged in other displays of wealth and status such as building projects and conspicuous consumption. The Howards constructed a large, brick house at Kenninghall in the 1520s, outside the moat of an older building.³¹⁶ The inventories taken in 1546 reveal it included a chapel; an indoor tennis court and rooms for the duke; his mistress, Bess Holland; his daughter, Mary, duchess of Richmond; and his sons, Henry, earl of Surrey, and Thomas, Lord Howard. There is no mention of the duchess of Norfolk having chambers but apparel belonging to her is listed and a number of furnishings were delivered to her. The jewels, clothing and plate all point to expensive tastes and the ability to fund them. The rich furnishings within the rooms also speak of lavish spending, including fourteen hangings depicting the story of Hercules, twenty-eight portraits of 'noble persons' in the long gallery, two organs in the chapel, a gilt wooden altarpiece, forty-two copes for the choir and six tapestries of the passion.³¹⁷

Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, d. 1547, does not appear to have given consideration to a tomb for himself but that might simply reflect his relatively youthful age at the time of his execution. He was engaged in building works to rival his father's, adapting the buildings of the priory of St Leonard's to create the house of Mount Surrey outside Norwich. The appearance of Mount Surry is unknown but it was built on a grand scale, including banqueting pavilions in the grounds, and is

³¹⁶ Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, pp. 17, 211.

³¹⁷ TNA, LR2/115, LR2/116; Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, pp. 115-6; Gunn and Claiden-Yardley, 'The Tudors and the Howards'.

likely to have reflected the renaissance tastes that he had developed when he stayed at the French court in 1532-3.³¹⁸ The interior was furnished with large hangings and Turkish carpets, with detailed designs of flowers, birds and beasts. Other soft furnishing such as canopies, curtains, cushions, and chairs were made of velvet, sarcenet and satin. His interest in ancestry was evident with a tester and vestments embroidered with white lions passant, the symbol of the Mowbray family, and two ensigns and an image of his arms.³¹⁹ The demands of Mount Surrey and the residence that he maintained in London would not have helped with the earl's financial difficulties. His finances were of concern to his father's treasurer and the earl hoped to be granted monastic buildings in Norwich to relieve his debt.³²⁰ Alongside his building work, Surrey was spending on artwork and portraiture. The 1547 inventory mentioned a table depicting 'the maundy of our lorde' and a picture of the earl.³²¹ During his lifetime, Surrey was the most painted and sketched Tudor courtier, including the notable William Scots portrait (p. 25).³²²

Tombs as part of a wider building scheme are evident across the sixteenth century and across the range of noblemen. The Lords Marney, whose tombs incorporate terracotta detailing fashionable at the royal court in the 1520s, planned the construction of a large, courtyard house. Only the brick gatehouse and

³¹⁸ Gunn and Claiden-Yardley, 'The Tudors and the Howards'; Sessions, *Henry Howard*, p. 170.

³¹⁹ TNA, LR2/115; Sessions, *Henry Howard*, pp. 170-73.

³²⁰ Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, p. 37.

³²¹ TNA, LR2/115.

³²² Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits*, i, p. 307.

flanking wings were ever completed but they reveal the spectacular ambition. The polygonal turrets of the gatehouse are eight stories in height and feature more terracotta work, again reflecting the access that the Marneys had to Italian workmanship and their desire to emulate court fashions in their own homes.³²³ John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford, d. 1513, made use of the same craftsmen as Henry VIII and his fellow noblemen, employing the services of Clerk and Wassel at Castle Hedingham. In the second half of the century, William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, d. 1572, drew on the expertise of craftsmen employed by the crown with senior men from the Office of the Queen's Work being named in his accounts for 1569. His work at Basing began with the rebuilding of the existing castle in brick in 1531 and continued with the building of a new house.³²⁴

Celebration of an individual's status was not restricted to their actions during their lifetime or the immediate funerary and tomb commemorations of the descendants. Continued commemoration was no doubt undertaken because of the prestige that it conferred on current and future generations of the family. The accounts of funerals written down and preserved by the heralds are careful to note down the rank of the deceased and, in the case of dukes, refer to them as 'the right mighty prince'.³²⁵ This was an acceptable phrase for dukes and noblemen could be spoken of as princes in their areas of influence but public claims to such status could prove dangerous and elegy writers were circumspect in their

³²³ Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, p. 205.

³²⁴ Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, p. 205; John Crook, Michael Bullen, Rodney Hubbuck and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Hampshire: Winchester and the North* (New Haven and London, 2010), p. 431.

³²⁵ See for example, Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, CA, MS I.7, f. 59v.

composition. The elegy to Jasper Tudor drew attention to his royal relations, thereby implicitly enhancing his status, but only referred to him as a duke.³²⁶ Thomas Stanley, 3rd earl of Derby both exercised authority over a wide area and showed questionable loyalty to the crown in matters of religion, factors that once might have led to claims that he was a prince in his country. Precisely for this reason, his elegy concentrates on emphasising his loyalty and refers only to his status as an earl and his legally held titles.³²⁷

Noblemen were both proud and defensive of their status within society. Older families had a position to maintain whilst the recently ennobled sought to impress their new status on their contemporaries. Extravagant expenditure and display was expected in life and in death. Funerals offered the opportunity for large scale processions, rituals and dinners whilst tombs were a dominant statement of wealth and power. However, there was a balance to be found between pomp and vanity that, at its most extreme, could be seen as threatening the crown's power, and an excess of humility leading to a display that was unbecoming of an individual's status. The expression of status in commemoration reveals that most noblemen favoured magnificence over humility and, for the most part, were able to stop short of crossing the line into vainglory.

³²⁶ *The epitaffe of the moste noble [and] valyaunt Iasper late duke of Bedfordshire*, STC (2nd ed.)/14477.

³²⁷ Denton, *Epitaph vpon the death of the right honourable Edward Earle of Darby*, STC (2nd ed.)/6674.

CHAPTER 3 – SERVICE AND CHIVALRY

The noblemen of Tudor England were expected to serve their King loyally. The King gained military leaders, diplomats, household officers, state officials, companions and a visible display of power and support to be paraded in front of foreign visitors. For the nobility, it was a means of preserving and enhancing social status through the acquisition of land and money and offices. Office-holding enabled them to distribute patronage and build up their own networks of supporters that would provide support and prestige. Royal service, traditionally in the military or the King's household and then, increasingly, in royal administration, provided the gentry, lawyers and administrators with a route into the ranks of the nobility. It enabled noblemen with a means to advance through the ranks of the nobility. Even where service did not lead to a title, the holding of an office could yield privileges equal to one born to a higher status.

It should not be assumed that service was entirely thought of in terms of what could be gained either by the King or the noblemen. There was a sense in which it was the correct order of the world for the nobility to serve their King. The medieval notion of the nobleman as the King's 'natural counsellor', and the court as their natural forum for advice, persisted into the sixteenth century. The conflict between noblemen who saw themselves as those 'natural' advisors because of their inherited aristocratic status and the ambitious administrators who were beginning to take on an increasingly political role, created some tension as the

Privy Council developed into the late sixteenth century model with just five peers.³²⁸ Serving the king could incorporate many different forms – ceremonial duties, household service, sitting on the council or in the House of Lords, taking part in diplomatic missions or leading royal armies. Some noblemen appeared in royal service in only a few of these capacities whilst others filled many roles and the type of service offered by an individual could alter over the course of their lifetime. The career of Francis Talbot, 5th earl of Shrewsbury provides an excellent example of the way a nobleman's service could change over a lifetime. When he first succeeded to his earldom in 1538 he played little part in court life or political counselling but was one of the main military commanders on the Scottish borders. After Henry VIII's death, the political complexities of a minority appear to have encouraged him to take an interest in government, becoming a member of the Privy Council in 1549. His relations with his fellow councillors were not always good but, having emerged into government service, he went on to act as a privy councillor under both Mary and Elizabeth I.³²⁹

The benefits of service and loyalty to the king were such that some individuals prioritised them over loyalty to family, especially when the alternative was loss of titles, lands or life. The 3rd duke of Norfolk in particular was pragmatic in choosing to distance himself from members of his family who fell out of royal favour and, in those moments of crisis, choosing to stress his loyalty to the crown.

³²⁸ S. J. Gunn, *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558* (Basingstoke and London, 1995), pp. 48-52.

³²⁹ For details of the 5th earl of Shrewsbury's career, see Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, pp. 59-91.

With his stepmother, half-brother, sister-in-law, and half-sister imprisoned in the aftermath of Catherine Howard's adultery, he wrote to Henry VIII on 15th December 1541 of his fears that the king would 'abhor' him because of his nieces' 'abominable deeds' and the 'repeated treasons' of his kin. As well as speaking of the poor relationship between himself and the imprisoned members of his family, he reminded the king that he had given evidence that had helped the discovery of his family's treason.³³⁰ Five and a half years earlier, he had presided over the trial of another of his nieces, Anne Boleyn. His lack of support for Anne had perhaps not been surprising given the tension between them with the Imperial Ambassador, Chapuys, believing that Anne had conspired with Cromwell to disgrace her uncle at court.³³¹ He was not alone in choosing to distance himself from his family, or actively condemn them in this manner. During the Pilgrimage of Grace, the earl of Northumberland denounced his brothers, Sir Thomas and Sir Ingram Percy, leading to their arrest.³³² Extended family, whilst a useful resource when they were in favour, were even easier to distance oneself from when they found themselves out of favour. In May 1521, Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk was appointed Lord High Steward to preside over the trial of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham.³³³ Buckingham was his son's father-in-law and Head claimed that the trial may have led to the initial estrangement between Thomas Howard

³³⁰ L&P, xvi, 1454.

³³¹ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 125.

³³² R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001), p. 389.

³³³ L&P, iii, 1284.i.

the younger, then earl of Surrey, and his wife, as she felt he had not objected enough to her father's execution.³³⁴

The household and the privy chamber in particular was a major source of influence and advancement for individuals with limited landed resources and the talents to thrive at the royal court. Courtiers were prominent in entertainments at the royal court, waited on the King and accompanied him during his leisure activities. Many courtiers were never ennobled but they could be handsomely rewarded with land and money. The tight circle around Henry VIII in the early years of his reign included Brandon, the earl of Essex, the earl of Wiltshire, the marquis of Dorset, Sir Edward Neville, Sir Henry Guildford and William Compton.³³⁵ Thomas Howard, then earl of Surrey, and his eldest son, Thomas, were too old to be part of that intimate circle but his son Edward Howard was part of it and his sons-in-law, Sir Thomas Knevet and Sir Thomas Boleyn were regularly at court.³³⁶ These men represented a range of backgrounds and, to a certain extent were the forerunners of the privy chamber, which had begun to emerge as a separate entity from the late fifteenth century and became essentially independent of the chamber by 1520.³³⁷ They served as companions and household servants but some of them would also go on to serve as royal representatives in the localities and as military leaders.

³³⁴ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 54.

³³⁵ Starkey, *Henry VIII. Personalities and Politics*, p. 31.

³³⁶ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 26.

³³⁷ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p. 84.

There was also the prospect of rapid advancement from a courtier background. One of the notable examples of this career progression is Charles Brandon who rose rapidly from courtier and companion of the young King Henry VIII to become duke of Suffolk. Whilst his connections in East Anglia were useful as a balance to the influence of the Howards, he was no doubt favoured over other East Anglian gentlemen because of his friendship with Henry VIII and his talents in the military and chivalric spheres. With only a small landed inheritance and no network of influential kin he was reliant on the King's patronage. It was his wives that brought him first status, through his marriage to the Dowager Queen of France, and then local connections, through his marriage to Katherine Willoughby.³³⁸ Whilst his dukedom and marriage to the King's sister made him particularly successful, he was not the only one to have risen from a similar background. William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton, was from a minor gentry family but his stepfather's connections led to him residing at court where he became a close companion of Henry VIII. As with Suffolk, Fitzwilliam shared the King's sporting interests and had military responsibility in the navy as well as being sent to France on diplomatic missions. His rise was more measured and he did not receive his earldom until the autumn of 1537.³³⁹

Personal service to the King could also be beneficial to those who inherited noble titles. Amongst the cupbearers at the royal court at Christmas 1521 were

³³⁸ For Charles Brandon, see Gunn, *Charles Brandon*.

³³⁹ William B. Robison, 'Fitzwilliam, William, earl of Southampton (c.1490–1542)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9663>, accessed 18 Aug 2014]).

the lords Daubeney, Clifford and Roos all of whom went on to be promoted to earldoms. Even senior noblemen would send their heirs to court where they could provide an alternative method of keeping close to the King without attending in person, as in the case of William Fitzalan, earl of Arundel who rarely came to court but whose heir, Henry, was a page.³⁴⁰ The older, established noblemen may have felt secure enough in their positions to delegate attendance at court to other members of their family but they were expected to attend when there were important ceremonials taking place. At such events the monarch needed a display of support both for the benefit of his English subjects and for watching European powers. This was particularly true when the individual held a senior office such as Lord Steward or Earl Marshal that was typically filled by a high ranking nobleman but did not necessarily require that they carried out day to day administrative work.

Miller's analysis of noble attendance at the major ceremonial events of Henry VIII's reign, such as his coronation and the meetings with Francis I and Charles V, revealed that the majority of the nobility could, and did, become part of court spectacle on special occasions without it being their whole world. Even the Stanley earls of Derby appeared at some ceremonial occasions, despite being rare attendees at court. Where noblemen missed out on major events they sometimes sent relatives in their place and their absences can often be explained away on the grounds of age, illness or, in the case of northern lords, the need to protect the

³⁴⁰ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 83-4.

borders from the Scots.³⁴¹ Finding an excuse to avoid attending at court was a means of expressing dissent, as in the case of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury who excused himself from attending court on the grounds of sickness in part because he risked expulsion from the council or prosecution for retaining if he did attend but also to indicate his unhappiness with royal policies.³⁴²

Under the rule of Mary and Elizabeth I the relationship between noblemen, the privy chamber and the crown was altered. The wives of Henry VII and Henry VIII had always had their own female staffed chambers with significant prestige and benefits attached to membership. This is most evident in the careers of Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour and Catherine Howard who all served in the households of their predecessors before attracting Henry VIII's attention. They were able to secure advancement and patronage for their families and associates. The rewards and influence available to the women of the royal household were greater when the Queen was also the monarch but it necessitated change in the way that the household operated. As with a male monarch, access to the crown was vital, especially for the peers being ousted from the Privy Council by their administrative counterparts. Noblemen could hold household posts such as Edward, Lord Hastings of Loughborough and William, Lord Howard of Effingham who served as lord chamberlain to Mary and Elizabeth I respectively and Lord Robert Dudley who

³⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 92-101.

³⁴² Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, pp. 16-26.

was appointed as Master of the Horse in 1559.³⁴³ Indeed the role of lord chamberlain was revived from the obscurity of Henry VIII's reign to fill the administrative gap caused by a privy chamber with no male head. The Secretaryship under William Cecil also regained some of the administrative powers that had passed to the Privy Chamber.³⁴⁴

However, it was the Queen's ladies-in-waiting who had the most intimate access to her. Petitioners approached ladies-in-waiting for help in securing the Queen's favour and obtaining a household post for a wife or daughter could be a nobleman's best opportunity to gain access to the Queen to promote his interests. Gertrude Courtenay, marchioness of Exeter, was a close friend of Katherine of Aragon and Princess Mary who was side-lined from her previously prominent role at Henry VIII's court following her husband's execution in 1538 and her own attainder for treason. She returned to court at Mary's accession and serves as an example of the influence that Mary's attendants could exercise. Jane Dudley, the wife of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, hoped that the marchioness of Exeter would intercede on her husband's behalf. Whilst Northumberland did not escape execution, the marchioness does seem to have been successful in helping to secure the release of her cousin's husband, William Parr, marquis of

³⁴³ McDermott, 'Howard, William, first Baron Howard of Effingham'; Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>, accessed 18 Aug 2014].

³⁴⁴ Pam Wright, 'A Change in Direction: The Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603', in David Starkey (ed.), *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 152-4.

Northampton.³⁴⁵ Under Elizabeth the Privy Chamber was dominated by families including the Howards, Careys, Staffords and Knollys who had a tradition of such service dating back to her father's reign. They knew that they had valuable influence to capitalise on and women such as Anne Dudley, countess of Warwick, an intimate of the Queen for the whole of her reign, were believed to have extensive influence with her patronage covering everything from ecclesiastical appointments to lawsuits and lesser military positions.³⁴⁶

There was little opposition to warfare in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or to noble participation on the battlefield. Military service was undertaken by the older, landed noble families and by gentry courtiers such as Charles Brandon, John Russell and William Fitzwilliam. In 1492, Henry VII used indentures as a means of retaining noblemen for military service and, in 1495 and 1506, the obligation of personal service was enacted in parliament. A third method, employed by Henry VIII, was the use of signet letters to call on landowners to raise men. Under the early Tudors, noblemen accepted their duty and do not appear have tried to avoid their military obligations. In the summer of 1513 when the English were at war with France and Scotland, Miller has identified just four noblemen who were of age and not on active service themselves or

³⁴⁵ J. P. D. Cooper, 'Courtenay, Gertrude, marchioness of Exeter (d. 1558)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6450>, accessed 18 Aug 2014].

³⁴⁶ Wright, 'A Change in Direction', pp. 160-2.; Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Anne, countess of Warwick (1548/9–1604)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69744>, accessed 18 Aug 2014].

represented by their heirs.³⁴⁷ Military service was an established means of gaining ennoblement or promotion within the ranks of the nobility and showing power; it was a point of honour to provide a suitable retinue and an extension of ceremonial service at court, with the possibility to gain renown.³⁴⁸ Military service first for Edward IV and then for Henry VII gained Giles Daubeney a knighthood, then a barony and admission to the Order of the Garter.³⁴⁹ It was after going to war against the French in 1513 that Brandon was created duke of Suffolk and Charles Somerset was created earl of Worcester; and serving as a commander on the Scottish borders led to Francis Talbot being elected to the Order of the Garter.³⁵⁰

For others, military service was a way back into royal favour after disgrace. Thomas Howard was created as duke of Norfolk, the title that he would have inherited from his father, in recognition of his victory against the Scots at the Battle of Flodden.³⁵¹ Mary and Philip in particular made use of military service as a means of redemption and reunification amongst the nobility. John, Lord Bray was released from jail in 1557 to reside with his father-in-law, the earl of Shrewsbury, with the prospect of service on the Scottish borders. He died fighting in France alongside the duke of Northumberland's sons and other men who had opposed

³⁴⁷ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 137, 159.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-4, 159.

³⁴⁹ S. J. Gunn, 'Daubeney, Giles, first Baron Daubeney', *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edn, 2009) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7185>, accessed 18 Aug 2014].

³⁵⁰ Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 101.

³⁵¹ Tucker, *Life of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey*, p. 122.

Mary in the early years of her reign.³⁵² Despite this the relationship between the English nobility and military service had changed before Mary's reign. Her father had ennobled a number of men who had no military background or skills and, in 1544, he had summoned militiamen to France, a move that Miller suggests signalled 'the end of the quasi-feudal system'. By the early years of Elizabeth's reign, armies were raised on a county basis.³⁵³ During her reign, there was a reaction against military education by men such as Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Bacon. Combined with long periods of peace and the technical demands of modern warfare, noblemen were no longer the primary means of defending the realm. However, the decline in the military peerage did not begin until after 1572. Neither did it result in a complete demilitarization of the English nobility, the first decades of the seventeenth century being marked by a rediscovery of their martial values.³⁵⁴

Intertwined with military service was a chivalric culture at the court. The courtiers who became military commanders were often also the ones that hunted and hawked with the monarch, showed prowess in the tourneys, played roles in the staged pageants that saw allegorical castles assaulted, and could turn their hand to the poetry of courtly love. The medieval tournament with its open melee had evolved by the sixteenth century into a more rule bound spectacle where the

³⁵² C. S. L. Davies, 'England and the French War, 1557-9', in Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (eds.), *The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540-1560* (London and Basingstoke, 1980), p. 163; Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 106.

³⁵³ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 159-60.

³⁵⁴ Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen. The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 17-28.

joust was popular as a display of prowess and a 'courtly exercise'.³⁵⁵ Chivalric culture was also associated with the perpetuation of memory and the passing down of valorous deeds as inspiration to subsequent generations. The result was a rich body of visual material in the architecture and furnishings of churches and houses and of literary texts that was intended to nurture the reputations of individuals and ensure their lasting fame.³⁵⁶

Of all the Tudor reigns, it was under Henry VIII that the chivalric culture flourished most, with the king taking an active role in tournaments and pageants. Henry VII recognised the need to impress his European counterparts with appropriate spectacle. It also provided an environment for the younger noblemen to display their warlike prowess and skills. His leading noble courtiers took part in jousts and pageants, such as those laid on for Prince Arthur's marriage ceremonies, but he was an observer rather than a participant.³⁵⁷ That is not to say that he took no part in the pleasure activities of his court, he regularly hunted as well as gambling and playing tennis. He also made provision at his new palace of Richmond for dancing chambers, bowling alleys, tennis courts and rooms for gaming.³⁵⁸ In contrast to his father, the young Henry VIII participated in the chivalric displays as well as leisure games. He began his reign with an impressive

³⁵⁵ Arthur Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry* (Durham, North Carolina, 1960), pp. 14-5.

³⁵⁶ Nigel Saul, *For Honour and Fame. Chivalry in England, 1066-1500* (London, 2012), pp. 283-304.

³⁵⁷ Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 100-6; David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (London, 1986), p. 103.

³⁵⁸ Steven Gunn, 'The Courtiers of Henry VII', *The English Historical Review*, 108, no. 426 (1993), p. 25.

round of spectacles in which he played a central role, taking part in pageants and riding in all the large tournaments that took place before 1527.³⁵⁹ He sought to keep the Arthurian legends alive, maintaining the Round Table at Winchester, and ensured that diplomatic meetings were accompanied by chivalric activity.³⁶⁰ Despite this interest in chivalric culture, Miller argued that Henry VIII made little attempt to exploit the potential for pageantry offered by the Order of the Garter. That aspect of chivalric culture was becoming a political reward given to courtiers and administrative officers, rather than bestowed in recognition of military prowess.³⁶¹

Age and then gender meant that the relationships between Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth I and their noblemen in the chivalric sphere had to be altered. Edward was too young to enter into full scale jousts in the manner of his father but entered into martial activities at an age appropriate level, suggesting that he might have progressed to tournaments on a larger scale if he had not died young. In July 1551, aged 13, he rode to Blackheath with the earls of Darby and Warwick, Lord Clinton and other lords and gentlemen and they took bows and arrows and halberds with them. At the heath, the King then proceeded to tilt at the ring with his companions.³⁶² Mary and Elizabeth were not able to participate in jousts themselves but Mary at least had a deputy in the form of her husband. Philip organised tournaments over the winter of 1554-5 as part of his attempt to

³⁵⁹ Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, pp. 108-14.

³⁶⁰ Ferguson, *Indian Summer of English Chivalry*, p. 24.

³⁶¹ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 90-1.

³⁶² *Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 6-7.

reconcile the English and Spanish. After the initial attempt at Spanish games failed to impress, the English challenges were issued for the chivalric contest of combat at the barriers that was so popular in England. This was successful enough to be repeated a number of times. It was a politic means of bringing the Spanish and English together and enabled the rehabilitation of the sons of the executed duke of Northumberland.³⁶³ However, these did not have the courtly aspects of earlier tournaments and were not followed up in the rest of Mary's reign.³⁶⁴ There were eight tournaments in the first seven years of Elizabeth's reign which mainly provided an opportunity for aspiring courtiers to attempt to attract her attention. Prominent amongst those were Ambrose and Robert Dudley who continued to use the tiltyard as a means of displaying loyalty and talent.³⁶⁵ In the early 1570s, jousting began to regain its romantic elements and went on to develop into the public spectacle of the Accession Day tilts of the 1580s and 1590s and the theatre of the Elizabethan court.³⁶⁶

Despite the opinions of established noblemen on their role as the King's natural councillors, military leadership, nobility and skill in the tilting yards did not necessarily equate to administrative and political talents. Although Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk thought he had a right to political primacy, he was never dominant amongst the King's advisors in part because of a lack of ability and

³⁶³ Richard C. McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard: Robert Dudley's Return to Glory', *The Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), pp. 428-30.

³⁶⁴ Loades, *Tudor Court*, p. 103-4.

³⁶⁵ Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987), p. 33.

³⁶⁶ Loades, *Tudor Court*, p. 104-5.

in part because of a pride that made him reluctant to carry out routine work.³⁶⁷ This lack of ability was intensified by the developments in the composition of the Privy Council. Under Henry VII and Henry VIII, the small administrative council that had existed in the later medieval period increasingly took over the role of counselling the monarch. Noblemen were not excluded but they were few in number and were normally the holders of offices of state, hereditary great offices and household officers. Towards the end of Henry VIII's reign, being active in the House of Lords also came to be a route into the council. Meanwhile, lawyers and administrators were increasingly prominent.³⁶⁸ For talented administrators such as Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Wriothesley, John Williams, William Paulet and William Paget serving as privy councillors was a means to achieve ennoblement. Cromwell aside, their administrative talents and pragmatism meant that they survived the political and religious turmoil of the mid-sixteenth century and remained constants in the governments of the mid-Tudor period. At the same time as opening the nobility up to these new men, the changes to the Privy Council and its increasing overlap with the exclusivity of the privy chamber meant excluding large numbers of noblemen from serving their monarch by offering informal counsel.³⁶⁹

One thing that is apparent is that the noblemen who achieved the greatest success, either in terms of rising through the ranks, or in terms of securing lands, offices, and patronage, were often those who could serve the crown in a number

³⁶⁷ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 281.

³⁶⁸ Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, pp. 49-51.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

of ways. Gunn argues that there was a spectrum of service under the reign of Henry VII with a key position being occupied by men such as Giles, Lord Daubeney and Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke who combined being courtiers and councillors with local office and diplomatic and military positions.³⁷⁰ A similar argument can be made for the success of the dukes of Norfolk throughout this period. Whilst they may not have achieved the political dominance enjoyed by Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell at the heights of their careers, they served the Tudor monarchs across the full spectrum of service and, no doubt, this helped ensure their continuing prominence despite their falls from favour.

Service was clearly important in noble careers when they are viewed from the outside but we should consider what it meant to noblemen themselves and how they expressed its importance in their commemoration. Wills are not the most consistently reliable source of information about the importance of service to the nobility; however, they can shed some light on individual noblemen. The opening formula of wills in the sixteenth century offered the opportunity to make mention not just of titles but also of offices held. However, not everyone felt the need to do so. This is evident in the wills of the dukes of Norfolk, both of whom held the office of earl marshal at the time of their death. Whilst Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk states that he is both duke of Norfolk and 'Erle Marshall of

³⁷⁰ Gunn, 'Courtiers of Henry VII', p. 28.

England', his father's will states only that he is duke of Norfolk although he was also Earl Marshall when he wrote his will.³⁷¹

Despite the number of noblemen who did undertake military service during this period, relatively few surviving wills made reference to anticipated departures to war or to burial abroad. This may simply reflect the fact that with extensive and changing estates, noblemen revised their wills until they were close to death. A will made in anticipation of death in battle could be superseded if the testator survived and returned home. The will lodged at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury for Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk was written in July 1554 but there is evidence that he had written at least one earlier will and that it was written in preparation for going to war against Scotland. On September 21st 1542, he wrote to Stephen Gardiner and Thomas Wriothesley, telling them, 'I have made my will pefight, and for lak of a seuer conveyer, I have delyvverd it to my Lord of Duresme to delyver you if the case shall so requyre'.³⁷² Given the length of time that passed before his death, and the events that occurred in those years, it is not surprising that Norfolk went on to revise his will. It is when death occurred during or shortly after military service that wills written in anticipation of death are more likely to have survived. Also travelling to the Scottish border was Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1543, who, in August 1542, paid 40s to Sergeant Molyneux to make his will when he 'went into the northe' and it is that will which was

³⁷¹ TNA, PROB 11/37/171, PROB 11/21/391.

³⁷² *Hamilton Papers*, i, p. 215.

proved.³⁷³ The will written by Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy in anticipation of death in a war has also survived, because he died in 1544, not long after returning from Henry VIII's Bolougne campaign of that year. In it he spoke of his 'bounden Dutie' to his master and country and made arrangements to be buried in the place where he is slain, should God ordain it so.

The importance of service to the nobility could be demonstrated in a number of different ways during the course of the funeral. There are indications that office holding, as with status could affect the funeral proceedings and size. In the funeral procession of Henry, lord Marney in 1523, it was noted that the helmet and crest were 'because that he was lord prevyseall borne by Richemond herault hauyng on hym the king[es] cote of arms'.³⁷⁴ Three other Lords Privy Seal died whilst in office during this time period: Thomas Ruthall, bishop of Durham, William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton, and John Russell, earl of Bedford. Of these, a funeral account survives for Marney's predecessor in the role, Bishop Ruthall. In that instance the explanation of his holding royal office as the lord privy seal was used in relation to the range of attendees at the funeral – including Archbishop Thomas Wolsey, the duke of Suffolk, several earls and the majority of the lords and knights resident at the court at that time.³⁷⁵

The heralds would also verbally draw attention to the deceased's office holding at the point where his titles were declared and prayers sought for his soul.

³⁷³ *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, iv, p. 337; TNA, PROB 11/30/423.

³⁷⁴ CA, MS I.7, f. 50r.

³⁷⁵ BL, Add MS 45131, f. 150r.

At all of the diriges and services for Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, Carlisle herald did this, referring to the deceased as marshal of England, late treasurer of England, King's councillor and a member of the Order of the Garter.³⁷⁶ It was similar at the funeral of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, when Richmond herald sought prayers for Thomas Howard's soul and referred to him by his title and also as earl marshal of England, late comptroller to the Queen and companion of the Order of the Garter.³⁷⁷ The tradition of declaring the deceased's offices continued even after intercession for the dead was no longer sought. In 1572, it was declared that William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, had been 'a most Worthy counsellor to the princes of famous memory King henry the eight, King Edward the sixt and Queen mary whome he had loyally servid in these sondry and honorable affairs' before going on to list the offices that he had held, as comptroller, treasurer of the household, lord chamberlain of the household, lord privy seal, lord steward of the household and lord keeper of the great seal.³⁷⁸

As well as the Heralds' declarations, funeral sermons could also make references to an individual's service, although examples of this are rare in this period. The sermon given at the funeral of John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford in 1513 spoke of his virtues and nobleness.³⁷⁹ It is plausible that these virtues would have included his loyalty and sense of duty to his king, and his military skill. Oxford had been a trusted military commander who led Henry VII's armies at the Battles

³⁷⁶ CA, MS I.7, 59v.

³⁷⁷ CA, MS I.11, f. 34.3v.

³⁷⁸ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, f. 214.

³⁷⁹ CA, MS I.7, f. 46r.

of Bosworth and Stoke. In addition he had served as a privy councillor and Lord Great Chamberlain.³⁸⁰ At the funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, the sermon was on the theme of 'Behold the lion of the Tribe of Judah triumphs'.³⁸¹ Whilst the lion of the tribe of Judah is Christ, the choice of this theme given the association between the Howard family and heraldic symbol of the lion has been taken to be an allusion to Norfolk's military heroism that helped secure his restoration to this father's titles.³⁸² The choice of preacher in this case was also linked with Norfolk's service. It was delivered by Dr Mackarel, former canon and abbot of the Whitefriars in Alnwick who would ultimately be executed for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace.³⁸³ There were no doubt learned and respected preachers closer to the Howard's East Anglian power base. That Dr Mackarel was chosen points to a connection between the duke and the priory at Alnwick, if not with the doctor himself. It is highly likely that such a connection would have been formed as a result of the duke of Norfolk's royal service. This took him to the north on three notable occasions. The first was in the 1490s when he was deputy warden of the marches and Lieutenant of the North. The second was when he travelled through the north of England as he accompanied Princess Margaret north for her marriage to King James IV. Finally, in 1513, he went north at the head

³⁸⁰ For the 13th earl of Oxford's life, see Ross, *John De Vere*.

³⁸¹ 'vocatus Doctor Makerell albus canonicus, et Thema ejus fuit, Ecce viat [sic] Leo de Tribu Judae', 'The Register or Chronicle of Butley Priory, Suffolk, 1510-1535', ed. A. G. Dickens, in A. G. Dickens, *Late Monasticism and the Reformation* (London, 1994), p. 44.

³⁸² Gunn, Grummitt and Cools, *War, State, and Society*, p. 230; Sessions, *Henry Howard*, p. 19.

³⁸³ H. M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), p. 393; David Knowles and R Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971), p. 162.

of the army that that would defeat the Scots at the Battle of Flodden. In each of these instances he spent some time staying in Alnwick.³⁸⁴

A different approach to expressing service through a sermon was taken at the funeral of William Courtenay, earl of Devon in 1511. Courtenay was well connected within noble society. However, his service record to the Tudor dynasty had been patchy. Initially supporting Henry VII, he had helped his father defend Exeter against Cornish rebels in September 1497 and, from 1501, when he was heir to the earldom, was paid an annuity for his regular attendance on the King.³⁸⁵ However, in April 1502, he was imprisoned under suspicion of treason for his dealings with Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. He was under attainder from 1504 and remained in prison until at least September 1509, first in the Tower of London and then in Calais Castle. After his release, he returned to the life of a courtier. It presumably made sense for the King to keep him close if he suspected his loyalty but serving at court also benefitted Courtenay. At the tournament to celebrate the birth of Henry VIII's son in February 1510/11, he was Bon Valour, one of four knights to challenge all comers, the others being Sir Thomas Knevet, Sir Edward Neville and the King himself. At this point, contemporaries were calling him the earl of Devonshire and, in May 1511, the King decided to create him as

³⁸⁴ Tucker, *Life of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey*, pp. 66, 89, 109.

³⁸⁵ S. J. Gunn, 'Courtenay, Edward, first earl of Devon (d. 1509)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6448>, accessed 20 Aug 2014]; Gunn, 'Courtiers of Henry VII', p. 34.

earl of Devon.³⁸⁶ At his funeral, Dr Standish preached a sermon that ‘excused hym of Infydelite a yenst his soueran lorde’ and alleged that he had been falsely accused. Standish took the opportunity to counsel princes and great lords ‘nat to hasty credence w[ith]owt a sure grounde.’³⁸⁷ He implicitly both criticised Henry VII and asserted Courtenay’s loyalty. The funeral was therefore able to rehabilitate Courtenay and suggest that his loyalty to his lords had been unblemished.

Funeral accounts do not comment on the demeanour of the congregation during the sermons; whether they listened closely, whether they were distracted by grief or even if they were bored. There is little evidence of whether the sermons had any lasting impact or if they influenced the listeners’ views of the deceased. A rare exception was the funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk. It was later reported by Norfolk’s great-grandson Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, that the sermon on the lion of the Tribe of Judah had been so effective that ‘all the multitude’, who had been listening attentively, fled in terror. He also implies that people reacted with fear at the death, possibly meaning the funeral, of ‘the late Duke of Somerset’.³⁸⁸ Northampton’s account must be treated with some caution as he had a particular agenda and was seeking to demonstrate the susceptibility of ordinary people to prophecies as part of his treatise. However, it does indicate that stories about funerals were remembered and referenced decades later.

³⁸⁶ Gunn, ‘Courtenay, Edward, first earl of Devon’; Edward Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle* (London, 1809), p. 517; *L&P*, i, 698.

³⁸⁷ CA, MS I.3, 35r.

³⁸⁸ Howard, *A defensative against the poison of supposed prophecies*, p. 119.

The choice of mourners at a funeral could indicate the importance that royal service had played in the deceased's life through the strength of the connections made through that service. Mervyn James has demonstrated this in the case of Thomas, Lord Wharton whose mourners were drawn from the ranks of the Tudor administration in the North of England. All of them were crown servants in the north and four of them, Sir Thomas Gargrave, Sir Henry Savile, Sir George Bowes and John Vaughan, were members of the Council in the North. The supporting roles were primarily filled by junior Wharton relatives. James suggests that this highlights the limited extent of Wharton's following and his insignificance at the royal court whilst representing the emerging administrative elite. It forms a contrast with the funeral of William, Lord Dacre, whose mourners were drawn from his 'network of loyalties, feudal and patriarchal' and whose servants would have included men who were active in the warlike world of Border raids.³⁸⁹ It is misleading to take this as meaning that Wharton was purely an administrator, as he was involved in military campaigns.³⁹⁰ However, the funerals do highlight the impact that the age of a noble family and the range of service could have on the identity and experience that different noblemen had, even when they operated in the same region. Two decades earlier, at the funeral of another new man, albeit one from a well-connected, courtier background, the same emphasis on service is evident. When Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, died in 1545, the chief mourner

³⁸⁹ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 189-91; James, 'Two Tudor Funerals', pp. 181, 183-6.

³⁹⁰ David Grummitt, 'Wharton, Thomas, first Baron Wharton (c.1495–1568)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29172>, accessed 8 May 2014].

was his son-in-law, Henry Grey, the Marquis of Dorset, a choice that represented both family and an appropriate status. Brandon had few other male relatives of a suitable age and status so Dorset was supported by the earls of Arundel, Essex and Huntingdon, Lord William Howard, Sir Anthony Browne and Sir Anthony Wingfield.³⁹¹ Most of these men had a shared experience of service on military campaigns. Dorset, Arundel and Browne had all been members of Suffolk's council of war during the 1544 Boulogne campaign. Wingfield, a distant cousin and commander at the siege of Boulogne, had served under Suffolk during the 1523 French invasion and the suppression of the 1536 Lincolnshire rebellion. The same men were also evident amongst the commissioners of array assisting him with preparations to withstand a French invasion in 1545.³⁹² This selection of men is an apt representation of Suffolk's career. Military prowess, both as a commander and in tourneys had brought with it the King's friendship which, in turn, had brought more primacy in those areas and roles as diplomat and councillor. However, this had not translated into lasting power and, even at the end of his life, it was his military service brought him lands, influence and patronage. On a personal level, the mourners also represented his preference for military company which was reflected in his active involvement in the Order of the Garter and his preference for supporting those with military experience in the Order's elections.³⁹³

³⁹¹ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1109, f. 144.

³⁹² Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp. 148, 192, 195.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-18, 32, 69, 194-5.

More generally, the noble funeral included a proliferation of heraldry and the display and then offering of the heraldic achievements. In the case of the Howard family after 1513, their heraldry was a permanent, visual reminder of successful military service. In the grant of 1514 that created Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey as duke of Norfolk, he and his heirs were granted an addition to their coat of arms as a commemoration of their victory over James IV of Scotland. The grant was for 'a bend on the shield of Howard a demilion gules, pierced in the mouth with an arrow, and colored according to the arms of Scotland, as borne by the said King of Scots.'³⁹⁴ As a family they made extensive use of heraldry, in their homes and in their commemoration, and in doing so they displayed not just their ancestry but also their greatest military success. Pride in their victory did not disappear easily. Years later, the 2nd duke of Norfolk's grandson, Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, was refused a dance and went on to write a poem which referenced the victory at Flodden,

'How can ye thus intreat a Lion of the race,
That with his paws a crowned king devoured in the place.'³⁹⁵

Whilst the Howard family was unusual in having a coat of arms that so overtly celebrated military prowess, they were not the only ones to visually commemorate their successes. At Castle Hedingham, the earls of Oxford had a

³⁹⁴ *L&P*, i, 2684 (1).

³⁹⁵ *The Poems of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey*, ed. J. Yeowell (London, 1908), p. 49.

relief of the Battle of Bosworth showing the 13th earl of Oxford in the midst of the battle.³⁹⁶

As well as appearing on the various standards, bannerrolls, escutcheons and pencelles, the Howard's new heraldry would have been used on the achievements offered at the funerals of the dukes of Norfolk. That is to say the deceased's crest and helm, sword, target and coat of arms that were carried in the procession and then offered as part of the funeral ceremony. In his analysis of the funerals of Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568 and William, Lord Dacre, d. 1563, Mervyn James described these as being 'emblems of chivalry' and of the deceased's knightly status.³⁹⁷ James is interested in the omission of these heraldic emblems from the funeral processions of Lords Wharton and Dacre. He suggested that the association of the offerings with the requiem mass made them difficult to reconcile with the religious climate at the start of Elizabeth's reign.³⁹⁸ The relationship between the heraldic offerings and the religious changes of the sixteenth century will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 5 (p. 241). In regard to the service aspect of nobility, the important point was that the heraldic achievements do appear in funeral accounts later in Elizabeth's reign. At the funerals of both Edward Stanley, earl of Derby and William Paulet, marquis of Winchester in 1572, the achievements formed part of the procession and were

³⁹⁶ The relief is now at Stowe School and a photograph of it is reproduced on the cover of Ross, *John De Vere*.

³⁹⁷ James, 'Two Tudor Funerals', p. 179.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

offered during the funeral.³⁹⁹ James pointed out that they also appeared in later Elizabethan funerals, using the example of Lord Grey of Wilton's funeral in 1593.⁴⁰⁰ It appears that the association of the achievements with chivalry and military service was strong enough to survive any taint of Catholicism. The military and chivalric image was pervasive enough that even noblemen such as William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, who wasn't a military commander, adopted the emblems of chivalry and knightliness. For Winchester this decision was in keeping with the fact that, though he did not seek prowess on the battlefield, he was a member of the Order of the Garter and therefore part of the chivalric world of the court.

A nobleman's royal service appears to have had little direct bearing on their choice of burial location. Few prioritised a particular church or religious house on the grounds of its association with royal service. Exceptions to this would possibly be men who were buried in London and who had careers particularly dependant on the royal court. Giles, Lord Daubeney, d. 1508, was one of the primary councillors, courtiers and military leaders in England under Henry VII. The regard in which he was held is reflected in the fact that he was one of the few men to be ennobled by Henry VII. He remained loyal and influential with regular attendances at court, although it was not a relationship without difficulties as Henry VII fined him in 1506 for the payments he was claiming for the Calais garrison.⁴⁰¹ In this context, it makes sense that he would have requested burial in Westminster

³⁹⁹ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 214, 217, 221.

⁴⁰⁰ James, 'Two Tudor Funerals', p. 181.

⁴⁰¹ Gunn, 'Daubeney, Giles, first Baron Daubeney'.

Abbey, near the court and the King rather than in Somerset from where his title derived and where he had been granted lands and offices. Similarly, Thomas Butler, earl Ormond, d. 1515, was buried in London, rather than Ireland where his title was derived from. This was in keeping with a career almost entirely based on royal service in England; he was the Queen's Chamberlain and, unusually, appears to have been summoned to the English parliament.⁴⁰² On the other hand, Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, d. 1550; William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, d. 1572; and William, Lord Paget, d. 1563, who are all typical of administrative noblemen asked to be buried near to their principal residences. The need to establish a secure family base where there had not been one and to establish a reminder of aristocratic power was more important to them than reflecting their loyal service through the choice of burial location.

Royal service could lead to noblemen nominating more than one burial location within England, often one north and one south of a point such as the Trent. Career diplomats and men such as Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, d. 1544, going abroad for the wars, sometimes made provision for the possibility that they might die away from home as a result of their service. For much of this period, the English still owned Calais and some noblemen moved between the two sides of the channel. The will of John Berners, Lord Berners, d. 1533, was written during his second term as deputy of Calais, just thirteen days before his death, it mentioned one burial location, a parish church in Calais, reflecting an awareness that he was

⁴⁰² *Complete Peerage*, x, pp. 131-2.

going to die whilst still serving Henry VIII across the channel.⁴⁰³ The record held at the National Archives for Maurice, Lord Berkeley, d. 1523, consists of two wills. One is from 1520, the year in which he was appointed Lieutenant of Calais and one from 1523, when he was still based abroad. Between the two wills, his preferred burial location switched from St Augustine's Abbey in Bristol to the Trinity Chapel within St Michael's parish church, Calais.⁴⁰⁴

The imagery that was used on tombs, both in terms of the effigies of the deceased and any depictions of male relatives, was heavily rooted in military service and chivalry. Changes in the style of carving and armour aside, the sixteenth-century recumbent figure in military garb was not very different from that found on the tombs of the medieval era. Armour, surcoats, and swords were intricately carved or engraved and the male effigies were uniformly shown with their heads resting on helms, complete with crests and, in a number of cases, the chain mail coif emerging from the helm. In the case of the tombs of the 2nd and 3rd dukes of Norfolk, the military image of the effigies is supported by the use of the coats of arms with the post-Flodden addition, the lion on their crests and, in the case of the 3rd duke, lions supporting the small coats of arms. The lions were representative of the Howard family but the lion in the sixteenth century was also known for its 'strength, courage, and noble bearing', all of which qualities were prized by warriors and their presence on the tomb would have enhanced the

⁴⁰³ TNA, PROB 11/25/115; James P. Carley, 'Bourchier, John, second Baron Berners (c.1467–1533)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2990>, accessed 23 Sept 2014].

⁴⁰⁴ TNA, PROB 11/21/237.

Howards' military image.⁴⁰⁵ The Howards had shown the same interest in the imagery of valour and strength in life. The will of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk included a bequest of hangings depicting Hercules, revealing an awareness of and interest in the Roman hero.⁴⁰⁶

The popularity of effigies that celebrated the military aspect of noble service and identity is in contrast to the way in which noblemen were depicted in portraiture. The majority of noble portraits from this period show the sitter in fashionable civilian dress, usually fur-trimmed gowns, decorated doublets and bonnets, usually made of velvet and satin.⁴⁰⁷ Some, such as Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, in his 1546 portrait, are carrying swords and daggers. However, these are not necessarily symbols of military service. It was common to carry a weapon for self-defence as evidenced by the concerns of authorities about brawls and duelling and, divorced from military dress, they were also carried as fashion accessories.⁴⁰⁸ The main point of overlap with the images of noblemen on tombs is in the decision of Knights of the Garter to be painted wearing their collar. As a result, portraits can reflect aspects of noble service that are not captured in tomb imagery. The Hans Holbein portrait of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk depicts him holding the white staff of the Lord High Treasurer and the baton of the Earl Marshal,

⁴⁰⁵ Tucker, *Life of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey*, p. 121; Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales*, i, pt. 2, p. 162.

⁴⁰⁶ TNA, PROB 11/21/391.

⁴⁰⁷ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, pp. 172-3.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-1.

neither of which are shown on his tomb.⁴⁰⁹ As the nobility began to shift away from mass participation on the battlefield, the images on their tombs move closer to their portraits. It is not until the late sixteenth century that the effigies of noblemen themselves are shown in civilian dress but there are shifts in the way in which relatives are depicted. On the tomb of George Manners, Lord Roos, d. 1513, all his sons are shown in armour. Fifty years later, the tomb of Henry Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1563, depicts his heir in armour (Plate 12, Appendix 3/25). The other son is depicted in his role as Rector of Helmsley suggesting that wider noble culture was in the early stages of becoming disassociated from military service.⁴¹⁰

Noble service could also be depicted through the carving on livery collars on effigies. In the later middle ages, livery and badges were issued as a means of promising good lordship in return for service. Within the spectrum of livery types, the collar was at the top and was given to those of a high rank. The most famous livery collars are the Yorkist sun and roses and the Lancastrian esses.⁴¹¹ Their use declined in the aftermath of the Wars of the Roses, however, the Lancastrian collar does continue to appear on tombs from the Tudor period. The tombs of Edward Stafford, earl of Wiltshire, and John, Lord Cheney (Plate 26) who both died in 1499, have effigies wearing the Lancastrian livery collar, as does that of George Manners, Lord Roos, d. 1513, who is depicted wearing the collar combined with a

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 173.

⁴¹⁰ E. A. Shipman, *St. Mary the Virgin, Bottesford, Leicestershire. A Visitor's Guide*, compiled by Neil Fortey (Bottesford, 2012), p. 28.

⁴¹¹ Nigel Saul, 'The Commons and the Abolition of Badges', *Parliamentary History*, 9, no. 2 (1990), pp. 309-10.

Tudor rose pendant. The effigy believed to belong to Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, (Plate 19) also appears to have a Lancastrian livery collar although it is badly worn. As all four men had careers under Henry VII, and Derby was the King's step-father, it is understandable that their effigies were depicted wearing an emblem that was becoming outdated. After the first decade of Henry VIII's reign examples of the livery collar on surviving tombs are even rarer. The effigies on the tomb of Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre, d. 1533 and his heir have the collar of esses but it has been shown that they have been reused from fifteenth-century tombs commemorating the Lords Hoo (Appendix 3/16).⁴¹² Similarly, the tomb of Lord Parr of Horton, d. 1547, which also features the collar of esses in combination with the Tudor rose pendant is also believed to have been constructed at an earlier date for another individual (Appendix 3/32).⁴¹³ This would explain away the anomaly of the Lancastrian collar on an individual who is unlikely to have been gifted one.

Rather than the livery collar, those noblemen who were members of the Order of the Garter often chose to be depicted with some or all of the insignia of the order. Until the reign of Henry VII, the garter inscribed with the Order's motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, was the symbol most commonly worn by members of the Order. Somewhere between 1489 and 1502, a collar was added to the insignia. The statutes of 1519 stated that the collar would consist of roses within the garter and a pendant in the image of St. George. Images show that garters alternated

⁴¹² Elliott, 'A Monumental Palimpsest', p. 129.

⁴¹³ Bayliss, 'Monument of William, Lord Parr', pp. 78-88.

with love-knots. Members of the order wore a mantle with a garter surrounding the arms of St George on the left breast and a surcoat.⁴¹⁴ Of the fifty-one noblemen commemorated by surviving monuments, thirty-two were Knights of the Garter. Given that eighty-one of the noblemen to die in this period were elected to the Order, this means that forty percent of Knights of the Garter have surviving tombs. In comparison, of the one hundred and seventy-six other noblemen who died in this period and hadn't been elected to the Order, only eleven percent have surviving tombs.⁴¹⁵ Therefore, a Knight of the Garter is over three and a half times more likely to have a surviving tomb than a nobleman who was not a member of the Order, suggesting a strong correlation between noble tomb construction and membership of the Order. The majority of tombs commemorating Knights of the Garter included some reference to the Order, although some of the references have been lost. The effigies believed to be those of Thomas Stanley, 1st earl of Derby and Edward Stanley, 3rd earl of Derby, do not incorporate the collar of the Order of the Garter. It is possible that they would have worn the garter but the lower legs of the effigies are missing.

The most common element to be included was the garter surrounding a coat of arms as this could be used even when there was no effigy. Of the other insignia, the garter and the collar are the most commonly used (Plates 6 and 24).

⁴¹⁴ D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 152-62.

⁴¹⁵ Based on forty-nine surviving tombs commemorating thirty-eight noblemen (two tombs survive for Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568) who died between 1485-1572, including those tombs erected after 1572.

The mantle is rarer on tombs but there are examples of the garter badge being carved in relief on the left shoulder of the cloak worn by the effigy, as in the case of the tombs built to commemorate John, Lord Cheyney, d. 1499 (Plate 26) and Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, d. 1560 (Plate 24). Membership of the Order was an important part of the identity of the Howards. Seven members of the family were elected to the Order during this period and the tombs of both Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk and Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, feature the garter around the effigy's left leg. They also feature coats of arms within the garter. The case of Surrey's tomb is intriguing and somewhat problematic as he had been degraded from the order in 1547 but it still features the garter insignia. There is also discrepancy between the tomb as it appears now and the seventeenth-century illustration preserved at Arundel Castle which doesn't appear to show the garter on his leg. As the tomb was constructed retrospectively in the early seventeenth century and was renovated in the twentieth century, we are seeing an idealised celebration of the status and chivalry that he enjoyed at the height of his career not the image he would have been accorded at the time of his execution.

The popularity of garter insignia on noble tombs is unsurprising given the prestige conferred by election to the order and the value attributed to the symbols of membership. The garter collar was a prestigious and expensive item. The inventory taken at the 3rd duke of Norfolk's arrest described his garter collar with

its fifty-four garters and knots and a George with diamonds and a ruby.⁴¹⁶ His father's garter collar had been weighed at twenty-two ounces and valued at thirty-three shillings and four pence an ounce. The 2nd duke of Norfolk also owned several charms, pendants and buckles with the garter or George on them.⁴¹⁷ The appearance of the insignia on tombs is also in keeping with the way in which Knights of the Garter presented themselves elsewhere. The portrait of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, painted by Hans Holbein c.1539 depicts him wearing the collar and George as does the portrait of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey painted in 1546.⁴¹⁸ In the latter portrait, Surrey is also wearing the garter. Similar portraits with the sitter wearing the collar and Great George were painted for Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, d. 1545, and William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, d. 1572.⁴¹⁹

For men such as the dukes of Norfolk, the image presented on their tombs is in keeping with their backgrounds and careers. Both the 2nd and 3rd dukes of Norfolk had varied careers as courtiers, diplomats and prominent military commanders; their family had a tradition of military and court service and they were both elected to the Order of the Garter. However, as with the continued use

⁴¹⁶ TNA, LR2/115, f. 3r.

⁴¹⁷ Ridgard, *Medieval Framlingham*, p. 147.

⁴¹⁸ Portrait of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, by Hans Holbein the Younger, c. 1539, Royal Collection, RCIN 404439. Portrait of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, by William Scrots, 1546, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 5291. On display at Arundel Castle, West Sussex.

⁴¹⁹ Charles Brandon, 1st duke of Suffolk by unknown artist, c. 1540-45, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 516. He is also wearing the garter collar in a double portrait believed to be of Suffolk and his wife, Mary, Queen of France, Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, Plate IIIA; William Paulet, 1st marquis of Winchester by unknown artist, 1560s?, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 65.

of heraldic achievements in funerals, the depiction of a military and chivalrous identity on tombs appears to have been ingrained in the collective noble identity such that it was used by some of those who had risen to prominence and nobility through administrative service. The tomb of John, Lord Williams of Thame, d. 1559, depicts him as a military nobleman. His effigy is dressed in armour with his head resting on his helm, the pilasters of the tomb incorporate motifs of weapons, shields and Roman armour and the epitaph describes him as 'Equitis Aurati Baronis a Thame', stressing not just that he was baron but also that he was a knight. This is despite the fact that his career was advanced through the particularly un-martial financial branch of royal government. However, his tomb appears to have been built as a move away from the predominantly militaristic commemoration of noblemen was beginning.

Neither the tomb built to commemorate Thomas, Lord Audley, d. 1544 nor that built for Edward, Lord North, d. 1564, has an effigy, suggesting that they were not concerned with presenting themselves as soldiers. They did not entirely dispense with the historic connection between nobility and military service as their coats of arms on the tomb are surmounted by a helm and crest, as traditional symbols of nobility. Audley's tomb also uses the coat of arms within the Garter. This would support the argument that membership of the order was increasingly a political reward separated from a shared experience of military action and chivalric

culture.⁴²⁰ By the time that a tomb was built in the 1580s/90s to retrospectively commemorate Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, d. 1550, it was acceptable to depict noblemen in civilian garb (Appendix 3/50). The dress on the earl's effigy is in keeping with his rise to ennoblement through administrative service. That is not to say that the abandonment of the military leader as an identity for all noblemen was clear cut even then. The tomb also incorporates an effigy of Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, d. 1581 who is depicted in armour. As he did not have a military career either or enjoy a close relationship with the royal court, it is possible that the intention was to hark back to older associations between military images and nobility to conceal the fact that his career had been tainted by suspicions of treason.⁴²¹

Given that it was difficult to capture the detail and desirability of service and chivalric deeds purely through visual commemoration, tombs could celebrate service through the use of an engraved epitaph. Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk's epitaph touched on all aspects of his service to the Yorkist and Tudor monarchs (p. 19).⁴²² The account is particularly clever in its treatment of his loyalty to Richard III, turning service to a declared traitor into a virtue. It is claimed that Henry VII released Howard and brought him to court because of his 'true and

⁴²⁰ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p. 91.

⁴²¹ J. G. Elzinga, 'Wriothesley, Henry, second earl of Southampton (*bap.* 1545, *d.* 1581)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2011) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30072>, accessed 6 Oct 2014].

⁴²² Martin, *History of the Town of Thetford*, App. 43-9.

faithful service' to 'hys other prince'.⁴²³ Combined with his refusal to join with the earl of Lincoln against Henry VII, it was possible to portray Norfolk as the perfect subject, loyally serving his King. Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, d. 1544, used his will to compose an epitaph to be engraved on a stone to keep his children 'werdye of somoche honour as to be called hereafter to dye for ther maister and Cuntrey.' It stated that he fought willingly and that he was duty bound and discharged what he owed to his country.⁴²⁴ It is an unusual epitaph compared to other noblemen who died in the 1540s and one that points to his humanist and Protestant tendencies, but it also highlights the willingness of noblemen to serve and die for their King and their sense of being obliged to fulfil a duty to their country.

Richard Rex has suggested that the biographical content of epitaphs on brasses had gradually increased from the pre-Tudor period and, by the end of the sixteenth century, the main purpose of monuments was to call to mind the identity and personality of the deceased.⁴²⁵ Whilst the change in the purpose of monuments, from admonishing the mind to pray for the dead to memorialising remarkable individuals and actions, was driven in part by religious changes, the biographical content of epitaphs was also influenced by humanism. The chivalric desire for fame and glory was being joined by a desire for fame earned by moral

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, App. 44-5.

⁴²⁴ TNA, PROB 11/30/653.

⁴²⁵ Richard Rex, 'Monumental Brasses and the Reformation', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 14, pt 5 (1990), pp. 379-81.

behaviour and ideals of virtue against which men could be judged.⁴²⁶ Norfolk's epitaph was unusual amongst noble tombs due to its length but it was not completely unique in Tudor England. Sir Thomas More composed a lengthy, Latin epitaph recounting his career that was erected in the church at Chelsea. In both cases, Rex detected the influence of humanism in the conception of the monuments.⁴²⁷ Whilst not as extensive, biographical information appears on a number of noble tombs. Both tombs erected to commemorate Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568, refer to his military service against Scotland. The tomb in Kirkby Stephen talks of his victory 'In Scotos' and the tomb in Healaugh of his northern victories (Appendix 3/46-7). More common was for tomb to mention major offices held by the deceased, both those in the localities which will be considered in chapter 4 (p. 207) and those held in the arena of central government and royal court. The epitaph on the tomb of William, Lord Parr of Horton, d.1547, records his position as Lord Chamberlain to the Queen and that of Thomas, Lord Audley, d. 1544, refers to him as having been the late chancellor of England.⁴²⁸

These shorter epitaphs may have been the better choice in terms of the impact on members of the public. In the seventeenth century, it was implied that lengthy epitaphs might not be valued and appreciated by their audiences. Thomas Fuller argued in 1648 that, if too much was written, viewers would assume that the deceased was renowned without bothering to read the detail and, if the

⁴²⁶ John Stephens, *The Italian Renaissance. The Origins of Intellectual and Artistic Change before the Reformation* (London, 1990), pp. 6, 123-4.

⁴²⁷ Rex, 'Monumental Brasses and the Reformation', p. 383.

⁴²⁸ *VCH, Northamptonshire*, i, pp. 416-7

meaning of an epitaph was not plain, that would be a further deterrent to reading it.⁴²⁹ Doubt was still being expressed about epitaphs in the nineteenth century when F. T. Havergal stated that the 'pompous' epitaphs detailing men's virtues which emerged from the late sixteenth century were 'seldom read and never believed'.⁴³⁰

As they were not constrained by space, printed texts enabled lengthier and, at times, more poetic celebration of service, particularly military and chivalric deeds. Texts could take the form of poems or accounts celebrating the deeds of particular families or of elegies for particular individuals. Military prowess and success lent themselves to this form of literary commemoration. The military skill of Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, at the battle of Flodden and the chivalrous sentiment of his son were celebrated in an account of the battle printed by Richard Pynson and written by an author clearly patronised by the Howard family. Where noblemen did not live up to the martial deeds that were expected of them, it could cause difficulties for authors writing family histories. This is evident in the history of the Percy family written by the 5th earl of Northumberland's secretary, William Peeris. This celebrated the loyalty and military skills of the medieval earls. There were no martial exploits from the 5th earl of Northumberland's career for Peeris to write about, leaving him to comment on the earl's religious patronage.⁴³¹ This is in contrast to his father who had shown his martial qualities and might as

⁴²⁹ T. Fuller, *The Holy State and the Profane State* (London, 1840), pp. 152-3.

⁴³⁰ F. T. Havergal, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford* (London, 1881), p. xv.

⁴³¹ Gunn, Grummit and Cools, *War, State, and Society*, p. 220.

he fought the commoners during the tax rebellions in 1489, when his barons, knights, squires and family servants had fled and allowed their master to fall.⁴³²

By providing military service to their monarch, noblemen demonstrated their loyalty and maintained their oaths of fealty. Northumberland's loyalty to his king was stressed by Skelton, he 'was innocent of treachery or trayne' and drawn into the quarrel that led to his death 'for his soveryn lord' to whom he remained true.⁴³³ The loyal service given by William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, d. 1570, is praised in the epitaph composed by Thomas Churchyard,

'To Prince and country true as tell, no blast could beare him downe,
He kept his promise fayth and oth, in Court, in feeld and towne.'⁴³⁴

The authors of these texts often made use of symbolism and classical allusions in order to emphasise the noble virtues of their subjects. Just as the lion is used in relation to the Howard family as an emblem both of their heraldry and of the desirable noble virtues of bravery and strength, the John Skelton elegy on the death Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland used the symbol of the lion to represent the earl. Northumberland was another nobleman whose family heraldry included a lion and as a nobleman whose background was rooted in military service, Skelton was able to write of him,

'The famous Erle of Northumberlande:
Of knightly prowès the sworde pome and hylt,
Then mighty lyoun douted by se and lande!'⁴³⁵

⁴³² BL, Royal MS 18 D II, f. 194v.

⁴³³ Ibid., ff. 165v, 166r.

⁴³⁴ Churchyard, *Epitaphe of the honourable Earle of Penbroke*, STC (2nd ed.)/5227.

The lion was also used in the elegy celebrating Walter Devereaux, viscount Hereford, d. 1558. In relation to his service overseas, he was praised as being 'ful ferce' in the field and 'A lyon at the need' whose acts and deeds were noble. The epitaph also marshalled classical comparisons, describing Hereford as 'one of Hector's sede', again implying martial prowess, and 'a Cato righte' in council, who served his lord in more than one way.⁴³⁶ Hector was a popular reference in elegies. The 4th earl of Northumberland was described as 'Lyke to Eneas' and 'Valiaunt as Hector' and Churchyard also praised Pembroke by alleging that, in deed, he was a man, 'That well might ryes from *Troyians* race, and honour *Hectors* seede.'⁴³⁷ An educated audience would have been familiar with classical literature. In terms of the wider population, the popularity of pageants meant that illiteracy was not a barrier to awareness of classical and mythological figures.⁴³⁸ The use of heraldic badges would also have been familiar to audiences and provided a connection to other forms of commemoration such as tombs and architectural decoration.

Whilst some of these texts would certainly have been circulated beyond the family, their consumption, and therefore the inspiration that they could provide to the living, would have been restricted by literacy levels in sixteenth-century England. Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, d. 1544, sought to address this by paying both for his epitaph and for education intended to inspire the residents of the

⁴³⁵ BL, Royal MS 18 D II, f. 166r; Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales*, ii, pt. 2, p. 224.

⁴³⁶ Collier, 'Ancient Biographical Poems', pp. 17-8.

⁴³⁷ BL, Royal MS 18 D II, f. 166r; Churchyard, *Epitaphe of the honourable Earle of Penbroke*, STC (2nd ed.)/5227.

⁴³⁸ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, p. 49.

parish of Westbury under Plain. To this end, 'a godley and discrete man' was to be chosen to edify the residents of the parish with lectures for the space of two years. The first would take place daily and concerned the catechism of the children. The second was to be delivered on four afternoons a week and to be open to all those that would come. It would address the matter of duty to the King and magistrates in order to maintain 'good ordre and obeysaunce not oonly for feare but for conscience with Scriptures'.⁴³⁹ This was an isolated example that illustrates the variety of methods that noblemen experimented with in their efforts to achieve lasting recognition for themselves and to promote appropriate service.

Noblemen might have patronised particular authors or sought to dictate the content of texts, whether printed or delivered as a sermon, but they would not have been able to achieve complete control over the way they were received, interpreted or contested by their audience. In 1515, the authorities in Norwich acted to protect the reputation of the Howards by prosecuting a priest who had defaced an account praising Surrey's actions at the Battle of Flodden. The priest claimed that Sir Edward Stanley and the Lancashire men had acted valiantly in the battle whilst Lord Edmund Howard had fled from the field. He also altered the title of the publication to call Thomas Howard the 'right horrible' earl of Surrey.⁴⁴⁰ Other noblemen could also produce rival narratives. In the case of the Howards, accounts of the Battle of Flodden produced by the Stanley family presented Lord

⁴³⁹ TNA, PROB 11/30.

⁴⁴⁰ Gunn, Grummit and Cools, *War, State and Society*, pp. 208-9.

Edmund Howard in a bad light, blaming him for his troops fleeing the battlefield.⁴⁴¹ Attempts to silence alternative narratives and regain control of their image were unlikely to be successful but that seems to have been a risk some noblemen were prepared to take in order to achieve recognition for their loyalty and acts of service.

Service was an important part of being noble, it was expected and natural that noblemen would counsel, aid and wait on the monarch. It could bring prestige and wealth to families whilst also inspiring future generations. Literary texts offered the greatest scope for recounting battles, detailing a family's history or celebrating the life of a particular individual. With the widening types of noble service and the spread of humanism and ideals of moral excellence a literary genre of biographies began to emerge. Texts such as the commentary on the life of William, Lord Grey of Wilton, d. 1562, and the life of Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, d. 1595 recounted noble careers in detail.⁴⁴² However, the visual image remained a powerful means of capturing the essence of noble service without referencing specific events that could be disputed. For the majority of this period, visual images on tombs placed the emphasis on the military and chivalric elements of noble service whilst administrative and household service was more likely to be captured in portraits. Members of the Order of the Garter seem to have been keen

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 219-20.

⁴⁴² *A commentary of the services and charges of William Lord Grey of Wilton, KG*, ed. Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton (London, 1847); *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres, His Wife*, ed. The Duke of Norfolk (London, 1857). The initial circulation of these texts would have been limited as they were published from manuscripts in the nineteenth centuries.

to achieve lasting fame and are more likely to have surviving commemoration, usually with reference to the Order. The importance of monuments in ensuring fame was summed up in the elegy on Walter Devereaux, viscount Hereford, d. 1558:

‘And thoughe the grownd received hathe
His corps into her wombe,
His fame shall live and never die,
Who lokes uppon his tombe.’⁴⁴³

⁴⁴³ Collier, 'Ancient Biographical Poems', p. 18.

CHAPTER 4 – LOCAL POWER

During this period, the local power of the nobility was both a reality and a necessity for the Crown. It is for this reason that we find the Tudor monarchs manipulating local power structures by planting favoured noblemen in areas that were of concern to the stability of the country. A power vacuum existed in East Anglia after the end of the Mowbray line and the fall of the de la Pole family. Whilst the Howards had initially replaced the Mowbrays, their allegiance to Richard III meant that they began Henry VII's reign attainted and on probation, their power and influence curtailed. To a certain extent, the power gap was filled by John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford. It was not an ideal solution, as the de Veres had a power base that was centred on northern Essex and their influence in east Anglia was largely focused on Suffolk and, in particular, the Liberty of St Edmund.⁴⁴⁴ The de Vere influence further declined after the death of the 13th earl as his heirs failed to maintain his level of effectiveness in exercising local power.⁴⁴⁵ The rehabilitation of the Howards in East Anglia has to be seen not just as a reward for their loyalty and victory at Flodden but also as a result of the Crown's need for a strong noble power in the area. Similar tactical deployments of the nobility can be seen in the enforced property exchanges that moved Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk to Lincolnshire in the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of

⁴⁴⁴ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors. Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986), p. 55.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 56; Ross, *John De Vere*, pp. 150-62.

Grace and the granting of lands in Devon to John Russell after Henry Courtenay, earl of Devon's execution had created a power vacuum in the south west.⁴⁴⁶

From the Crown's perspective it was to be hoped that the presence of strong noblemen in an area would enable the enforcement of royal will and ensure stability. The failure of this strategy could be painfully obvious at times of crisis. When the Howards were out of favour again during Edward VI's reign, the absence of their power and influence was felt during Kett's rebellion of 1549 when outsiders had to be sent into Norfolk to quell the rebellion. In contrast, in Suffolk, where the Howards had exercised less influence and other loyal men held sway, the rebellion was dealt with by local men.⁴⁴⁷ Another type of failure is evident in Yorkshire in the second half of the 1480s when the Crown's noble representative was tainted in the eyes of the local community. The abandonment of the 4th earl of Northumberland by his retinue in 1489 and his resulting murder reveals a strained relationship between a lord acting as the King's representative and retainers who had supported Richard III and, no doubt felt some sense of betrayal that Northumberland had stood aside at the Battle of Bosworth.⁴⁴⁸ Conversely, there are other incidents where the presence and power of a particular nobleman clearly helped maintain order. Faced with protests against the Amicable Grant in

⁴⁴⁶ For Charles Brandon, see Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp. 152-82. For John Russell, see Diane Willen, "Russell, John, first earl of Bedford (c.1485–1555)", *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24319>, accessed 18 Jan 2013].

⁴⁴⁷ MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p. 77; Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', *Past and Present*, 84 (1979), pp. 42-3.

⁴⁴⁸ Michael Hicks, 'Dynastic Change and Northern Society: The Career of the Fourth Earl of Northumberland, 1470-89', *Northern History*, 14 (1978), pp. 78-107.

1525, the 3rd duke of Norfolk put aside his personal dislike of Charles Brandon and worked with him to disperse the protestors and to write to Henry VIII advising conciliation.⁴⁴⁹ Similarly, when the Pilgrimage of Grace began with rebellion in Lincolnshire in 1536, the presence of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield Park in Yorkshire meant that it was possible for the immediate raising of men to oppose the rebels. Henry VIII relied on his noblemen to end the rebellion and Shrewsbury played a major role in the royal victory.⁴⁵⁰

The role of noblemen in the county was not just one of military leader, subduing disorder. Prior to the unrest in 1525, Norfolk had been in East Anglia arranging for the collection of the Amicable Grant and, after the unrest, he and Suffolk headed up the commission of oyer and terminer that heard the submissions of protestors.⁴⁵¹ In 1549, Henry Fitzalan, 14th earl of Arundel calmed the uprisings in Sussex not by military force but by listening to complaints and issuing judgements.⁴⁵² Throughout the period, noblemen were named in the lists of commissioners for everything from the commissions of the peace, to those of oyer and terminer, subsidy collections and commissions to see to the repair of crown defences. Their role as the Crown's representative meant that they could exercise power as the conduit enabling representations to the king, by distributing patronage and by generally exercising good lordship in their areas of influence.

⁴⁴⁹ MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, pp. 60-1.

⁴⁵⁰ Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, pp. 30-1.

⁴⁵¹ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, pp. 77, 80.

⁴⁵² Lawrence Stone, 'Patriarchy and Paternalism in Tudor England: The Earl of Arundel and the Peasants Revolt of 1549', *Journal of British Studies*, 13, no. 2 (1974), pp. 21-2.

In Norfolk, where the Howards exercised the greatest power, their influence is evident in the appointment of their associates to commissions of the peace and in the election of Howard followers to the commons.⁴⁵³ Despite the Howards' fall from favour in the mid-sixteenth century, they were able to recover and the 4th duke of Norfolk influenced commission appointments and parliamentary elections in the 1560s.⁴⁵⁴ Similar influence was exercised by other regional magnates such as the earls of Shrewsbury and Derby who, as northern magnates, could distribute additional patronage through appointments to the Council of the North. For example, William Gargrave, a servant of the 5th earl of Shrewsbury was vice-president of the Council in the North during the earl's presidency.⁴⁵⁵ These networks of dependent local men, many of whom would eventually become part of extended families, were essential if noblemen wished to exercise local power on behalf of the King or if they wished to be able to raise men to provide military support to their country.

Not all noblemen necessarily sought to exercise the same degree of power in the localities. As G.W. Bernard noted in his introduction to *The Tudor Nobility*, there were many noblemen 'of different ages, experience and ability, defying easy generalisation.'⁴⁵⁶ The scale of nobility covered everyone from regional magnates who had both extensive landholdings and interests at court to local gentry and royal administrators elevated to the peerage. Some such as the dukes of Norfolk

⁴⁵³ MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, pp. 59, 72.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-7.

⁴⁵⁵ Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, pp. 147-8, 204.

⁴⁵⁶ Bernard, ed. *Tudor Nobility*, p. 1.

and Suffolk moved between their own local areas of influence, the court and service in other parts of the country as the King required it. For example the 3rd duke of Norfolk was sent to York in 1536 to deal with the Pilgrimage of Grace and spent much of 1537 north of the Trent, restoring order and inspecting defences in case of a Scottish attack.⁴⁵⁷ Others, particularly those noblemen whose lands were in the north, far from court, rarely left their local spheres of influence with the result that some are near invisible in records of the time. Northern noblemen such as the Lords Ogle were rarely summoned to try their peers and were not always summoned to parliament. The lack of engagement between some noblemen and the court is further emphasised by the fact that contemporary clerks did not always know a first name to use in summonses.⁴⁵⁸ In contrast, noblemen who had risen through administrative service at court and were building up their lands for the first time often chose to gamble on exercising power through proximity to the court rather than through local influence. It took the 1549 Western Rebellion to force John Russell to focus his attention on his lands in Devon rather than those in Bedfordshire that gave him easy access to the court.

Loyalty to a particular region could be broken between generations either by external forces or by changing priorities between fathers and sons. In the former category were noblemen such as Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk who had his powerbase moved from East Anglia to Lincolnshire by Henry VIII. An example

⁴⁵⁷ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, pp. 137-48.

⁴⁵⁸ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 10, 44.

of the latter case is provided by the 1st and 2nd Lords Wharton. Thomas, 1st Lord Wharton, d. 1568, built his career on positions within the society of northern England first as a servant of the Percy family and then in royal service. He was active in military campaigns and border raids against the Scots and as a royal administrator in roles such as warden of the marches, constable of Alnwick Castle and counsellor assistant to Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk, Elizabeth's lieutenant-general of the north. This brought him in to contact with noblemen who exercised influence on a national scale and, until his final years, he was a regular attendee first of parliament and then of the House of Lords. However, the majority of his responsibilities remained in the north and he did not receive household, administrative or military posts in the south.⁴⁵⁹ He was buried in Healaugh, Yorkshire and is commemorated with tombs in Healaugh and Kirkby Stephen. In contrast his son, Thomas, 2nd Lord Wharton, d. 1572, appears to have tried to move his sphere of influence south and to have been less interested in northern society. Initially he had a military administrative career on the northern marches, fighting in the Scottish wars and serving as a justice of the peace for several northern counties and as sheriff and MP for Cumberland. After Mary's accession, he was one of the first noblemen to declare support for her and moved away from the border regions. Thomas, 2nd Lord Wharton, son and heir of the 1st Lord Wharton. He became a regularly attending member of her Privy Council as well as master of the Queen's henchmen. Even after Elizabeth's accession when he

⁴⁵⁹ David Grummitt, 'Wharton, Thomas, first Baron Wharton (c.1495–1568)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29172>, accessed 8 May 2014].

no longer held a council or household position, he stayed in the south. After his death, he was buried in Westminster Abbey rather than in Cumbria.⁴⁶⁰ Whilst this decision may have been taken because it was too difficult and expensive to return his body to the north, the fact remains that he was in the south at the time of his death whereas his father had rarely had cause to travel to London and the court.

Where local influence was central to a nobleman's power and identity it is evident from the beginning of the commemorative process with the identification of a burial location acceptable to the deceased. As the limitations of de Vere power in East Anglia and Russell influence in Devon demonstrated, in order to exercise power in a particular area the physical presence of the nobleman was of benefit. During an individual's lifetime, the importance of a particular locality was often marked by the establishment of a household and, if necessary, the rebuilding of houses. The Howards could exercise power in East Anglia because they had their ancestral home at Stoke Nayland plus the inherited castle of Framlingham. Yet even this was not deemed sufficient and the 3rd duke of Norfolk built a new house at Kenninghall where his power base would be at the heart of the region.⁴⁶¹ The concern with location did not end at death and the majority of noblemen expressed preference for a particular burial location. Of the surviving noble wills, only eleven make no reference to the interment of their body. A further fourteen individuals left the decision regarding their burial location in the

⁴⁶⁰ David Grummitt, 'Wharton, Thomas, second Baron Wharton (1520–1572)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29173>, accessed 6 May 2014].

⁴⁶¹ MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p. 59-60.

hands of God, to the discretion of their family or executors, or to be determined by where they died.

For the remaining testators who did express a preference for a particular burial location, many adhered to a particular location associated with their regional power bases and family or title traditions. It would be disingenuous to suggest that there was no personal motivation or sentiment behind these requests. After all, these men would have lived in these areas, potentially for substantial periods of their life, and had built up networks of kin, friends and loyal servants. However, there would have been a political motivation. Burial created a lasting physical connection between an individual, their ancestors, descendants and the area in which they were laid to rest. The accompanying paraphernalia of the funeral and, in some cases, the erection of a monument, would remind the local community of the wealth and power of the noble family. In addition, before the Reformation, many noblemen endowed chantry priests at their place of burial and at other locations of particular relevance. The presence of the priest within the local community would have provided a further reminder of the individual whom they served with their prayers.

Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, requested burial at Thetford Priory which reflected both the Howard family's longstanding connection to East Anglia and the importance of the area to successive holders of the earldom and then

dukedom of Norfolk.⁴⁶² The tradition of seeking burial in East Anglia was continued by both his son and great-grandson. Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk's letter asking that he be sold Thetford Priory after the dissolution of the monasteries made it clear that he had invested in substantial memorialisation for himself and his son-in-law, Henry Fitzroy, at the priory.⁴⁶³ The importance of East Anglia for the Howards is further emphasised by the fact that, after the attempt to save the priory failed, the tombs were kept in the region and erected at Framlingham, a location closely associated with previous holders of the dukedom. This decision brought together Norfolk's concerns with his ancestry discussed above (p. 115) and with his East Anglian power base.

It was not just the Howards who showed this loyalty to their regional power base. Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1504, and Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1521, both requested burial at Burscough Priory near to the family home at Lathom.⁴⁶⁴ After the dissolution, the body of Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1572, was transported to Ormskirk for burial. Again, this was a journey that took his body just a short distance from Lathom.⁴⁶⁵ George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, d. 1538, was buried at St Peter's Church, Sheffield; Henry Neville, earl of Westmorland, d. 1564, was buried in Staindrop parish church in the shadow of the Westmorland power centre at Raby castle; the de Vere earls of Oxford were buried in the area around their home at Castle Hedingham; and both John Russell,

⁴⁶² TNA, PROB 11/21/249.

⁴⁶³ *L&P*, xiv, pt. 2, 815.

⁴⁶⁴ TNA, PROB 11/14/354, PROB 11/21/376.

⁴⁶⁵ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, f. 215r.

earl of Bedford, d. 1554, and the earls of Arundel were buried in private chapels located in churches within the grounds of their estates.

At times, this desire for burial in a particular locality could lead to lengthy travel arrangements. In 1523, Henry Marney was transported from St Swithin's, London where he died to Layer Marney where he was interred. Whilst the exact route is unknown, the funeral descriptions mention enough waypoints to enable a rough estimate of a journey of over fifty miles which involved three days on which the corpse was on the move. The masses in London prior to departure and the actual day of burial extended the whole funeral to five days and it would have meant a not inconsiderable expenditure on the part of the Marney family who had to feed and house the principal mourners and officers of arms throughout.⁴⁶⁶

Loyalty towards a particular locality could lead to provision being made for bodies to be moved after burial either if the death did not occur in an ideal location or if there was more than one place to be loyal towards. Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle wanted to be buried in a new foundation within St Margaret's, Hornby and made arrangements to be buried elsewhere while the building was completed before being exhumed and transferred.⁴⁶⁷ Similarly, Thomas, Lord Audley requested burial in the parish in which he should happen to die but after the funeral wanted his body secretly removed to the tomb in his new chapel at

⁴⁶⁶ CA MS I.7 ff. 50r-52v

⁴⁶⁷ TNA, PROB 11/21/407.

Walden.⁴⁶⁸ Trying to demonstrate both his local and family connections, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, d. 1533, specified that his body was to be buried in the parish church of Mangotsfield where he used to kneel, suggesting a personal link to the area but that after three months it should be moved to the Abbey of St Augustine near to Bristol, where his first wife was buried.⁴⁶⁹

As discussed in chapter 3 (p. 161), the realities of noble life and service meant that it was not always possible for an individual to be buried close to home and multiple locations were a pragmatic option. Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke, d. 1521, requested burial in the Savoy hospital in London or in a parish church close to where he died. Willoughby had exercised considerable local power in the south-west. The choice of the Savoy Hospital, a foundation of Henry VII's, may reflect the way in which the Crown had rendered him financially dependent and therefore susceptible to pressure. Either he had been influenced into patronising a Crown foundation for his burial or, perhaps, he believed it would provide a final demonstration of his loyalty in the face of royal suspicion.⁴⁷⁰ Other examples include William, Lord Parr of Horton, d. 1547, who requested burial in the parish church at Horton or where convenient if he died further away and Nicholas, Lord Vaux of Harrowden, d. 1523, who requested three possible locations, based on his movements around the Tudor realms.⁴⁷¹ It is clear that both Lord Vaux and Lord

⁴⁶⁸ TNA, PROB 11/31/64.

⁴⁶⁹ TNA, PROB 11/25/28.

⁴⁷⁰ Dominic Luckett, 'The Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty: Henry VII and the Lords Willoughby De Broke', *Historical Research*, 69, no. 170 (1996), pp. 261-3

⁴⁷¹ TNA, PROB 11/32/121, PROB 11/21/178.

Parr were concerned with burial in the area from which they drew their title if possible.

Noble burials at this time were normally substantial affairs that would scarcely have failed to attract attention in the local community. It is difficult to judge the impact that a funeral had on the locality where it was taking place in terms of the thoughts and feelings of participants and observers. However, it is clear that contemporaries perceived funerals as making a positive impact on the maintenance of social order and the public persona of a nobleman. By the end of the sixteenth century, the importance of burial and funerals away from London was clearly recognised. Elizabeth and Lord Burghley stepped in to order that funerals take place in the regions because families were favouring burial in the capital.⁴⁷²

Perhaps the starkest evidence of the role of a funeral in helping to restore social order and the local power of the nobility is that of one held during a time of crisis. Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland was murdered by tax rebels near Thirsk in 1549 and his death was followed by rebellion in Yorkshire. By May, the rebellion was affecting the areas to the east and north of York and Henry VII was heading north at the head of an army.⁴⁷³ The rebellion was relatively easily subdued but it was necessary to restore the natural order after such an unnatural

⁴⁷² Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, p. 168.

⁴⁷³ For accounts of the rebellion and the royal response to it, see Michael J. Bennett, 'Henry VII and the Northern Rising of 1489', *English Historical Review*, 105, no. 414 (1990), pp. 34-59 and Michael Hicks, 'The Yorkshire Rebellion of 1489 Reconsidered', *Northern History*, 22(1986), pp. 39-62.

act of murder and treason. To do this it was important to assert the power and also the good lordship of the Percy family, which had been severely compromised by the death of the earl. It was against this backdrop that his funeral took place. Transporting the body to Beverley involved travelling for two days across areas affected by the rebellion and the burial took place in a town that had sent men to support the rebels.⁴⁷⁴ As we will see, funerals offered an opportunity to display wealth, power, and generosity and to gather an array of leading local figures in one place. Although funerals had a personal and religious function, we should not ignore the political benefits of Northumberland's funeral in restoring order to Yorkshire. Henry VII recognised the importance of an elaborate display of commemoration for Northumberland as he reportedly commanded that the funeral 'be conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence'.⁴⁷⁵

Those taking part in a funeral either as a mourner or in a supporting role such as banner bearer or assistant to the body, were often a nobleman's neighbours, local servants or tenants. Funerals can be used to identify local networks in a similar fashion to the evidence of bequests, executors, feoffees, and appointments on noble estates, allowing us to understand the underpinnings of an individual nobleman's local power and authority.⁴⁷⁶ Whilst there may have been an element of duty in attending the funeral of a local nobleman, it should not be assumed that there was no sense of personal grief. Local relationships were

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 45; Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. 2, pp. 246-7.

⁴⁷⁵ Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy, from the Conquest to the Opening of the Nineteenth Century* (2 Vols., London, 1887), i, p. 307.

⁴⁷⁶ See for example, Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp. 210-14

horizontal as well as vertical and could incorporate shared experience, friendship and even kinship. The letters following William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton's death in 1542 reveal that his men had been persuaded to do their duty and lay aside 'their sorowe'.⁴⁷⁷

As described above (p. 67), the mourners at the funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk were predominantly family members.⁴⁷⁸ However, relatives were a valuable core to local power networks and it would be simplistic to describe his mourners as forming just a kinship network. Of Howard's nine mourners, seven – the new duke of Norfolk, the 14th earl of Oxford, Lord Edmund Howard, Lord William Howard, Lord Fitzwalter's son, Rhys ap Thomas' son, and Sir Thomas Boleyn - were members of his family either by blood or marriage. Oxford was also a major noble power in the eastern counties of England helped both by his uncle's actions at the Battle of Bosworth and by the minorities and political disgraces that curtailed the power of his closest equals in the area.⁴⁷⁹ Relations between the Howard and de Vere families were cordial. The 13th earl of Oxford had treated the Howards kindly, allowing them to purchase back attainted manors and ultimately marrying his nephew and heir to Anne Howard.⁴⁸⁰ It was, therefore, unsurprising that the 14th earl of Oxford acted as mourner for the 2nd duke of Norfolk both from a familial and local power perspective. The remaining mourners not directly related to Howard either by blood or as an in-law were Lord Fitzwalter

⁴⁷⁷ *Hamilton Papers*, i, p. 272.

⁴⁷⁸ CA, MS I.7, f. 57v.

⁴⁷⁹ Ross, *John De Vere*, p. 158.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

and Lord Willoughby. Both men owned land in East Anglia at that time and exercised power within the region. Unfortunately, the account of his funeral is less detailed in terms of naming other individuals with a part to play in the ceremonials. The man appointed to bear the train of the chief mourner was Sir William Fyndly, chamberlain to the 2nd duke of Norfolk and, therefore, a key part of the ducal household. The other named individuals are the four religious representatives responsible for conducting the funeral service – the bishop of Ely, the abbot of Wymondham, the abbot of Thetford and the prior of Butley.⁴⁸¹ All of these were houses local to the Howard and Norfolk power bases. It seems reasonable to suppose that, had more names been recorded, they would have included more local neighbours and clients.

As a couple of other funeral accounts have survived from within the same network of families, it is possible to add depth to the picture of noblemen who exercised power in East Anglia and Essex and who paid their respects at each other's funerals. Both the Lords Fitzwalter and Willoughby de Eresby had also acted as mourners at the 1513 funeral of John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford.⁴⁸² The de Vere network can be traced via funerals and wills into Essex. Just a year before Norfolk's funeral, Henry, Lord Marney, a recently ennobled member of the Essex gentry had been elaborately interred at Layer Marney. One of Marney's mourners was Sir William Waldegrave who had been an executor and mourner for the 13th

⁴⁸¹ CA, MS I.7, f. 58.

⁴⁸² CA, MS I.7, f. 46r.

earl of Oxford as well as a feoffee and business associate of his and had received an annuity in Oxford's will. Of the remaining six mourners at Marney's funeral – Sir Roger Wentworth, Thomas Terell and Sir Thomas Tay – had also received annuities in Oxford's will.⁴⁸³ A further mourner for Marney, Mr Edmund Bedingfield, is no doubt a relative of the Sir Edmund Bedingfield who was a feoffee of Oxford's.⁴⁸⁴ This local network can be traced across time as well as across county boundaries. At the funeral of Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex in April 1540, a Mr John Tyrell was recorded amongst the mourners whilst the esquires carrying banners and acting as gentlemen ushers included Mr George Tyrell, Mr Edmond Tyrell and a Mr John Walgrave.⁴⁸⁵

Similar exercises can be carried out for other noble families, although not with the same level of overlap. However, this is more do with the relatively low rate of survival of funeral descriptions than any suggestion that East Anglian and Essex networks were unique. At the funeral of George Talbot, 4th earl of Shrewsbury in Sheffield in 1538 the mourners included Sir Henry Saville, a leading Yorkshire gentleman who had assisted the earl during the Pilgrimage of Grace, Sir Henry Sacheverell who had served under the earl and Sir Henry Sutton who had been commended to the earl by his father.⁴⁸⁶ Twenty-two years later, Talbot supporters gathered again for the funeral of Francis Talbot, 5th earl of

⁴⁸³ Ross, *John De Vere*, p. 238

⁴⁸⁴ CA MS I.7, f. 50v refers to Marney's 'sonnys in law' mr Thomas benyngfeld and mr Thomas bonam, however the former is most likely a transcription error for mr Edmund benyngfeld.

⁴⁸⁵ CA MS 1.7, f. 214.

⁴⁸⁶ Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, pp. 160-1.

Shrewsbury.⁴⁸⁷ The roles of chief mourner and the first of the supporting mourners were filled by relatives of the deceased – his son, his grandson and possibly his brother-in-law, Lord Dacre of the North. The third mourner is listed in the description as Lord Darcy of the North. The Darcy family of Temple Hurst and, subsequently, Aston were a northern family with landholdings in North Yorkshire, John, Lord Darcy of Aston had married a member of the Sacheverall family and Sir Thomas Gargrave, another Shrewsbury mourner, had acted as steward for the family. However, they appear to have little in the way of connection to the Talbot family either through marriage or through office holding. A more likely possibility would be that it is an incorrect transcription of Lord Dacre of the North. Shrewsbury's first wife had been a Dacre and her brother had married her sister-in-law. Francis Talbot had few other surviving male relatives beyond his younger nephews and his son-in-law, Thomas, Lord Wharton who appears to have been particularly unlikeable and alienated many of his peers.⁴⁸⁸ With a small number of family members involved, the mourners and other attendees instead paint a picture of a nobleman for whom the north was a defining feature. Sir George Vernon was a friend of the Talbot family and his brother-in-law, Nicholas Longford, who had been an MP for Derbyshire was an assistant to the mourners at Shrewsbury's funeral. Gargrave and a fellow mourner, Sir William Vavasour, served on the council of the north with Gargrave becoming vice-president in 1557. Gargrave, Vavasour and possibly Sir John Neville, were all MPs for York or

⁴⁸⁷ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, pp. 252-6.

⁴⁸⁸ Hoyle, 'Faction, Feud and Reconciliation', p. 601.

Yorkshire while Sir Gervase Clifton was MP for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, another region in which the earls of Shrewsbury exercised considerable influence. The final mourner Edward Saville, resided with the Talbot family from 1560 and was the son of Sir Henry Saville who had been a mourner for the 4th earl of Shrewsbury.

Another northern family with strong local interests were the Stanleys, created earls of Derby in the wake of the Battle of Bosworth. They were dominant in the north-west and along with the Talbots resisted to government interference in the area, especially religious change.⁴⁸⁹ Although the beginning of Henry VII's reign began promisingly for the 1st earl of Derby, even the fact he was the King's stepfather didn't stop the Stanleys from being viewed with suspicion because of their perceived aggrandizement.⁴⁹⁰ It is perhaps unsurprising that the people who fulfilled ceremonial roles at the funerals of Thomas Stanley, 2nd earl of Derby in 1521 and Edward Stanley, 3rd earl of Derby in 1572 again represented a strong local network.⁴⁹¹ The chief mourner at Edward Stanley's funeral was his son and heir, Henry, earl of Derby, who was assisted by a further two familial mourners – his grandson, John Lord Stourton, and Sir Roland Stanley. Of the remaining six mourners, Sir Piers Leigh, Mr Butler, Mr Ratclyff, and Alexander Barlow were all members of established Lancashire families and, with the exception of Piers Leigh,

⁴⁸⁹ Christopher Haigh, *Reformation & Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 141-2.

⁴⁹⁰ Michael J. Bennett, 'Stanley, Thomas, first earl of Derby (c.1433–1504)', *ODNB* (Oxfords, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26279>, accessed 30 Jan 2013].

⁴⁹¹ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 215-223.

served as MPs for the county.⁴⁹² The Barlow family also provided marriage links as Edward Stanley's second wife was a Barlow while Barlow's son-in-law was Edward Scarisbrick, potentially the same individual who acted as a gentleman usher riding on the chariot that transported the body to the church. The same family names appear amongst other members of the funeral party. A further three Stanleys played their part, one bearing a bannerroll and the deceased's two grandsons riding horses behind the mourners. By combining the Stanley funeral descriptions with the lists of men flocking to join Henry VII in Yorkshire in 1489, the picture of their local networks over the century can be further enhanced. The list includes the men that came out of Lancashire with George Stanley, Lord Strange and heir of the 1st earl of Derby. Included in the list are John of Irlonde and an unnamed member of the Halsall family who are likely to have been the same Sir Henry Halsall and Sir John Irelande who acted as mourners at the funeral of the 2nd earl of Derby. There is also considerable continuity between the family names of those individuals who accompanied Lord Strange in 1489 and the men who were involved in the funeral of his grandson, Edward Stanley, 3rd earl of Derby in 1572. The Leigh, Sherburne, Masey, Ashton, Dalton and Scarisbrick families were represented in company with the Stanleys both in 1489 and in 1572.⁴⁹³

The funeral of the 4th earl of Northumberland is different from these examples because there is no narrative account detailing who filled which

⁴⁹² S. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons 1509-1558* (3 Vols., London, 1982), i, pp. 381-2; P. W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558-1603* (3 Vols., London, 1981), i, pp. 520-1, iii, pp. 278-9.

⁴⁹³ Bennett, 'Henry VII and the Northern Rising of 1489', p. 57; CA MS I.15, f.147v ; MS Ashmole 836, ff. 217-20.

ceremonial role. However, Michael Bennett has drawn attention to the manuscript record of northern men arriving in York after the rebellion with a group listed as having come 'frome (blank) therle of northumberlonde'. He suggested that they may have come from the funeral of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland. Even if they had come from the new earl not his father's funeral, it suggests that they were men who either formed part of the Percy affinity or who acted alongside them in terms of local crisis. It is probable, therefore, that they would have attended the 4th earl's funeral even if it didn't occur immediately before their arrival in York. Of these, only a few were family members: George Percy no doubt belonged to a junior branch of the family and Sir William Gascon who was probably the William Gascoigne who had married the 4th earl's sister, Margaret Percy.⁴⁹⁴ The men named also included Lord Dacre of the North, Lord Clifford, and Lord Lumley, all noble men active in the north. Dacre, Clifford and Sir Richard Tunstall were all active in the region under Henry VII and would, no doubt, have worked alongside Percy prior to his murder.⁴⁹⁵ Bennett also identified Sir Martin of the Sea, Gascoigne, Sir William Eure and Sir Randolph Pigot as members of the Percy affinity.⁴⁹⁶ The names listed represent local connections with the Percy family that continued throughout the sixteenth century. Marriage connections were formed with the Dacre, Eure, Clifford, Conyers and Lumley families in the following generations.

⁴⁹⁴ Bennett, 'Henry VII and the Northern Rising of 1489', p.58.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 58-9

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47

The mourners were just one part of a much larger funeral procession that typically travelled from the place where the body was prepared, often one of the deceased's houses, to the burial location. It was not a small undertaking with many hundreds of people either walking or riding the route. Such an elaborate undertaking allowed a region to mourn the passing of a lord but it also made a statement about a family's power, generosity and good lordship within the area. Funeral descriptions do not provide the precise numbers of attendees, although individual categories such as number of poor men or number of clerks and priests may be enumerated plus, in some cases, details of the number of messes give an indication of the number of people there. Henry Machyn often simply referred to the 'many mourners' that attended a particular funeral. A few exceptions include the funeral of John Russell, earl of Bedford in 1555 which he noted as having had three hundred horse, and that of John, Lord Williams of Thame whose funeral in 1559 had one hundred mourners.⁴⁹⁷ These numbers appear to have been relatively modest compared with some other funerals during this period.

At the funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk the procession included nine hundred lords, knights and gentlemen who were provided with liveries of black cloth.⁴⁹⁸ It was led by three coaches of friars and they were met at Thetford by the four orders of friars in the town. This was a funeral on a similar scale to that of Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland in 1489. The provision of

⁴⁹⁷ *Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp. 83-4, 217.

⁴⁹⁸ CA I.7, f. 60r.

black gowns and coats at his funeral indicates that at least five hundred and seventy-six lay people attended alongside five hundred priests and one thousand clerks.⁴⁹⁹ This is in addition to the tens of thousands of poor people who would have been present for the distribution of alms. It was a spectacle that would have been unavoidable for the local residents, many of whom would have attended in some capacity. There is also evidence that a noble funeral was of interest to local authorities. Following the death of William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, in 1572, the Winchester borough accounts record a message sent to Basing House enquiring as to when the burial would take place, suggesting that it was occasion with a wide impact.⁵⁰⁰

A funeral of this scale could not be rushed. The procession for Thomas Howard began at Framlingham Castle and travelled via Diss to Thetford Priory where the funeral took place on the third day. Specific reference is made to the route passing through the town of Hoxne and then ‘diverse towns and villages’ at all of which they were met by smaller processions.⁵⁰¹ After his murder, the body of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland was first moved to Wressle, the second of the Percies’ Yorkshire houses, to be prepared for burial. It was then transported to Beverley Minster for burial accompanied by men both on horseback and on foot. Beverley Minster was no doubt chosen both because of its history as a burial location for the Percy family and because of its proximity to the family’s primary

⁴⁹⁹ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, p. 247.

⁵⁰⁰ Hampshire Record Office, W/E1/98, m. 3r.

⁵⁰¹ CA, MS I.7, ff.57v-58r.

Yorkshire seat at Leconfield.⁵⁰² As with Norfolk's funeral, the journey took two days with one night spent at Leconfield and the third day given over to the funeral itself. Although there was less distance to be covered, from private chapel in the house at Castle Hedingham to parish church in the village to abbey at Earls Colne, the ceremonials surrounding the burial of John de Vere, earl of Oxford in 1513 also took place over a span of three days.⁵⁰³ Even in death, the presence of a nobleman in the locality would not have passed unnoticed.

In addition to a physical presence that provided a display commensurate with social position and reminded the locality of the deceased's wealth, the funeral also cemented charitable relationships with local churches and towns and left a visible reminder of the deceased lord. When the corpse of the 2nd duke of Norfolk was transported across East Anglia the churches that sent processions to meet the corpse were given 6s 8d and five escutcheons of the Duke's arms, 'three in colours and two in metal'.⁵⁰⁴ The escutcheons would have been displayed in the churches and served as a visual reminder of Howard lordship in the area and the charity that had been displayed by the family. The Howards were not alone in this type of provision. Six churches met the corpse of the 4th earl of Northumberland as it passed them en route to Beverley and in return they received 13s 4d each. In addition the church where the corpse rested received a payment of £20.⁵⁰⁵ During one of the lengthiest funeral processions of the period, that of Henry, Lord Marney

⁵⁰² Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, p. 207.

⁵⁰³ CA, MS I.7, ff. 45r-46r.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, f.57v.

⁵⁰⁵ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, p. 247.

in 1513, the churches en route all met and censed the body. In return they received the sum of 3s 4d and four escutcheons of arms. It is clear that there was variation in the amount of money being given to an individual church. However, with only a few accounts detailing the total amount distributed to churches at a funeral, it is difficult to determine whether this was due to the resources or, indeed, generosity of the deceased or to variation in the total number of churches receiving money. There are also signs that the church of interment was entitled to receive some of the black cloth that had been used as furnishing for the funeral as a payment. After the funeral of William Courtenay, earl of Devon, the black friars of London 'toke the blak clothe that covered the stalles'.⁵⁰⁶

The distribution of charity that accompanied a noble funeral was not just restricted to institutions. The exercise of good lordship was a crucial part of noble image. It was judicious for a peer to have a reputation for it where he held land as that enabled him to maintain his status and power as a conduit between commons and crown. When Kett's rebels wrote up their demands, they included a reaction against the lordship of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, asking that 'all bonde men be made fre', a clear reference to the fact that Norfolk had not freed his serfs when most East Anglian landowners had and that this had led to unhappiness with the social order in the county.⁵⁰⁷ After death it was still possible to play the part of the good lord through the distribution of alms and the provision of food at the

⁵⁰⁶ CA, MS I.3, f. 35r.

⁵⁰⁷ MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', pp. 55-7.

funeral. It sealed the deceased's reputation and ensured that his heir began his lordship with a favourable impression. It appears that dole could take monetary form or be distributed in clothing. There is no indication that the gowns given out at the Howard and Percy funerals or the new gowns given to sixteen poor men at the funeral of John, Lord Bray in 1557 and to one hundred at the funeral of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton in 1550 were not to be kept.⁵⁰⁸ Even in the case of John, viscount Welles in 1499 when it was decided that gowns for Lords should be provided at 'theyre awne pleasure & charge' some gowns were distributed 'at the lordes coste' to eight of the King's servants, four officers of arms and four of the lowest mourners.⁵⁰⁹ However, gowns were not always kept by the recipients. During the funeral of Henry, Lord Marney the black gowns were taken away from the poor men and sent to the new Lord Marney.⁵¹⁰

At eight of the twenty-five noblemen's funerals recorded by Machyn either a dole or a great dole was provided. In the case of John Russell, earl of Bedford, d. 1555, he noted that four nobles were given to the poor in every parish and 10s to the priests and clerks. At the funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk a dole of £100 was distributed with each person receiving 2d, meaning that 12,000 poor people received alms. In addition, 12d and a dinner were given to each of three hundred priests who attended.⁵¹¹ At the funeral of the 4th Earl of Northumberland, £123 6s 8d was expended on a dole for the poor people who came to the burial

⁵⁰⁸ CA, MS 1.15, f. 279v; *Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁹ BL, Add MS 45131r.

⁵¹⁰ CA, MS I.7, f. 51v.

⁵¹¹ CA, MS 1.7, f. 60r.

again at a rate of 2d per person meaning that 14,800 poor people were present in Beverley a town that, in the 1550s, had a population of around five thousand.⁵¹² With a great religious presence at Northumberland's funeral he also outdid Norfolk in terms of money distributed to priests with five hundred priests receiving 12d and one thousand clerks receiving 4d each.⁵¹³ The distribution of dole continued despite religious changes and, at the funeral of Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, in 1560, 2d was still being distributed to the poor along with the remains of the meat from the great dinner that had been laid on.⁵¹⁴

As well as allowing the display of charity, funerals offered the opportunity of extending hospitality to the local community. A nobleman's reputation was based not just on his public service but also the way he behaved within his household. He was expected to entertain and be hospitable because it demonstrated generosity which, by the sixteenth century, was a key feature of gentle and noble behaviour.⁵¹⁵ It was normal to provide sustenance for the mourners and officers of arms who travelled with the funeral procession. At the funeral of Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex, d. 1540, breakfast and dinner was provided for the mourners, whilst the funerals of William Courtenay and John Grey of Wilton were accompanied by spices and wine. Both food and accommodation was provided for mourners and the officers of arms on each of the four nights of

⁵¹² Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, p. 246-7; *VCH, Yorkshire East Riding*, vi, p. 83.

⁵¹³ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, p. 247.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁵¹⁵ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England.*, p. 23.

John Marney's funeral.⁵¹⁶ It could go beyond that to reach a level of hospitality that was worthy of note by observers. At John, Lord Chandos' funeral in 1557 there was 'grett plente as has bene sene of shyche a man in the contrey' and at William, Lord Grey of Wilton's funeral in 1562 'a nobull dener as [has] bene sene for vensun and wyld fulle'.⁵¹⁷

Following the funeral of Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury in October 1560, three hundred and twenty messes were served in the castle to 'all Manner of People who seemed honest'. Each mess consisted of eight meat dishes. Fifty does and twenty nine deer were killed for the meal and the remains of the meat dishes were distributed to the poor with bread and drink plus a dole of 2d per person. This amounted to more venison than would usually be consumed by a noble household across the course of a year.⁵¹⁸ Courtesy books indicate that noblemen would probably have sat two to a mess and lower ranks four to a mess.⁵¹⁹ This suggests that somewhere between six hundred and forty and one thousand two hundred and eighty people were fed at the funeral.

In comparison, the dinner that followed the 2nd duke of Norfolk's interment consisted of 'four hundred messes' of undisclosed dishes. As with Talbot's funeral, the 3rd duke of Norfolk's funeral provided food that represented a large proportion of the amount that a noble household would usually consume in a year. Wine,

⁵¹⁶ CA I.15, f. 214v; CA I.3, ff. 34v, 79r; CA I.7, ff. 50r-52v.

⁵¹⁷ *Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp. 133, 298.

⁵¹⁸ Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 60.

⁵¹⁹ *Babees' Book*, pp. 35-6.

bread and beer were served alongside a substantial amount of meat, ‘...forty great oxen and a hundred sheep, and sixty calves, besides venison, swans, cranes, capons, rabbit, pigeons, pikes, and other provisions both flesh and fish.’⁵²⁰ Judging by the provisions made for his household by the Henry Percy, 5th earl of Northumberland this is in the region of a seventh of a household’s annual purchase of mutton and lambs and just over forty-three percent of the annual purchase of beef and veal.⁵²¹ The Northumberland household book also provides a useful comparison with his father’s funeral. Where he allocated £134 19s 2d towards the purchase of meat, wine and hops to supply his household for the year, his father’s funeral expenditure on food, drink and horsemeat for four days ran to £266 13s 4d. Again, this points to a formidable gathering in Beverley.

It seems probable that funerals would have had a greater, lasting impact on the local population than other forms of commemoration because of their participatory nature. Rather than simply observing, a spectrum of individuals from the noble mourners to the choristers and poor men had a role to play and experienced the funeral from within the procession and congregation. The deceased’s executors and servants had to make the preparations for the funeral. There was also a tangible, albeit short lived, impact on the local economy. Food had to be bought in for the feast and to feed the household and guests in the run up to the funeral, inns might be called on to provide extra accommodation and

⁵²⁰ *Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 70.

⁵²¹ *The Regulations and Establishment of the Houshold of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, at His Castles of Wresill and Leginfield in Yorkshire*, ed. Thomas Percy (London, 1770), pp. 5-7.

cloth had to be bought and tailored into gowns.⁵²² For those receiving alms, the funeral had a direct and beneficial impact on their lives.

Once the funeral ceremonies were complete, very few noblemen appear to have used the design of their tomb to express their local power. The existence of the tomb in itself did cement the impact of burial in a particular location by providing a visual and, hopefully lasting image of status and ancestry that dominated the church. This domination was further enhanced by the fact that tombs were often surrounded by heraldic carvings in the church fabric, stained glass windows and funeral banners that further celebrated the heritage of the deceased. On the tomb, it was the epitaph that was most likely to reflect pride in an individual's local power, whether through office holding or through the fulfilment of the ideals of good lordship. Unfortunately, not all surviving noble tombs have epitaphs. In some cases this is because the carving has been damaged over subsequent generations but in other cases it is not clear that there was ever an inscription even if a space appears to have been left for one. Where an epitaph does survive, some such as those for Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, Walter Devereaux, viscount Hereford and Edward, Lord North make no reference of local office holding. This may simply be a reflection of the fact that their interests meant that they had not held a local office deemed prestigious enough to mention alongside their titles and other offices.

⁵²² See for example, *L&P*, iv, 3134; CA I.7, ff. 50r-52v.

In contrast, the tomb of Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, d. 1542, references his position as governor of the town and castle of Carlisle and President of the Council of the North. The epitaph of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk at Thetford Priory, focused as it was on his military reputation and royal service, did not devote much attention to his local power. It does speak of his power when he went into the localities on the King's service stating that, when he was Lieutenant General north of the Trent and warden of the middle and east marches he kept peace with 'policy and many paynes taking'.⁵²³ It also references his keeping an 'honourable house' and his maintenance of justice when he was overseeing the country during Henry VIII's absences abroad.⁵²⁴

In terms of printed texts, good governance in the localities was valued and praised. Skelton's elegy on the death of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland is primarily concerned with stressing just how villainous and shameful the men who killed him were. Drawing attention to the earl's good lordship allowed Skelton to criticise the actions of the murderers. By dedicating the elegy to his heir, Skelton provided an exemplar to the new earl. The 4th earl, he stated, was the 'bulwark' to the commoners, their 'chylftene' and 'chef defence' and could be depended on to help them 'in every tyme of nede'.⁵²⁵ It was a point that might have been disputed by the commons who resented both his betrayal of their King and his subsequent

⁵²³Martin, *History of the Town of Thetford*, App. 45.

⁵²⁴Ibid., App. 44, 49.

⁵²⁵BL, Royal MS 18 D II, f. 165v.

tax collections on behalf of the new Tudor dynasty. Meanwhile, he exhorted the 5th earl to be 'kurteis and benyngne' towards his 'subjects'.⁵²⁶

The epitaph of Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, d. 1495, made no direct reference to his treatment of commoners or the exercise of local power. However, it mentioned attributes that leant themselves to good lordship. Notably his 'Curtesy kynddenesse' and that he was 'Dispysynge vice' and showed 'magnamynite'.⁵²⁷ Similar praise of good lordship can be found at the end of this period in the epitaph written by John Denton on the occasion of the death of Edward Stanley, earl of Derby in 1572. However, rather than invoking a military, defensive lordship as Skelton had done for Northumberland, Denton focused on justice and charity. Derby's good lordship was based on not raising fines, helping the hungry, ruing the oppression of the poor and wielding justice.⁵²⁸ This shift suggests that, just as the focus was moving from military to service lordship in the context of the court, so the identity noblemen sought to project in the local sphere was being framed in terms of humanist and Renaissance values not the language of battle and illustrious ancestry.

Few noblemen were able to focus their attentions solely on the royal court. Local influence could be used to bolster their power and status whilst enabling them to fulfil their duties to the Crown both on regular commissions and in times

⁵²⁶ Ibid., f. 166r.

⁵²⁷ *The epitaffe of the moste noble [and] valyaunt lasper late duke of Beddeforde*, STC (2nd ed.)/14477.

⁵²⁸ Denton, *Epitaph upon the death of the right honourable Edward Earle of Darby*, STC (2nd ed.)/6674.

of crisis. Local connections were, however, not just a political necessity. Noblemen had genuine personal connections to the areas where they lived, and often intermarried with local gentry families. By choosing to be buried and, potentially, to erect a tomb at the heart of their local powerbase, noblemen both made a statement about their power in the area but also about their own personal loyalties. The accompanying funerals enabled the display of local networks and, along with subsequent elegies, the celebration of noble virtues of charity and hospitality. These commemorative strategies made it clear that exercising local power was an important part of 'nobility' but they were also short term offerings of hospitality and charity that maintained order and met expected standards of behaviour. Ultimately, military service and royal office holding brought more lasting fame and this is reflected in tomb design.

CHAPTER 5 - RELIGION

The period from 1485 to 1572 saw many changes that would fundamentally alter the religious landscape in England and have a wider social and economic impact. At one time the religious changes of the sixteenth century were seen as a single event, the Reformation, which was part of a progressive movement. Catholicism decayed and was replaced by the growth of popular Protestantism. This has given way to an understanding of a more complex picture with less certainty and more individual responses. Christopher Haigh wrote about three political Reformations in England that sat alongside evangelical Reformation and took some ideas from the European Reformation but did not introduce the complete Reformation sought by some Reformers.⁵²⁹ Other historians such as Eamonn Duffy have highlighted the extent and vigour of Catholicism in England at the start of the sixteenth century, seeing Reformation as a disruption and considering the impact of reform in the context of a vital religion capable of adaptation.⁵³⁰ Duffy has also turned his attention to the counter-Reformation of Mary's reign, reassessing the regime as effective rather than inept and backwards looking.⁵³¹ Building on this, historians have sought to understand how people responded to the religious changes, how they adapted and refashioned

⁵²⁹ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations. Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993).

⁵³⁰ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven and London, 1992).

⁵³¹ Eamonn Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, 2009).

themselves and why some areas resisted change.⁵³² Their position within society and education gave noblemen an insight into the changes and a say in religious legislation that the majority of the population did not share but they still experienced dislocation and confusion. At times they had to decide whether to compromise on their faith, even benefit from new legislation, or take a stand and risk political estrangement, arrest or death. At the same time religion and personal faith was integral to their lives and it placed expectations on them in terms of the behaviour and the values that they were expected to demonstrate.

Death was a moment when faith, mortality and concern for the soul were prominent and, as a result, burials, funerals, and subsequent commemoration show the constraints, confusion and changing attitudes that resulted from reform and counter-reformation. Whilst it is undeniable that the theological changes of the sixteenth century led to changes in commemoration, it should be borne in mind that these were changes that the noblemen had little say in once legislation had been passed and which may not always have reflected their personal beliefs. A few noblemen made outright statements of opposition to the prevailing religious policy. In 1561, Thomas Wharton, son of Thomas, Lord Wharton and a committed Catholic, was indicted for hearing mass. He and his wife were imprisoned in the Tower of London as was Edward, Lord Hastings of

⁵³² Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England*, (Basingstoke and London, 1998); Norman Jones, *The English Reformation. Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford, 2002); Haigh, *Reformation & Resistance*.

Loughborough.⁵³³ However, many more noblemen followed a path of loyalty and conformity. Even those who did avoid conformity could not control the commemorative decisions taken after their death. There was also continuity despite the profound changes to the religious landscape as piety and charity remained an important part of noble identity. It is possible to detect some general trends and changes that applied to everyone but religious identity was complex and individual, and this is apparent in noble commemoration. Not all the changes in religious policy and doctrine affected how noblemen could be commemorated or the image that they presented to the world. Four changes in particular appear to have had the greatest impact on how noblemen were commemorated: the dissolution of the monasteries, the subsequent dissolution of the chantries and abolition of purgatory, the confusion brought about by the reversals in policy from Edward VI to Mary's reign and from Mary's reign to Elizabeth's, and changing ideas regarding Christian values and how they should be demonstrated.

Wills have been recognised for some time as a means of tracing religious beliefs and the impact of the Reformation. Writing in the 1970s, Michael Zell suggested that ecclesiastical historians could use wills as a source of information about bequests to aid the soul through purgatory and ideas about charity.⁵³⁴ He also highlighted the issues surrounding the use of the preambles as a means of judging religious belief by historians writing in the preceding decades. There was a

⁵³³ Grummitt, 'Wharton, Thomas, second Baron Wharton'; David Loades, 'Hastings, Edward, Baron Hastings of Loughborough'.

⁵³⁴ Michael Zell, 'Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wills as Historical Sources', *Archives*, 14, no. 62 (1979), pp. 68-9.

noticeable shift during the sixteenth century from what Zell describes as a traditional preamble to those he describes as Protestant. However, as he notes, we cannot tell whether the testaments were wholly written by the testator and, therefore, whether the preambles reflect their beliefs. He suggested that, in his sample, wealthy individuals did sometimes write atypical preambles, and that departures from conventional formulae probably do reflect true religious beliefs. On the whole, he argued the entire will should be considered as bequests are more likely to be individualized requests.⁵³⁵ In contrast, Caroline Litzenberger has taken the view that formulaic preambles were the stronger statement of belief as they were more widely recognised and understood. She has also taken a more positive stance on the reliability of preambles suggesting that testators were offered a choice of wording, taking away the influence of the scribe.⁵³⁶ As well as the question of authorship and the impact of accepted formulas, there was also the impact of prudence to be considered. Duffy has shown that testators were used to adapting their religious provisions in response to legislation and that reticence in the language and bequests represented caution not ideology.⁵³⁷

The work done on preambles and bequests can be expanded by looking at the provisions individuals made for their burial and commemoration to trace religious changes and to detect the personal preferences of the nobility within the

⁵³⁵ Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles', pp. 246-9; Zell, 'Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wills as Historical Sources', p. 69.

⁵³⁶ Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 6.

⁵³⁷ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 510-2.

broader trends. Just as preambles often followed a formula that disguised potentially incriminating beliefs, commemorative arrangements largely followed a pattern driven by the dissolution of the monasteries and the theological changes of the mid-sixteenth century and, to a certain extent, there was less opportunity to be atypical than in a preamble. Once the monasteries had been dissolved, it was not possible for noblemen who may have harboured conservative religious beliefs to have a monastic burial. Other requests such as burial near an altar may have been avoided because the theological implications surrounding them could be damaging to their heirs. However, within the constraints of the religion of any particular part of the sixteenth century it is possible to see individual choices being expressed and acted on.

As has already been noted, wills were used to request burial in a particular location both by specifying a religious institution and, in some cases, by then identifying a topographical location within that institution. It is here that the religious changes of the period can be seen to have rendered some choices not just impolitic but also impossible. The pre-Reformation period offered a wide range of choice to testators. In the period between 1485 and the beginning of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536, wills referred to a range of monastic houses, parish churches, friaries, and collegiate churches either as a sole request or as one of multiple burial locations.

Thirty-one percent of pre-dissolution noble wills provided for the possibility of burial within a monastic house, either as the sole requested location or as one of multiple locations. The wills of Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, d. 1495; Thomas Stanley, 1st earl of Derby, d. 1504; and Thomas, Lord Berkeley, d. 1533, reveal that all three men wanted to be buried in Augustinian houses and to have tombs erected there.⁵³⁸ Lord Berkeley's will reveals evidence of the conflicting demands of local worship, family and religious patronage. As noted above (p. 189), he requested that he first be buried in the parish church of Mangotsfield in the location where he knelt at prayer but that, after a year, his body should be exhumed. It was then to be buried in the Augustinian Abbey in Bristol and a tomb was to be erected there.⁵³⁹ This proposed move maintained his connection to his personal experience of worship, and his family's connection to the Augustinian order, as his older brother Maurice, Lord Berkeley had originally intended to be buried at the same Abbey, before his move to Calais.⁵⁴⁰ Also patronising Augustinian houses as a burial location, but without leaving instructions for a physical memorial were Ralph, Lord Greystocke, d. 1489; Richard Woodville, earl Rivers, d. 1491; John, Lord Dinham, d. 1501, who requested Hartland Abbey as one possible burial location; and John, Lord Zouche, d. 1526.⁵⁴¹ The popularity of the houses of the Augustinian canons as a noble burial location in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century England is in keeping with the high proportion of lay

⁵³⁸ TNA, PROB 11/10, PROB 11/14, PROB 11/25.

⁵³⁹ TNA, PROB 11/25/28.

⁵⁴⁰ TNA, PROB 11/21/157.

⁵⁴¹ *Test Ebor*, iv, p. 20; TNA, PROB 11/8/480, PROB 11/16, PROB 11/22.

patrons of the orders of the canons at that time and the fact that the Augustinians were the most numerous of the religious orders. The number of houses had decreased by the Dissolution as had the number of lay patrons, with houses passing to the Crown, but there were still eighty-three communities with lay patrons and a number whose patrons were unidentified.⁵⁴² The other orders of canons did not have the same popularity as a noble burial location. An exception is John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, d. 1498, whose first choice was for his body to be interred in 'the Abbey of Seynt Agas in Yorke shire'.⁵⁴³ The Scrope family had acquired the patronage of St Agatha's Abbey at Easby, a Premonstratensian foundation, in the fourteenth century. It became their family burial location and they maintained a close and personal relationship until the dissolution, although John, Lord Scrope was the last to request burial there. Scrope heraldry was on display throughout the church and the family made generous bequests and grants to the Abbey that would have ensured their remembrance within the foundation, including Lord Scrope's bequest of books and vestments.⁵⁴⁴

In terms of patronage in general, the Cistercians and Cluniacs also enjoyed predominantly lay patronage although this was alongside some royal and ecclesiastical patronage.⁵⁴⁵ The adopted loyalty of the Howard family to Thetford Priory meant patronising the Cluniac order both in terms of building a long term

⁵⁴² Karen Stóber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and Their Patrons. England and Wales, c. 1300-1540*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 29 (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 194.

⁵⁴³ *Test Ebor*, iv, p. 95.

⁵⁴⁴ For a detailed case study of the Scrope family's patronage of St Agatha's and burials, see Stóber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 182-8.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

relationship with the priory and choosing it as a burial location. The Cluniacs were also patronised as a burial location by John Sutton, Lord Dudley, d. 1487, and George Neville, Lord Bergavenny, d. 1492, who, by the time of writing his will, had already built a tomb in the Church of St Pancras at Lewes.⁵⁴⁶ Just two noble wills in this period requested burial in a Cistercian house, the alleged will of George Grey, earl of Kent, d. 1503, and that of Ralph, Lord Scrope, d. 1515.⁵⁴⁷

The Benedictine order was also mentioned in only two wills in this period. The decision of Giles, Lord Daubeney, d. 1508, to specify that he be buried in the Monastery of St Peter at Westminster, highlights the level of Crown patronage of the Benedictine Order more than his own loyalty to a particular religious house.⁵⁴⁸ As has already been observed (p. 118), Daubeney's choice was driven by loyalty to Henry VII and a desire to be buried near his sovereign lord.⁵⁴⁹ The other nobleman to ask to be buried in a Benedictine foundation was John de Vere, earl of Oxford, d. 1513, who specified the priory of Earls Colne. This is a particularly strong example of a family remaining loyal to a particular religious order for several centuries as Earls Colne had been founded by Aubrey de Vere in the twelfth century and numerous members of the family had been interred there.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁶ TNA, PROB 11/8/1022, PROB 11/11/1.

⁵⁴⁷ TNA, C 54/393, m. 4; Borthwick Institute, *Register of Prerogative Court of York Wills*, ix, f. 29.

⁵⁴⁸ For the increase in Crown patronage of Benedictine monasteries see Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 36-7.

⁵⁴⁹ TNA, PROB 11/16/445.

⁵⁵⁰ For a summary of de Vere burials at Earls Colne see Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 122-3.

The Carthusians do not appear to have been popular as a burial location in this period, although they had been favoured by families such as the de la Poles and Mowbrays in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Across all the monastic orders, personal ties were stronger in the generation immediately after foundation and as they weakened the range of patronage, including burial, could decline. For the Carthusians, this was compounded by the fact that their churches were usually small which would not have appealed to noblemen seeking to be buried in impressive, status appropriate surroundings.⁵⁵¹ It is clear that those noblemen who continued to seek burial in the houses of the monastic orders had complex and individual motivations for choosing to favour what was often one of several foundations they patronized, including location, family and long-standing relationships with particular orders and houses.

In addition to the monastic orders, the pre-dissolution nobility could also consider collegiate churches, the Orders of Friars, and hospitals as possible burial locations. Fifteen percent of surviving wills prior to 1536 expressed a preference for burial in an institution of this type, either as the sole location mentioned or as one of the possibilities. The patronage of collegiate foundations, like that of monastic foundations and parish churches, seems to have had strong connections back to noble concerns with family and local connections. The Grey family maintained a strong connection to the College of Astley with the wills of Edward Grey, viscount Lisle, d. 1492, his nephew Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, d. 1501,

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 135-6.

and his great-nephew Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, d. 1530, all bequeathing their bodies for burial there.⁵⁵²

Another high ranking nobleman patronising a collegiate church was Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland who wished to be buried in the College Church of St John in Beverley.⁵⁵³ Although he doesn't refer to his ancestors in his will, in the late fifteenth century the church at Beverley would have been dominated by tombs commemorating members of the Percy family. The Percies had not always patronised Beverley Minster. The earliest generations of the family had been buried at the Benedictine House of Whitby Abbey and the Cistercian House of Sawley Abbey, both of which were founded by the Percies. During the fourteenth century the Cistercian House of Fountains Abbey and the Premonstratensian Alnwick Abbey were used as a burial location by the Percy family and, in the fifteenth century, York Minster.⁵⁵⁴ The move to burials at Beverley fits in with the shift, from the fourteenth century, to noblemen founding chantries in collegiate churches. The efficacy of prayers said by the chantry priests was enhanced by the presence of a saint and Beverley Minster was the location of St John of Beverley.⁵⁵⁵ It was also convenient due to its proximity to the Percy house at Leconfield. The manor had been held by the Percies since the eleventh century but

⁵⁵² TNA, PROB 11/9, PROB 11/13, PROB 11/24.

⁵⁵³ *Test Ebor*, iii, p. 305.

⁵⁵⁴ Dawton, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 131. The burial locations of the Percy earls are recounted in William Peiris' early sixteenth-century chronicle of the Percy family, BL, Royal MS 18 D II, ff. 186-95; the founding of Whitby and Sawley Abbeys is detailed in *VCH Yorkshire*, (London, 1907-1925), iii, pp. 101-2, 156.

⁵⁵⁵ Dawton, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 131.

little is known about the house until the sixteenth century. It was probably rebuilt in the late fifteenth century and Henry Percy, 5th earl of Northumberland appears to have been fond of it.⁵⁵⁶ Although the 4th earl of Northumberland was the first of the Percy earls to be buried in Beverley, his burial there and the patronage by the wider family appears to reflect a growing shifting of their power base to Leconfield.

The number of noblemen who chose to be buried in churches belonging to the Orders of Friars is too small to detect firm correlation but it does appear that it was more likely to be chosen if the testator was making provision to be buried in London. Of the nine pre-Dissolution noble wills that made provision for burial in London, seven referred to friary churches and two referred to burial in a hospital church.⁵⁵⁷ Three of them, John, Lord Dinham, d. 1501; Nicholas, Lord Vaux of Harrowden, d. 1523; and William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, d. 1534, provided for multiple burial locations with London being just one possibility. In the case of Dinham and Blount, they wished to be buried in the church of the Greyfriars if they died in London and Vaux wished to be buried in the church of the Blackfriars.⁵⁵⁸ A further four noblemen listed a London friary as their only desired burial location – Richard Beauchamp, Lord St. Amand, d. 1508, at the Church of

⁵⁵⁶ Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales* (3 Vols., Cambridge, 1996), i, p. 362.

⁵⁵⁷ Robert, Lord Willoughby, d. 1521, wished to be buried before the image of St John the Baptist in the Savoy Hospital if he died in London, TNA, PROB 11/20/66; Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, d. 1515, wished to be buried in the Church of St Thomas Acon if he died in London, TNA, PROB 11/18/184.

⁵⁵⁸ TNA, PROB 11/16/355, PROB 11/25/473, PROB 11/21/178.

the Blackfriars; William Berkeley, Marquis of Northampton, d. 1492, at the Church of the Augustinian Friaries; and John Blount, Lord Mountjoy, d. 1485; and Richard Hastings, Lord Willoughby, d. 1503, at the Church of the Greyfriars.⁵⁵⁹ Outside London, there are two examples of requests for burial in a friary church. Henry, Lord Grey of Codnor, d. 1496, asked to be buried at the friary of Aylesford, a Carmelite foundation established by an ancestor in the thirteenth century and John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, d. 1498, listed the Blackfriars in Thetford as an alternative burial location if he died in Norfolk rather than in Yorkshire, a reflection no doubt of his third wife being an heiress from that county.⁵⁶⁰ Again, the choice of which of the Orders to patronize when it came to burial was driven by personal motivations, but the Greyfriars do seem to have been slightly more popular with the nobility than other orders.

Prior to the dissolution, burial in a parish church was an increasingly popular request amongst the nobility, although still less common than the combined requests for burial in monasteries, friaries and collegiate churches. Twenty-two percent of wills for noblemen who died prior to 1536 expressed a preference solely for burial in a parish church and a further eleven percent included a parish church as one possible burial location. This does not necessarily mean that there would have been any physical monument erected but the church would have been the venue for the funeral and for subsequent memorial masses.

⁵⁵⁹ TNA, PROB 11/16/32 & 44, PROB 11/9/104, PROB 11/7/374, PROB 11/13/539 and 542.

⁵⁶⁰ TNA, PROB 11/10; *Test Ebor*, iv, p. 95; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 234.

The continued preference for burial in a monastic house was likely to reflect concerns with family tradition or status. The sample size is too small to allow many general patronage trends to be detected but some case studies illuminate the individuality of burial choices.

The dissolution of the monasteries began in 1536 with the suppression of the lesser houses and, by the end of 1540, all the monasteries and friaries had been systematically dissolved, their lands sold off over the course of the century. Collegiate churches and chantry foundations survived for longer, the bulk of their dissolutions occurring under Edward VI but a number of suppressions occurred during the final years of Henry VIII's reign.⁵⁶¹ This was achieved despite the efforts of some noblemen to prevent individual dissolutions. Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, couched his plea to save Thetford Priory in terms of family and ancestors but he also accompanied it with a proposal that he be allowed to purchase it and convert it to 'a very honest parish church' if the King would not have him as founder of a collegiate conversion, suggesting that he was also concerned with preserving the religious function of the foundation not just in preserving a mausoleum.⁵⁶² His concern with the priory as a religious institution is further supported by his statement that he must give a pension to the prior and fourteen monks and the fact that, prior to his purchase offer, he had drawn up clauses to

⁵⁶¹ Haigh, *English Reformation*, pp. 171-2; J. J. Scarisbrick, 'Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Secular Colleges' in Claire Cross, David Loades and J. J. Scarisbrock, *Law and Government under the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1988) pp. 51-66.

⁵⁶² *L&P*, xiv, pt 2, 815.

convert the priory to a collegiate foundation with dean, six prebendaries and eight secular canons.⁵⁶³

Norfolk's actions were in keeping with his broadly conservative religious beliefs throughout the period. Whilst he was one of the leading purchasers of seized monastic properties, this does not necessarily mean that he favoured religious reform. Many noblemen benefitted from the sale of monastic land including those who were otherwise religiously conservative. Francis Talbot, 5th earl of Shrewsbury, who went on to oppose the religious settlement of 1559, also benefitted from the dissolution of the monasteries.⁵⁶⁴ Head suggested that Norfolk's motive was partly to prevent monastic lands passing to outsiders who 'might be enemies to the old faith' and notes that, whilst he exploited his new lands out of greed, he used some of his new profits to support former monastics, as he had proposed in relation to Thetford.⁵⁶⁵ However, this should not necessarily be taken as proof of philanthropy on Norfolk's part or of religious conservatism. Paying pensions could be an obligation placed on the purchasers of monastic lands rather than a personal initiative. When Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, acquired Tattershall College as a purchase and gift in 1545, he was required to 'pay pensions and certain charitable provisions'.⁵⁶⁶ A similarly mixed picture of Norfolk's religious stance is evident in his literary patronage. He gave a pension to Richard Taverner who wrote defences of Lutheranism and sponsored Roger

⁵⁶³ *L&P*, xiv, pt 2, 815, 816.

⁵⁶⁴ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 274; Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 90.

⁵⁶⁵ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 274.

⁵⁶⁶ Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, p. 195.

Ascham, Elizabeth I's future tutor, when he presented *Toxophilus* at court.⁵⁶⁷ However, the tutor that he employed at Kenninghall for his son was John Clerk, an author who was apparently a religious conservative. He remained in the service of the Howards as the 3rd duke of Norfolk's secretary until 1546. During the 1540s, Clerk was responsible for two literary works, a translation of a treatise on courtly behaviour that he dedicated to Surrey and, in 1545, a Catholic work on the resurrection of the dead and the performance of corporal acts of mercy.⁵⁶⁸ Norfolk himself was literate, requesting books whilst imprisoned in the Tower.⁵⁶⁹ However, in September 1540, it was reported that Norfolk 'was not ashamed to say that he had never read the Scriptures nor ever would, and it was merry in England before this new learning came up.'⁵⁷⁰

The dissolution would change the physical landscape of English religion forever. Mary's reign did appear to offer the promise of a revival of the monastic and mendicant orders. The Venetian ambassador reported in March 1555 that sixteen Benedictine monks had taken up the habit again and that Mary had sent for English friars who had been in exile in Flanders.⁵⁷¹ This was followed, in the autumn of 1556 by the consecration of the new abbot of Westminster Abbey.⁵⁷² In total she used Crown resources to re-found six monastic houses. A handful of

⁵⁶⁷ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 263

⁵⁶⁸ Seymour Baker House, 'Clerk, John (d. 1552)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5616>, accessed 2 Sept 2014].

⁵⁶⁹ Head, *Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p. 263.

⁵⁷⁰ *L&P*, xvi, 101.

⁵⁷¹ *CSPV*, vi, 32.

⁵⁷² *Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 119-20.

other foundations were also restored but the cost of war with France hampered re-endowments and only a few noblemen felt the need to return monastic lands.⁵⁷³ Mary was forced to accept political realities and give up on the return of dissolved monastic property in order to secure England's return to Rome.⁵⁷⁴ The result, confirmed by Elizabeth's accession, was that parish churches or cathedrals were, realistically, now the only option for burial. Only thirteen wills survive for the period between Elizabeth's accession and 1572 but seventy-seven percent of them wills requested burial in a parish church. Preferred burial location on its own revealed little of a testator's religious beliefs.

It is important to note that noblemen did not simply all start requesting to be buried in their parish church, first there was a period of uncertainty. It had always been the case that a small number of noble wills made no mention of burial location whilst others left the decision to the discretion of their family or executors but that number increased during the mid-Tudor period. Thirty-five noble wills have survived from the period between 1536 and 1558. Half of them now left the choice of burial location unspecified or to the discretion of others. This is in keeping with a general trend from the 1540s for testators to remain silent about funeral arrangements, no longer seeing wills as means to express religious beliefs.⁵⁷⁵ Narrowing it further to look at just those wills from the reigns of Edward VI and Mary when the pace of theological reform increased, only to be replaced by

⁵⁷³ Haigh, *English Reformation*, p. 226.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁵⁷⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 513-4.

counter-reformation, the reluctance to commit to a decision is even more marked and, thirteen of the twenty-one surviving wills did not state a preferred burial location. As well as testators deferring the decision to the living, some now left the place of their burial to 'where it shall please God'.⁵⁷⁶ It is difficult to know exactly why there was a non-committal approach to burial location but it does reflect the understandable confusion that people felt in England at that time, many of them having lived through a schism from Rome, dissolution of the monasteries, Henry VIII's return to traditional doctrine and practice, Edward VI's reforms and then Mary's restoration of Catholicism.⁵⁷⁷ With religion in a state of flux and uncertainty, it may have seemed easier and safer to leave the decision to someone else.

The accession of Elizabeth brought with it a return to most aspects of Edward VI's reforms. Despite her personal Protestantism, it was not an easy path as she had to balance the objections of Catholic bishops and conservatives, including members of her Privy Council, and the frustrations of Protestant reformers who felt that she was not going far enough. The compromise may have been uneasy but it did hold.⁵⁷⁸ It is difficult to judge how quickly noble testators regained the confidence to specify a burial location as there are insufficient examples of wills from the first years of the reign. The earliest surviving wills are

⁵⁷⁶ See for example, Edmund, Lord Sheffield, d. 1549, TNA, PROB 11/33/132 and Edward, Lord Grey of Powis, d. 1551, TNA, PROB 11/34/203.

⁵⁷⁷ For an analysis of the complex and haphazard progress of the political religious changes see Haigh, *English Reformations*.

⁵⁷⁸ Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 36-58.

those of John, Lord Mordaunt, d. 1562, and John de Vere, earl of Oxford, d. 1562, and there are just thirteen in total for the ten years between then and 1572. The non-committal approach to burial location does appear to have subsided by this point as, of those thirteen wills, only one, John, Lord Sheffield, d. 1568, makes no reference to a particular burial location. Sheffield's will lacks religious expression even in the preamble, he acknowledged that all men must die and that the time of death is uncertain but neither commended his soul to God nor stressed his sinfulness and reliance on Christ for salvation.⁵⁷⁹ Ten of the remaining testators patronised parish churches the exceptions being John, Lord Grey of Pirgo, d. 1569, who asked to be buried in the chapel in his house at Pirgo and William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, d. 1570, who asked to be buried either in St Paul's or Salisbury cathedral.⁵⁸⁰ The only other nobleman to make provision for multiple possible burial locations was William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, who requested burial either in Drayton or Burton, depending on which he was closer to at the time of his death.⁵⁸¹ Proportionally slightly fewer noblemen listed multiple burial locations than during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII.

Elizabethan noblemen were not geographically restricted in comparison to their predecessors. Many of them had extended their range of landholding as a result of land purchases following the dissolution and it was still possible that they would die away from their principal seat. The increased royal pressure for

⁵⁷⁹ TNA, PROB 11/51/31; the standard preambles are identified in Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles', p. 246.

⁵⁸⁰ TNA, PROB 11/48/27, PROB 11/52/186.

⁵⁸¹ TNA, PROB 11/46/286.

noblemen to be buried in the localities described earlier (p. 144) no doubt played a part. However, it also reflected a difference in the purpose of patronising religious institutions. Whilst noblemen might hold the advowsons of a number of parish churches, active patronage of them did not bring the same theological benefit for the patron. Patronising multiple monastic foundations increased the number of people able to pray for your soul to a greater extent. Active involvement with a parish church was of most use as a means of expressing and exercising power in a particular area. Even before 1547, it had been unusual for those noblemen specifying multiple burial locations to include more than one parish church. Rather it made sense to focus on one parish church near the family seat, either to emphasise continued family presence in the area or to assist the establishment of the family in a new area. For Lord Paget, the fact that he listed two burial locations reflects the fact that, although his estate accumulation had begun at West Drayton, his connection with the area was relatively recent and not well established.⁵⁸²

In addition to location in terms of which church a nobleman wished to be buried in, there was also the question of the topographical location within the church of the burial, and any accompanying memorial. This could be influenced by status, in terms of dominance of the space or by proximity to family and the desire to create dynastic grouping or mausoleums. For the noblemen in the first half of

⁵⁸² Sybil M. Jack, 'Paget, William, first Baron Paget (1505/6–1563)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21121>, accessed 3 Sept 2014].

this period, the choice was also influenced by the notion of a perceived hierarchy of holiness within the church. The high altar was seen as the area of greatest holiness followed by the rest of the chancel, the nave and then the churchyard, which was not an area of interest to noblemen. Throughout the period, burial in a churchyard would have meant an insufficient display of wealth and status and, prior to Edward VI's reign would have been of little benefit to the deceased's soul especially for those who could afford to be buried inside the church. It was in the church's interest for noblemen to be buried within the church as it brought them honour and prestige plus, potentially, higher fees. It was for this reason that medieval churches had tended to restrict lay burials within churches, except in the cases of local lords and patrons.⁵⁸³ The rare exception to noble avoidance of churchyard burials, explored above (p. 119) in relation to status, was Henry Percy, 6th earl of Northumberland.

There were additional focal points for prayers within the nave, such as altars, and also the side chapels that were added on to some churches.⁵⁸⁴ The areas of particular holiness, such as shrines and the high altar, were believed to be places where holy influence could be drawn down from Heaven. Individuals buried in a location that would be under the priest's feet, were on the line between Heaven and Earth and the power of the miracle of transubstantiation would pass to the soul and aid it through purgatory.⁵⁸⁵ It is the same belief that explains why

⁵⁸³ Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England*, p. 96-7.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

some testators wished for their tombs to be used as the Easter Sepulchre. However, Daniell's analysis of medieval wills registered at York suggested that, whilst these areas of holiness were important, proximity to family was as important and features heavily in medieval burial requests.⁵⁸⁶ He disputed the argument put forward by Gittings that testators' 'mental map of the church' altered after the Reformation when areas of the church became identified with families. It was not that family ties became more important determinants of burial location after the Reformation compared with the medieval period but that altars and lights no longer mattered.⁵⁸⁷ Just as there was a wider range of religious institutions being patronised as burial location prior to the dissolution of the monasteries, before the abolition of prayers for the dead under Edward VI, there was a wider variety of burial locations within the church. It was also possible to combine different burial locations rather than having to make a straight choice. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, d. 1515, and Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester, d. 1523, both wanted to be buried in a Lady Chapel, which would have had an altar and they would have been next to their wives.⁵⁸⁸

Despite the religious, social and dynastic aspects of burial location within a church, it does not appear to have been as important a consideration for noblemen in this period as the choice of church. Forty percent of surviving wills for the period from 1485 to 1547 make no mention of location within the church and

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 101.

⁵⁸⁷ Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, p. 87; Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England*, p. 101-2.

⁵⁸⁸ TNA, PROB 11/17/379, PROB 11/22/232.

others left it to the discretion of the living to decide where it would be convenient to inter their remains. The most popular location was to be placed near the high altar, followed by burial within a chapel recently created by the deceased. This latter option had the benefit of fulfilling religious needs and creating a visible memorial to the deceased even if there was not a tomb. Other specific locations that were mentioned included the Lady Chapel and positions near images. Ralph, Lord Scrope of Upsall, d. 1515 asked to be buried 'afore our Lady of pitye' at Rievaulx Abbey; Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, d. 1501 requested burial 'before the Image of the blessed trinitie in the myddys of my clossett' in the college of Astley; and Robert, Lord Willoughy de Broke, d. 1521, wished to be buried 'before the ymage of St John Baptist' in the Savoy Hospital.⁵⁸⁹ Of these images, Our Lady of Pity had been desirable as a burial location in England from the beginning of the fifteenth century and was a widely popular image across late medieval Europe, appearing on tombs or in burial grounds on the Continent.⁵⁹⁰ More general requests were for burial in aisles, chancel or quire. The impression, therefore, is of individual choice and preference for a location with particular religious connotations that might also be associated with family and status, rather than a broad trend that could be applied to all noblemen.

The confusion and the uncertainty of the mid-Tudor period were even more pronounced in terms of location within the church. Of the twenty-one surviving

⁵⁸⁹ Borthwick Institute, *Register of Prerogative Court of York Wills*, ix, f. 29; TNA, PROB 11/13/139, PROB 11/20/66.

⁵⁹⁰ Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), pp. 123, 40.

wills for noblemen who died during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, seventeen made no reference to the location where they wished to be buried. In reality this meant that they had either verbally made their intentions clear or were prepared to leave the burden of the decision to their family and executors, presumably in consultation with the church authorities. Only Henry Radcliffe, earl of Sussex, d. 1557 specifically stated that he was leaving it to the discretion of his executors.⁵⁹¹ The two testators who did specify a location within a parish church were George, Lord Darcy of Aston and William, Lord Windsor both of whom died in 1558 when, after five years of Mary's rule, the situation may have temporarily appeared more settled and both of whom came from religiously conservative backgrounds. Indeed, Windsor had been prepared to make provision for the possibility of burial within a refounded church of friars in Hounslow. However, neither chose traditionally holy locations in the church. Windsor, despite his strong Catholicism, referred only to be being buried in the right hand side of the quire if he were interred at Bradenham parish church or where convenient in a priory.⁵⁹² Darcy's will was traditional, though perfunctory in bequeathing his soul to God almighty and the 'celestial company of heaven'. He also made a bequest to the church of a gown to be turned into cope and vestment. As these had not been worn under the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, this represented a return to traditional bequests but his burial was simply to be within the quire and his tomb was spoken of in

⁵⁹¹ TNA, PROB 11/39/378.

⁵⁹² TNA, PROB 11/42A/91.

terms of estate and degree.⁵⁹³ The final testator, John, Lord Zouche, d. 1550, wished to be buried within a new chapel but it was within his 'manorplace' at Harringworth where his ancestors had been buried meaning that the connotation was of private burial and worship rather than of a chapel in the Catholic sense of a foundation for the purpose of intercessory prayers.⁵⁹⁴

In the early years of Elizabeth's reign, interest in specifying the burial location within the church revived although not to the same extent as in the period prior to 1547. Of the wills surviving between 1562 and 1572, half mentioned where they wished to be buried within the church but that meant that half did not, or, in the case of John de Vere, 16th earl of Oxford, d. 1562, left it to the discretion of his executors.⁵⁹⁵ An interesting anomaly is the will of Edward, Lord Hastings of Loughborough, d. 1572. Although he died at the very end of this study, his will pre-dates his death by sixteen years and is, therefore, best understood as a mid-Tudor will in terms of the context in which it was written.

Hasting's will expressed the strength of his Catholic devotion at a time when many noblemen were not making specific arrangements. This included the establishment of a chantry chapel with a priest and four beadsmen; a bequest of altar cloths, cope and vestment; and the giving of alms to the poor, the Observant friars, prisons and scholars. It also reflects a Marian Catholicism that recognised the need to emulate the Protestants in teaching and education with provision for a

⁵⁹³ Borthwick Institute, *Register of Prerogative Court of York Wills*, xv, pt 2, f. 291.

⁵⁹⁴ TNA, PROB 11/34/123.

⁵⁹⁵ John de Vere, 16th earl of Oxford's will, TNA, PROB 11/46/247.

preacher on three Sundays after his death and for his nephew, Lord Henry Hastings, to pay for ten sermons a year in perpetuity at the church in Stoke.⁵⁹⁶ This last provision was not quite in keeping with his wider Catholicism. Henry Hastings had aligned himself with John Dudley, earl of Northumberland and backed Lady Jane Grey's claim to the throne and would go on to be an active proponent of Protestantism making him an unusual choice to be trusted with providing sermons for his uncle. However, when Lord Hastings of Loughborough wrote his will in 1556, his great-nephew had accompanied his maternal great-uncle, Cardinal Pole, to Calais and was a member of Philip's English household. Furthermore, Hastings had no legitimate heir to establish a cadet line and instead had interested himself in furthering his nephew's cause, familial concerns overriding their religious differences.⁵⁹⁷

There are many reasons why he may not have altered his will including forgetfulness and apathy but it could also add further support to the idea that his proposed commemoration was a result of genuine faith not a pragmatic choice to be altered when he outlived Mary. He had been quick to throw his support behind Princess Mary following Edward VI's death, assembling supporters in the Thames Valley and becoming one of her trusted inner circle. He rose to become lord chamberlain in 1557 and owed his ennoblement to Mary. Elizabeth's accession ended his public role and he was arrested in April 1561 for hearing mass. He was

⁵⁹⁶ *Test Vet*, ii, pp. 740-2.

⁵⁹⁷ Cross, *The Puritan Earl*, pp. 13-8.

released after suing for pardon and subsequently maintained his faith quietly.⁵⁹⁸ In that context, retaining a will with wishes that he must have known could not be fulfilled was a means of demonstrating his continued loyalty to his Catholic faith without risking further imprisonment. It also reflects that, to a Catholic nobleman living through the Northern Rising and the Ridolfi conspiracy, politics might still have appeared fluid and the Elizabethan settlement vulnerable.

Hastings' will is an unusual case and the remaining wills from these years that mention a burial location do not appear to have had the same concern with religious topography within the church. Henry Neville, earl of Westmorland, d. 1564, talked about his interment in terms of his already constructed tomb, not deeming it worth providing any more information about where in the church that tomb was located.⁵⁹⁹ The remaining wills spoke about their burials in terms of family. Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk, d. 1572, had hoped to be buried in the tomb constructed for his wives and, if he were buried at St Paul's cathedral, William Herbert, earl of Pembroke wished to be near his wife.⁶⁰⁰ Ancestral family connections within the church also remained a concern for some with Henry, 2nd Lord Paget of Beaudesert, d. 1568, requesting to be buried near his father.⁶⁰¹

Noble funerals showed the same mixture of individual preferences and operating within restrictions imposed by religious policy. The dissolution of the

⁵⁹⁸ David Loades, 'Hastings, Edward, Baron Hastings of Loughborough'.

⁵⁹⁹ *Wills and Inventories from the Registry at Durham*, ed. James Raine et al (4 Vols., Publications of the Surtees Society, 2, 38, 112, 142, 1860), ii (Surtees Society, 38), p. 1.

⁶⁰⁰ Arundel, MS T5; TNA, PROB 11/52/186.

⁶⁰¹ TNA, PROB 11/51/153.

monasteries and subsequent Reformations did not remove religion and piety from the funeral process but they altered the form and the personnel through which it was expressed. The funeral procession in the pre-dissolution period could incorporate the orders of the friars. Three orders of friars led the funeral procession for Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, followed by his chapel, and, as the procession passed villages, they were met by ministers singing the appropriate service.⁶⁰² The procession that accompanied the corpse of John, Lord Grey of Wilton, d. 1499, to the Whitefriars of London for burial was led by the four orders of friars and ministers of the parish church.⁶⁰³ The corpse of Henry, Lord Marney, was not accompanied by friars for the whole length of the funeral procession but the night the procession rested in Chelmsford, they were met by the priests and clerks of the parish church, the Blackfriars of Chelmsford and the Whitefriars of Malden.⁶⁰⁴ However, it was not a requirement that the friars took part in the funeral procession. The funeral procession of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1521, was led by the procession of the parish church where his body had rested from 26th May to 10th June.⁶⁰⁵ Prior to the dissolution of the monasteries, the masses were often performed by a combination of abbots, priors and bishops. At the funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, the funeral was conducted by the Bishop of Ely, aided by the Abbot of Wymondham and the Prior of Butley.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰² CA, MS I.7, ff. 57.

⁶⁰³ CA, MS I.3, f. 79r.

⁶⁰⁴ CA, MS I.7, f. 51v.

⁶⁰⁵ CA, MS I.15, f. 147r.

⁶⁰⁶ CA, MS I.7, f. 58v.

The dissolution took away the element of personal choice regarding the presence of friars in the procession. The funeral procession for George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury was led by two conductors, then the cross and clerks and priests, the deceased's chaplains walking further back in the procession with the head officers.⁶⁰⁷ The same order was used at the funeral of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk in 1554, suggesting that it was suited to funerals that were post-dissolution but still Catholic.⁶⁰⁸ By Elizabeth's reign it was the poor men that had come to the fore in the funeral procession. Both the funerals of William, Lord Dacre, d. 1563, and Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568, were led by two conductors and then a group of twenty-four poor men. Dacre's procession then consisted of singing men, priests and dean with the lord's chaplains and the lord bishop taking their place between the gentlemen and the heraldic achievements. Wharton's funeral replaced the first group with priests and clerks but otherwise the order is essentially the same.⁶⁰⁹ Taking this transformation to its conclusion, the funeral of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, d. 1570, dispensed with priests but appears to have had one hundred poor men followed by the choir of St Paul's and then the preachers. Pembroke's chaplains and the Bishop of London were further back with other members of the household, including the secretaries and chief officers.⁶¹⁰ The funeral of Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1572, is identical to that of

⁶⁰⁷ CA, MS I.15, f. 213.

⁶⁰⁸ CA, MS I.11, f. 34.1.

⁶⁰⁹ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 181, 189.

⁶¹⁰ TNA, SP 12/67, f. 153.

Pembroke in terms of clergymen, suggesting that he was outwardly conforming to the Elizabethan settlement.⁶¹¹

In terms of the experience of the funeral, there were notable changes over the course of the sixteenth century but also some continuity. The Edwardian and Elizabethan Reformations had little impact on the heraldic furnishings of noble funerals. However, they did strip the funeral of its lights. The array of lights on a pre-Reformation hearse is evident in the illustration of the funeral of Abbot John Islip of Westminster, d. 1532.⁶¹² At the funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, d. 1524, the hearse had five principals which bore seven hundred lights and wax was also used to fashion one hundred bedesmen in mourning with their beads.⁶¹³ The cost of this was high with the accounts for the funeral of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland, d. 1489, including a payment of £26 13s 4d for the wax for his hearse.⁶¹⁴ Wax and lights reappeared at the funerals in Mary's reign. Machyn recorded the funerals of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk; Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, d. 1554; John Brydges, Lord Chandos, d. 1557; and William, Lord Windsor, d. 1558, as having hearses of wax.⁶¹⁵ In the case of the duke of Norfolk's funeral, he recorded it as being 'a godly hersse of wax as I have sene in thes days'.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹¹ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 216-7.

⁶¹² Illustration is reproduced in Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with R. A. Griffiths, *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor* (Bury St Edmunds, 2005), p. 19.

⁶¹³ CA, MS I.7, f. 58r.

⁶¹⁴ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, p. 246.

⁶¹⁵ *Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp. 70-1, 133, 172.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.70.

The development of a Protestant Church of England with its own English Book of Common Prayer altered the structure of funeral proceedings and the theological content of the service. At the beginning of this period, the funeral and burial of a nobleman was surrounded by religious services. While the funeral arrangements were made, the body was prepared and then laid to rest in a hearse either in the great chamber, private chapel or a nearby parish church. During this time a watch was kept around the body and there were regular dirges and masses.⁶¹⁷ In the case of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk this involved three masses a day in the chapel at Framlingham Castle at which the mourners were accompanied by Carlisle herald of arms and made offerings. There was a dirge every evening and masses were being sung in the churches in the town.⁶¹⁸ Where the funeral procession involved an overnight stop on the way to the burial location, there would be a mass before their departure the next morning and, sometimes, a dirge on arrival.⁶¹⁹ The day of the funeral was structured around the three masses of Our Lady, the Trinity and Requiem. The chief mourner, or his deputy, offered the mass penny at the first two masses but the majority of the ceremonials took place during the mass of Requiem. This incorporated the chief mourner's offering of the mass penny, the offering of the heraldic achievements, offerings by the other mourners and attendees, the offering of palls of cloth and

⁶¹⁷ See for example, John, viscount Welles, BL, Add MS 45131, f. 60v; John, Lord Bray, CA, MS I.15, f. 279r; Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, CA MS I.7, f. 56r.

⁶¹⁸ CA, MS I.7, f. 56r.

⁶¹⁹ See for example, John, Lord Marney, CA, MS I.7, f. 51v-52r.

the sermon. The mass concluded at St John's Gospel and the burial itself was almost an afterthought, attended only by the deceased's household officers.⁶²⁰

The accounts of funerals from the first years of Elizabeth's reign and instructions regarding the proceedings of a Protestant noble funeral focussed primarily on the order of the funeral procession and the offerings.⁶²¹ From the account of the funeral of Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1572, which provides a bit more detail, it appears that the order for the day was the pronouncement of the deceased's style, the sermon delivered by the preacher, and then the commemoration delivered by the vicar and ending with the epistle and gospel. The offerings proceeded as before and the majority of attendees continued to depart before the burial.⁶²² The funeral of Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, d. 1560, adds further detail revealing that the coffin had rested in the chapel at Sheffield manor while the funeral was prepared and there was a daily English service and that there was a dinner and dole after the funeral.⁶²³ The continuity of the offerings in the light of religious changes deserves some further consideration. In his study of the funerals of William, Lord Dacre, d. 1563, and Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568, Mervyn James saw the heraldic offerings of the helm, sword, target and coat of arms as being a natural fit with the requiem mass and meaningless in a Protestant context and highlighted the absence of the heraldic achievements from the order of the procession for both funerals. He used the fact

⁶²⁰ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 837, ff. 135-7.

⁶²¹ See for example, Bodleian, MS Ashmole 763, f. 177; MS Ashmole 836, f. 214.

⁶²² Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 220-3.

⁶²³ *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, pp. 252-6.

that the offering was made at Dacre's funeral but not at Wharton's to draw a contrast between a religiously conservative family insisting on maintaining as much of the old ceremony as they could even if it came close to prohibited liturgy and a new man with closer ties to the Tudor government and no tradition of elaborate family funerals who chose to abandon old ceremonies. He argued that the Elizabethan regime had to grow in self-confidence before the heraldic offerings came back into general use.⁶²⁴

With few detailed funeral accounts between 1545 and 1563, it is hard to test his theories about the presence of personal offerings in funerals during mid-Tudor period and in the early years of Elizabeth's reign.⁶²⁵ Furthermore, Elizabethan funeral descriptions are concise compared with those earlier in the century and it is difficult to be certain that the funeral of Wharton did not include offerings that were not recorded. Of more interest, is the extent to which noble funerals ignored the reforms of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer. Whilst Wharton and other noblemen may have rejected the heraldic and personal offerings in the early years of Elizabeth's reign they were present at the funeral of Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, d. 1560 and do appear in later funerals. Of the funerals in the period from 1570-2, those of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, d. 1570; William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, d. 1572; and Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, d.

⁶²⁴ James, 'Two Tudor Funerals', pp. 180-1.

⁶²⁵ The detailed funeral accounts between 1545 and 1563 are Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1109; ff. 142-6; Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, CA, MS I.11, ff. 34-5; Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, Bodleian, MS Ashmole 818, ff. 28-30 and *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. 2, pp. 252-6; William, Lord Dacre, Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 181-2.

1572, all included the offering of the heraldic achievements and personal offerings by some of the attendees.⁶²⁶ The offertory was part of both the Catholic mass and the Communion service set out in the 1549 and 1559 Book of Common Prayer. Under the Book of Common Prayer, donations were to be placed in a poor box, confirming the link between charity and the needs of the living rather than the deceased and, on the appointed offering days, there was also to be the offering of accustomed dues.⁶²⁷

In the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, the Order for the Burial of the Dead retained a procession from the church gate into the church or to the grave which could include sung anthems and provided a communion for when there is a burial with its own Collect, Epistle and Gospel. As a result, the burial service both rejected the medieval liturgy of death and yet also remained familiar with the communion resembling a shortened *Missa pro defunctis*.⁶²⁸ It allowed for the elements that are present in the funerals from the 1570s, the procession and a communion which would therefore provide an opportunity for offerings both heraldic and personal to be made. In 1552, the burial of the dead had been considerably shortened with the removal of prayers by the graveside and the residual mass that had remained in 1549. The 1559 Book of Common Prayer did not reinstate the communion or the graveside prayers.⁶²⁹ In continuing to

⁶²⁶ TNA, SP 12/67/153-5; Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 211-4, ff. 215-23.

⁶²⁷ *The Book of Common Prayer. The Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1662*, ed. Brian Cummings (Oxford, 2011), pp. 27, 129, 729-30.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 89-90, 716-8.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. pp. 171-4, 742.

incorporate both types of offerings in their funerals, noblemen were prioritising charitable giving, heraldic displays, and a military image over strict adherence to the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer.

The theological changes also removed some of the means of personalising the religious experience. The funerals of Henry VII, Henry VIII and Mary's reigns incorporated the bearing of banners of saints alongside the corpse, one banner at each corner. Three of these banners would represent St George, Our Lady and the Trinity. The fourth banner could be chosen by the deceased. Unfortunately, the heraldic accounts of funerals do not always list the identity of the saints so it is not possible to make any general conclusions about the motivation behind the fourth banner. One option was clearly the bearing of a banner of the deceased's name saint. At the funerals of both Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1521, and Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, it was a banner of St Thomas that was carried.⁶³⁰ Name was not the only association that could lead to a particular saint being chosen. The banner of St Barbara was carried in the funeral procession for Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, d. 1545.⁶³¹ St Barbara is the patron saint of artillery and including her image in the funeral was in keeping with the importance of military service to Brandon and the inclusion of military companions among his mourners (p. 157). As a military commander, it is possible that Brandon had favoured St Barbara in his lifetime. It is not always so easy to identify the pious motivation

⁶³⁰ CA, MS I.15, f. 147v, MS I.11, f. 34.4v.

⁶³¹ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1109, f. 144r.

behind the choice of banner. At the funeral of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, d. 1538, the banner of St Christopher was carried.⁶³² St Christopher is the patron saint of travellers, archers and sailors none of which appear to have an immediate correlation with Shrewsbury's career or the image that he was seeking to present. However, Shrewsbury is recorded as having died on 26th July and the feast day of St Christopher is 25th July suggesting that the choice of banner related to his death rather than his life.⁶³³

As has already been demonstrated (p. 152), the funeral sermon offered some scope for personalisation but again, there is little information surviving about the content of such sermons. Even where the theme was noted, the full text is not provided. Whilst some of the sermons already dealt with were used to present an image of loyal servant to the crown, others are noted as having a primarily religious theme. At the funerals of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, d. 1540; Henry, Lord Marney, d. 1523; and John, Lord Bray, d. 1557, the sermons were all based on a traditional theme of resurrection.⁶³⁴ There was also the issue of the preacher that delivered the sermon. Some caution must be exercised as we do not know who was responsible for choosing the preacher, a rare exception being in the case of Edward Stanley, Lord Mounteagle, whose will stated that he wished for a sermon be given by Richard Beverley, prior of the Blackfriars of

⁶³² CA, MS I.15, f. 213r.

⁶³³ The account of his funeral gives his date of death, CA, MS I.15, f. 213.

⁶³⁴ CA, MS I.15, f. 214; MS I.7, f. 52v, MS I.15, 280v.

Lancaster or, if he were not available, by another doctor of divinity.⁶³⁵ The potential of service and attendance at court to affect the choice of preacher has already been discussed (p. 153). In other cases, the sermon was delivered by a senior local religious figure. At the funeral of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, d. 1570, the preacher was the dean of St Paul's Cathedral and at the funeral of Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, d. 1572, it was the dean of Chester.⁶³⁶ The choice of preacher has been used to analyse religious beliefs particularly where an unexpected combination appears. At the funeral of Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, d. 1550, the sermon is said to have been delivered by John Hooper, a Protestant preacher and this has been interpreted as an expression of some Protestant sympathies on Southampton's part in contrast to his frequent support for religious conservatives.⁶³⁷ If it is true, it could be a reflection of the favoured preachers at the time of his death and the pragmatism of his family and executors in choosing a Protestant sermon. However, there is some doubt cast over the identity of the preacher as, in his edition of Machyn's Diary, J. G. Nichols reports the preacher as having been 'Sir John Hoper, priest' based on information copied from the original manuscript by John Strype before it was damaged.⁶³⁸ When John Russell, earl of Bedford, died in 1555 the sermon was delivered by the dean of St Paul's. At that time the dean was John Feckenham, the Queen's chaplain and

⁶³⁵ TNA, PROB 11/21/407.

⁶³⁶ TNA, SP 12/67, f. 153.

⁶³⁷ Michael A. R. Graves, 'Wriothesley, Thomas, first earl of Southampton (1505–1550)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30076>, accessed 7 Sept 2014].

⁶³⁸ *Machyn's Diary*, p. 1.

future abbot of the revived Abbey of Westminster.⁶³⁹ As Russell was a religious pragmatist, this probably reflects his personal friendship with Feckenham and, again, the prevailing religious policy, rather than profound counter-reformation tendencies on his part. The importance of personality over shared religious belief was evident in the example given in chapter 3 of Stephen Gardiner and Henry Holbeach officiating at the funeral of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk (p. 113). Gardiner was religiously conservative whilst Holbeach was a reformer and the two ended up in conflict over the Book of Common Prayer. Clearly the circles in which all three men moved, and the need to have clergy appropriate to Suffolk's rank presiding at his funeral, overrode the differences of opinion between Gardiner and Holbeach.⁶⁴⁰

As discussed in relation to local power, noble funerals incorporated a dole that could be up to £100 in total and the provision of a funeral feast (p. 203).⁶⁴¹ Some noblemen restricted the amount to be distributed as a dole in their will but others were more open ended. Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, d. 1525, stated that he wanted 2d in alms to be given to every man and woman that came to the church of Broadwater to receive it. To fund the burial, a gift of twenty shillings to the mother church of Chichester and the dole, his executors were to sell his 'Colar

⁶³⁹ C. S. Knighton, 'Feckenham, John (c.1510–1584)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9246>, accessed 8 Sept 2014].

⁶⁴⁰ Bowker, 'Holbeach, Henry'; Armstrong, 'Gardiner, Stephen'.

⁶⁴¹ Pre-Reformation examples of dole include Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, CA, MS I.7, f. 59r. An Edwardian example is Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, *Machyn's Diary*, p. 1. Elizabethan examples include John, Lord Williams of Thames, *Machyn's Diary*, p. 217 and Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, p. 255.

of golde of garters', the chain he usually wore, a silver basin and ewer, two silver pots and two goblets.⁶⁴² These were prestigious and expensive items and his willingness to sell them reveals how important the provision of a dole and pious bequests were to him. This is further backed up by his gift of his blue velvet Garter cloak and a crimson velvet cloak to the church to be turned into altar cloths.

As well as the concerns of lordship, there was also a pious motivation behind these charitable actions. In the late medieval world, Christians were expected to give aid to the poor, which could take the form of money, food, drink or clothing. At the point of death, the funeral provided one last opportunity to distribute these items to the poor, albeit via proxies. The act of giving alms was in itself associated with salvation but there was also an obligation placed on the recipients to pray for the donor.⁶⁴³ The continuation of doles during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I reflects both habit and social benefit but also the realignment of charity as a Christian virtue rather than a means to achieve salvation. Reformers continued to encourage the voluntary support of the poor, good works were a testimony of faith and a lack of mercy would incur the wrath of God.⁶⁴⁴ Ian Archer has shown that in London charitable giving was altered by the reformation.⁶⁴⁵ There was a decline in giving at death after the 1570s and charity

⁶⁴² TNA, PROB 11/22/57.

⁶⁴³ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 358-60.

⁶⁴⁴ Ian W. Archer, 'The Charity of Early Modern Londoners', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, 12 (2002), pp. 228-9.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-3.

was increasingly channelled into institutions but the desire to have the poor present at funerals remained into the seventeenth century.

A nobleman's piety and Christian virtues could be expressed through physical commemoration and through post-mortem donations and acts of charity. In the first half of this period these actions were affected not just by ideals of noble behaviour but also a genuine fear for the soul and a desire to alleviate the time spent in purgatory. Tombs could also have a religious function in the pre-Reformation period beyond being simply decorative. One of the compelling traditions of the medieval English religious calendar was the placing of the consecrated host and crucifix in an Easter sepulchre on Good Friday, with a watch then being maintained until Easter. The sepulchre was often a moveable wooden frame but it could also take the form of niche in the north wall of the chancel or of a tomb to the north side of the High Altar, on which the Host and crucifix could be placed. Wealthy patrons could pay for the construction of a tomb that was both their own memorial and the Easter sepulchre, thus creating a lasting and powerful connection between their own burial and the Host at Easter.⁶⁴⁶ It was a connection that both brought a religious benefit and emphasised the deceased's wealth and status in being able to afford to make such a gesture. At the end of the fifteenth century and in the first decades of the sixteenth century, it must also have seemed a way to guarantee a lasting commemoration, as the sepulchre would always be required.

⁶⁴⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 29-33.

Of the surviving noble wills in this period, two made specific reference to the Easter sepulchre and their relationship to it after their death. Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, d. 1515, wished to be buried in the Church of St Thomas Acon if he died within forty miles of London, his body being buried on the north side of the high altar 'where the sepulture of all mighty god is used yerely to be set on'. He was very clear that he wanted this location because 'his most precious passion' and the presence of the 'blissed sacrement' on his body may be to 'the singular comforth and gostly releff of my soule'. It is not clear that he wanted a tomb to act as the sepulchre or just to be buried where a sepulchre would be placed. He does make provision for an epitaph 'making mencyon of me And the day and yere of my Decesse' but it was to be done just for 'a rememra[u]nce' not to make a display of worldly pomp, indicating a concern with religious ideals about avoiding excessive vanity and display.⁶⁴⁷ As discussed above (p. 99), caution does need to be taken in terms of how literally this request to avoid pomp would have been taken. A similar wording was used in relation to burial location by Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre of the South, d. 1533, who also wished to be interred on the north side of the high altar 'where the Sepulchre is used to be made'. In his case, he made specific reference to the construction of a tomb for the Sepulchre to be set on and for the purchasing of 'apparel' and one hundred pounds of wax for it.⁶⁴⁸ The tomb of William Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, d. 1487, has been through a number of iterations

⁶⁴⁷ TNA, PROB 11/18/107.

⁶⁴⁸ TNA, PROB 11/25/171.

making it difficult to trace its original design but, in its current form, it combines two chests to create a small altar.⁶⁴⁹

Other tombs, whilst not related to a particular religious occasion, did seek to invoke the prayers of the living on behalf of the deceased. Prior to the abolition of purgatory, inscriptions acted as an aide memoire to subsequent generations with the hope that they would be remembered in prayers long after other individuals had been forgotten. As this was their primary purpose, there was a common form to inscriptions. They provided brief details of the deceased's name, rank, occupation and the date of death. This was the information required for prayers to be said and it was accompanied by a request for those prayers.⁶⁵⁰ The tomb of Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, d. 1542, entreated observers, 'Of your charitie pray for the soule of Sir Henry Clifford' before listing his title, offices in the north, wife, date of death and concluded, 'on whoe soules Jesu have mercy Amen.'

The extent to which noblemen displayed their religion through the inclusion of imagery on their tombs is difficult to judge because of later tomb destruction. As has already been shown (p. 63), saving tombs from dissolved religious houses was a minority activity and examples of late medieval tombs have been lost as a result. The 1550 Act abolishing images specifically excluded

'any Image or Picture sett or graven upon anye Tombe in any Churche Chappell or Churche Yarde, onely for a Monument of any Kinge Prince

⁶⁴⁹ *VCH, Sussex*, (London, 1997), v, pt. 1, p. 93

⁶⁵⁰ Rex, 'Monumental Brasses and the Reformation', p. 377.

Nobleman or other dead person, whiche hath not bene comonly reputed and taken for a Saincte'

with such images being permitted to stand as if the act had never been passed.⁶⁵¹

However, it appears that this provision of the act was ignored. Tomb imagery was still at risk from iconoclastic attacks, and this stretched to ecclesiastics, such as the dean of Durham, destroying and defacing tombs including those belonging to laymen.⁶⁵² Elizabeth I's proclamation in 1560 prohibited the destruction of church monuments and ordered that attacks on memorials should stop and the tombs be repaired.⁶⁵³ Whilst secular, commemorative imagery was protected, there is no mention of religious images on tombs, the implication being that they could be defaced or removed. A further wave of religious image destruction then occurred during the English civil war.⁶⁵⁴

Surviving tombs do, however, give the impression that noblemen favoured heraldic and military imagery over religious themes even before the Reformation. Tombs such as those of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, d. 1524, (Plate 14) and Richard Beauchamp, Lord St. Amand, d. 1508, (Plate 27) do not appear to have included religious imagery. Similarly, the tomb of Giles, Lord Daubeney, d. 1508 (Appendix 3/14), which has survived the translation of Westminster Abbey from a monastic foundation to a cathedral church, does not include religious imagery or show signs of damage from such items being forcibly removed. There are some

⁶⁵¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, p. 111.

⁶⁵² Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, pp. 24-6.

⁶⁵³ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ii, pp. 146-8.

⁶⁵⁴ Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, pp. 115-24.

examples of tombs incorporating religious images. The tombs of Edward Stafford, earl of Wiltshire, d. 1499 (Appendix 3/39), and Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester, d. 1526, (Plate 28, Appendix 3/37) both have small figures, either bedesmen or clergymen, resting against the soles of their feet. The tomb of George Manners, Lord Roos, d. 1513, has angels holding heraldic shields (Plate 29, Appendix 3/23) and figures kneeling at the head of the tomb of William, Lord Stourton, d. 1524, may have been intended to represent bedesmen. The tomb of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland, d. 1489, has empty, ogee-headed niches on all four sides (Appendix 3/34). These niches have been empty since at least the mid-seventeenth century, as is evident from a drawing done for William Dugdale and preserved in the College of Arms.⁶⁵⁵ There is evidence of attachments at the back of the niches used to hold statuettes in place, meaning that figures were removed rather than the tomb never completed. It is possible that they could have represented relatives of the earl.⁶⁵⁶ However, the niche design and the fact they were removed at some point during the sixteenth or early-seventeenth centuries suggests that they were religious figures removed by iconoclasts. In that case, they might have been saints or apostles similar to those found on the tomb of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk. A later example of religious imagery is the tomb of Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, d. 1554, whose tomb was constructed in 1545 and incorporated a central panel showing Christ in Majesty and figures of the Virgin Mary and St. George either side. However, to ensure that the tomb survived, the

⁶⁵⁵ The illustration is reproduced in Horrox, 'The Later Medieval Minster' p. 38.

⁶⁵⁶ Dawton, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 150.

central panel was subsequently erased and the two flanking figures were turned to face inwards and plastered over.⁶⁵⁷ The tombs of the Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, d. 1536, and Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk therefore appear unique both in terms of the ambitious scale of planned religious imagery that they incorporate, both statues and friezes, and the survival of large portions of that imagery, despite various waves of iconoclasm (Appendix 3/18, 21).

The piecemeal development of the Fitzroy and Howard tombs, including the abandonment of some aspects of their religious imagery, was in part because of reversals in their political and social standing. However, the initial disruption to their plans was driven by religious change. Such change continued to have an impact on noble tomb construction. As with the expression of preferred burial location, the religious confusion of the mid-Tudor period does seem to have had a negative impact on the construction of tombs. It is difficult to quantify that impact exactly as tombs were already not a necessity for noblemen and it is possible that the decline in tomb building was a coincidence. However, of the noblemen to have died in the 1550s, only one, George, Lord Darcy of Aston, d.1558, had a will that referred to his tomb suggesting that changes in religious policy did have an impact on the requests that testators were prepared to set down in writing. Previously, the last wills to refer to tombs had been for noblemen who died in 1544 and the next would be in 1562.

⁶⁵⁷ Hutchinson, Robert, 'Tombs of Brass Are Spent: Reformation Reuse of Monumental Brasses', in David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (eds.), *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580* (Leeds, 2003), pp. 454, 456.

The picture takes a little bit more unravelling when it comes to the extent to which tombs were actually built in the mid-Tudor period. Of the fifty noblemen who died between 1547 and 1558, twelve have surviving tombs. The tombs for Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, d. 1547, Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester, d. 1549; Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, d. 1550; Henry Radcliffe, earl of Sussex, d. 1557; and George Brooke, Lord Cobham, d. 1558, were constructed retrospectively in the later-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. The earliest of these is the tomb commemorating Lord Cobham which was constructed in 1561.⁶⁵⁸ In the case of Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, d. 1554, who did not leave written instructions concerning his tomb in his will, it has already been demonstrated that construction of the tomb was underway by 1539. This was a considerable length of time before his death and there was little suggestion that there would be succession issues or consecutive monarchs with opposing religious views. Similarly, the tomb of Thomas West, Lord de la Warr appears to have been constructed slightly later, around 1545, but still before the death of Henry VIII (Appendix 3/45).⁶⁵⁹

This leaves five tombs, those built to commemorate William, Lord Parr of Horton, d. 1547; Gregory, Lord Cromwell, d. 1551; John Russell, earl of Bedford, d. 1555; George, Lord Aston of Darcy, d. 1558; and William Devereaux, viscount Hereford, d. 1558. Of these, Parr and Hereford's tombs are problematic (Appendix

⁶⁵⁸ John Newman, *West Kent and the Weald* (New Haven and London, 2012), p. 182.

⁶⁵⁹ Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, p. 114; Hutchinson, 'Tombs of Brass Are Spent', p. 456.

3/15, 32). Parr's has an incorrect year of death, 1546 instead of 1547, suggesting it was not constructed immediately following his decease and Jon Bayliss has suggested that it is in fact an older tomb that was reused.⁶⁶⁰ Hereford's tomb has often been dated to 1537 but Bayliss has suggested that it in fact post-dates his creation as viscount Hereford in 1549.⁶⁶¹ It does not appear to have had religious imagery, instead using heraldry and standing, secular figures (Plate 32) similar to those on other examples of Parker's work from the 1530s and 1540s. The remaining three tombs also do not appear to have incorporated overtly religious elements and are, instead dominated by heraldic motifs. Lord Cromwell's tomb is held to be a fine example of early Renaissance design and is dominated by a large panel containing a shield with supporters, helm and crest (Appendix 3/8).⁶⁶² The earl of Bedford's tomb also makes use of familiar elements, such as recumbent effigies and heraldic panels around the sides of the tomb (Appendix 3/36).⁶⁶³ There is little information in print about the tomb of George, Lord Darcy of Aston. However, the description given in the original Pevsner guide to the West Riding of Yorkshire indicates that it was dominated by effigies, heraldry and gothic features.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶⁰ Bayliss, 'The Monument of William, Lord Parr', pp. 78-88.

⁶⁶¹ Bayliss, 'Richard Parker', p. 44.

⁶⁶² Pevsner, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, p. 198.

⁶⁶³ *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Buckinghamshire*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (2 Vols., London, 1912-1913), i, pp. 88-9

⁶⁶⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner, revised by Enid Radcliffe, *Yorkshire. The West Riding* (Harmondsworth, 2nd ed. 1967, reprinted 1974), p. 145.

Allowing for the possibility that there may have been tombs that have not survived, the number of tombs constructed in the mid-Tudor period is still relatively low. In conjunction with the decline in arrangements being made for memorials, this suggests that religious confusion had a negative effect on permanent commemoration. This correlates with the underemployment of Richard Parker as a tomb maker during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I and with the broader study into the monuments of post-Reformation England undertaken by Nigel Llewellyn.⁶⁶⁵ Llewellyn's research indicates that nearly one hundred monuments were erected in the 1530s. This dipped in the 1540s before reaching a level just above that of the 1530s in the 1550s. There was a further increase in the 1560s and then a very slight rise again in the 1570s. These were all small increases compared with the nearly fifty percent increase from the 1570s to the 1580s which was then followed by steady increases into the seventeenth century.⁶⁶⁶ The increases from the 1580s are probably linked to the widening range of individuals for whom monuments were being erected.⁶⁶⁷ It seems probable therefore that the earlier dip and then smaller increases were related to the religious changes.

As the numbers of tombs being constructed recovered under the Protestant rule of Elizabeth I, those noblemen who did wish to express their religious beliefs in their monuments had to find new ways of doing so. It is unsurprising that a

⁶⁶⁵ Bayliss, 'Richard Parker', p. 47.

⁶⁶⁶ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, p. 10.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

consequence of the sixteenth-century Reformations was the disappearance of saints, the Trinity and the Crucifix from tombs and of inscriptions calling for intercessory prayers and the restriction of figures to the deceased and family or angels and virtues. It also led to the disappearance of certain forms of memorial such as the flat topped tomb chests that would have been used as Easter sepulchres.⁶⁶⁸ There was also a change in the environment in which tombs were placed. Where the tomb of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland, d. 1489, had been placed in a chapel with detailed stained glass windows and Henry, Lord Marney, d. 1523, had asked for his new chapel at Layer Marney church to have to be 'glased with Imageis', churches were now supposed to be plain.⁶⁶⁹ However, it is necessary to attempt to disentangle the impact of religious events from the independent developments in the design of monuments.⁶⁷⁰ Certainly, the range of monumental types was extended in the second half of the sixteenth century. Noblemen adopted the new forms, including 'flat-relief wall monuments in a classicizing architectural format', tombs with multiple tiers, carved rush mattresses under the effigies and monuments with table slabs supported on columns.⁶⁷¹ Llewellyn argued that the changes in carving can rarely be explained by a 'simple progressive historical narrative'.⁶⁷² These developments must be seen as a mix of religious change, continental fashions and Renaissance influence.

⁶⁶⁸ Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, pp. 29, 34.

⁶⁶⁹ TNA, PROB 11/21/156.

⁶⁷⁰ Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, pp. 27-8.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-4.

⁶⁷² Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, p. 90.

Inscriptions also underwent change. Short inscriptions continued into the Elizabethan era, although they were stripped of the request for intercessory prayers. The tomb of Henry Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1563, stated his name and that of his wife, alongside his position as lord president of the Council the North and his date of death. However, as outlined in chapter 3 (p. 171), these gradually gave way to more detailed, biographical accounts. The secular memory evident in these tombs with their informative epitaphs can be seen as a consequence of the Reformation. Without prayers for the dead keeping the deceased in mind, a monument with a greater level of detail about the deceased was needed to preserve their memory as secular commemoration was the only way to achieve earthly immortality.⁶⁷³ To a certain extent this was coincidental or, at best, an added impetus to developments that would have occurred in any case as a result of Renaissance influences. Richard Rex has highlighted the fact that some of the same developments in monument design such as the level of biographical detail, and the use of the vernacular language or humanist Latin verse for epitaphs, alongside a realistic depiction of the deceased, can also be seen in Catholic Europe.⁶⁷⁴

Despite the changes, it remained possible to incorporate visual depictions of pious behaviour into monuments. Effigies continued to be depicted in prayer, either recumbent or kneeling, an act of piety that was acceptable to Reformists.

⁶⁷³ Rex, 'Monumental Brasses and the Reformation', pp. 390-1.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 391-2.

Kneeling figures had appeared on tombs since the fourteenth century, a similar iconography to the figures that appeared in stained glass windows.⁶⁷⁵ The earliest examples tended to be on brasses as they allowed the deceased to be represented in a smaller space than that occupied by a recumbent effigy.⁶⁷⁶ The tomb of John de Vere, 15th earl of Oxford, d. 1540, depicted the earl and his wife kneeling in prayer. In terms of the tombs of the nobility, they appear to have grown in popularity during the second half of the sixteenth century. Tombs were built with kneeling figures depicting the deceased and their children. These figures could be placed in many locations on both tomb chests and altar-style tombs.⁶⁷⁷ Henry Clifford, 2nd earl of Cumberland, d. 1570, (Plate 20) was shown kneeling alongside his wife and children and the figures carved along the side of Henry Neville, earl of Westmorland's tomb are also in a kneeling position. On the tomb of Henry Manners, earl of Rutland, d. 1564, one of the new forms of tomb with a flat tester supported by columns, his three children are depicted on their knees, two of them before lecterns (Plate 12, Appendix 3/24). This tomb is also unusual in that the earl is not shown in prayer. Instead, his left hand is resting on the hilt of his sword and he is holding a small book on his chest with his right hand (Plate 6).

Books appear on a couple of other noble tombs commemorating noblemen who died in this period. On the tomb retrospectively erected to commemorate

⁶⁷⁵ Multiple stained glass windows depicting fourteenth and fifteenth century Howard ancestors in kneeling poses existed in churches around Norfolk and Suffolk, ACA, Lilly, 'Genealogie of Howards', pp. 90-116.

⁶⁷⁶ Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, pp. 151-2.

⁶⁷⁷ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, p. 105.

John, Lord Mordaunt, d. 1571 (Appendix 3/29), one of his wives is depicted with a small book on a chain hanging from her waist. It is possible that there was a similar book on the effigy of one of the wives of the 5th earl of Westmorland. The carving is missing but there is a shallow rectangle cut into the body that suggests there was originally a book on the end of the chain (Plate 33, Appendix 3/30). It had become fashionable for noblewomen at the royal court to wear small prayer books on girdle chains. They may have had their roots in the medieval Book of Hours but they were reworked as books of prayers and meditations that were in keeping with Protestant theology. They brought together personal piety and fashion, as their decorated covers made them desirable accessories that were means of expressing status as well as faith.⁶⁷⁸ The combination of book and sword on Rutland's tomb is appropriate for a nobleman who was both a soldier and associated with extreme Reformers.⁶⁷⁹ It is also reminiscent of the Tudor royal iconography of the sword and the book.⁶⁸⁰

Beyond a tomb, religious belief offered the possibility of further commemoration of a non-physical variety. Evidence of this has survived in arrangements laid out in noble wills, references in other sources and, occasionally, physical buildings and foundations. Not all wills specified further commemoration

⁶⁷⁸ John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography* (Princeton, 1989), p. 83; Walsham, Alexandra, 'Jewels for Gentlewomen: Religious Books as Artefacts in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and the Book* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 124-31.

⁶⁷⁹ M. M. Norris, 'Manners, Henry, second earl of Rutland (1526–1563)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., Jan 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17955>, accessed 8 Sept 2014].

⁶⁸⁰ The development of this iconography is discussed in King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, pp. 54-115.

after the day of burial. Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, was primarily concerned with making arrangement for the disposition of lands and goods and the payment of debts and potential marriage portions. His tomb was the only form of commemoration mentioned. However, this was relatively unusual amongst pre-Reformation or Marian wills. Unlike wills from lower down the social scale, few make explicit reference to the tradition of giving a mortuary gift to the church, an exception being Ralph, Lord Scrope of Upsall, d. 1515, who bequeathed a mortuary gift of his best horse to the curate of the parish church where he happened to die as 'the custom of the countre usede wt men lye off my honour'.⁶⁸¹ Lord Scrope's subsequent provision for forty shillings to be given to the parish church of Kilvington for forgotten tithes and to pray for his soul was more common.

At the time of his death in 1498, John, Lord Scrope of Bolton left ten marks to the church where he should be buried with the intention that it be used to buy a chalice, or other jewel and 'that I may the rather be prayed for there'. He also left two complete sets of vestments to the Abbey of St Agatha along with his bible and copy of *Cronica Cronicarum*. A third set of vestments was left to the college of Rushworth; his printed Portose, a portable breviary, to his chaplain; and his printed mass book to Sir John Hamelyn, the parson of Barnham Broom.⁶⁸² Wealthier testators could make even more extensive arrangements for bequests

⁶⁸¹ *Test Ebor*, v, p. 63.

⁶⁸² *Test Ebor*, iv, pp. 96-7.

to religious institutions. Two parish churches, one monastery and eleven mendicant houses across Suffolk and Wales benefitted from the will of Jasper Tudor, duke of Pembroke, d. 1495, who distributed gowns to be turned into vestments and copes as well as making monetary payments, some of them specifically for repairs.⁶⁸³ Bedford was not alone in his bequest of clothing. Hayward's analysis of wills, reveals that testators across a range of social groups, including noblemen, knights and esquires, gifted vestments or clothes to be turned into vestments.⁶⁸⁴

These types of gifts might not directly finance prayers but they were designed to keep the deceased in the minds of the living.⁶⁸⁵ The name or heraldry of the donor might be carved into the church in recognition of the gift and, in the case of clothing, they would be visible during religious services. It is questionable whether the commemorative impact of those gifts on the congregations would have lasted more than a generation or been of interest outside the local community. Certainly, in the short term, it is likely that the new vestments would have been noted and their origins known but by the time that the Edwardian inventories of church goods were drawn up, most vestments were recorded on the basis of colour with no reference to the donor.⁶⁸⁶ Some churches had vestments

⁶⁸³ TNA, PROB 11/10/591.

⁶⁸⁴ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, pp. 179, 197, 205.

⁶⁸⁵ 'Religion' in Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (eds.), *Gentry Culture in Late-Medieval England* (Manchester, 2005), p. 137.

⁶⁸⁶ See for example the inventories for Leconfield and St. John's, Beverley, *The Inventories of Church Goods for the counties of York, Durham and Northumberland* (Publications of the Surtees Society, 97, 1897), pp. 63-4.

embroidered with motifs such as leopards, lions and flowers that may be badges linked to particular patrons but, out of the context of the local community, the symbolism has little significance.⁶⁸⁷

Following a noble burial, provision might be made for ongoing memorials such as month or yearly minds. These were commemorative services that traditionally took the form of a mass of Requiem. Henry Machyn's diary records the month's mind of Henry Radcliffe, earl of Sussex that occurred in 1557 and incorporated a dirge and mass, the earl having been buried previously with both heraldic accoutrements and banners of images.⁶⁸⁸ It appears that, for some noblemen, the tradition of a commemorative service continued despite the Edwardian Reformation. The September 1551 entry for the two dukes of Suffolk, Charles and Henry Brandon, who died in quick succession of the sweating sickness, has been damaged but the printed edition suggests that the surviving word 'month' was part of the phrase 'month's mind'.⁶⁸⁹ It is unlikely that the brothers would have been commemorated with a month's mind as it was understood within the Catholic Church given that they died at a time when religious reforms were increasingly vigorous. In addition, their mother was recognised as a visible and active reformer.⁶⁹⁰ After Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, died she promoted evangelicals amongst her advisors and employed evangelical tutors for her sons.⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸⁷ See for example, *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 137-41.

⁶⁸⁸ *Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp. 127-9.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁹⁰ See Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England..*

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 81.

Sir Thomas Windsor, the heir of Lord Windsor, d. 1552 is also recorded as having a month's mind with heraldic accoutrements.⁶⁹² In this latter case, the desire to hold a month's mind was probably driven by Catholic beliefs as his father kept to the old religion, specifying in his will of 1558 that he wished to have a yearly mind with masses and service 'according to the godlie order of the Catholicke Churche'.⁶⁹³ Despite these beliefs, it seems unlikely that Sir Thomas Windsor's publicly-known month's mind would have been kept to the order of the Catholic Church in 1552. Presumably, both the Suffolk and Windsor events were memorial events, referred to by the familiar phrase of a month's mind but divorced from the masses that would have taken place earlier in the century.

Machyn's diary only described burials and memorials from the 1550s and 1560s, however, for the pre-Reformation period wills again reveal the arrangements that noble testators were making for their continuing religious commemoration. Ralph, Lord Scrope, d. 1515 wished for his chaplain to sing for him yearly after his decease for the space of twenty years, in return the chaplain would receive ten marks per year from Lord Scrope's wife.⁶⁹⁴ Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, d. 1495, made provision for £40 per year to be amortised for the finding of four priests to sing daily in perpetuity in the monastery of Our Lady of Keynsham, where he wished to be buried, for his soul and those of his father, mother, brother and other predecessors. Similarly, Thomas Grey, 2nd marquis of

⁶⁹² *Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 29.

⁶⁹³ TNA, PROB 11/42A.

⁶⁹⁴ *Test Ebor*, iv, p. 65.

Dorset, d. 1530 wished to be buried in the College of Astley and for three honest priests to be paid to sing and pray there for the souls of himself and his parents for the space of three years after his death.⁶⁹⁵ The chantry certificates produced during Edward VI's dissolution of the chantries reveal that small bequests and obits did not keep the deceased in the minds of wider society. The commissioners often only recorded that lands were given 'by whome it is unknowen' or 'by divers person unknowen' for obits, masses or alms.⁶⁹⁶ Commissioners were able to identify the founders of larger, individual chantries.⁶⁹⁷ This suggests that foundations of the scale established by noblemen were more likely to retain their association with an identifiable person or family.

This association could be further enhanced when founders paid for the construction of a physical chantry chapel. Churches could contain multiple chapels founded for individuals. St George's Chapel, Windsor, for example, contains several chantry chapels including those commemorating William, Lord Hastings, d. 1483, in the north side of the quire of St George's Chapel, behind the stalls; and the larger, side chantry chapels founded for Sir Reginald Bray, d. 1503, and Thomas St Leger, d. 1483. The latter is now known as the Rutland Chapel and also contains the tomb of George Manners, Lord Roos, d. 1515.⁶⁹⁸ These would ensure prayers for the deceased, and others that they chose to specify, and, if desired,

⁶⁹⁵ TNA, PROB 11/10, PROB 11/24.

⁶⁹⁶ See for examples, *The Chantry Certificates and the Edwardian Inventories of Church Goods*, ed. Rose Graham (Oxford, 1919), p. 18-22.

⁶⁹⁷ See for example, *Ibid.* p. 18.

⁶⁹⁸ *VCH, Berkshire*, iii, p. 38-9.

visibly link them to a particular family through the use of heraldic decoration. The free-standing chantry chapel within Boxgrove Priory that was built for Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, d. 1554, features numerous coats of arms (Appendix 3/45). As described above (p. 84), the chapel containing the tomb of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland was decorated with a variety of heraldic badges and coats of arms. The chapel originally contained an altar by the tomb and five priests to sing daily and say masses for the earl, his wife and his ancestors. In addition to this, there were three bedesmen founded 'to contynewe in prayer allwaye'. When William Peiris was composing his biography of the earls of Northumberland, these provisions were being maintained by the 5th earl who Peiris claimed 'reputithe holy prayer more yan treasure of golde.'⁶⁹⁹

This type of religious provision was a necessity to ensure salvation of the soul but it was also a form of commemoration. Wealthy patrons would be recorded and remembered in the prayers of the church or monastery, theoretically, for years to come and physical objects such as vestments, chalices and books were visible testaments, at least in the short term, to the deceased's wealth, generosity and piety in making the gift. Prior to the suppression of the chantries in 1547, the chantry priests were also presences within the local community, living there and, in some cases, they fulfilled other roles such as teaching. It is likely that this helped maintain an awareness of the founders in whose service the priests were employed and that, once they were dispensed

⁶⁹⁹ BL, Royal MS 18 D II, f. 194v.

with, the collective recollection of the deceased who had established the chantries would have decreased with time.

It should, also, be borne in mind that planned religious commemoration was not always implemented as the testator might have wished. The will of Thomas Grey, 2nd marquis of Dorset, d. 1530, asked that his executors honour his mother's will requesting priests to pray for her, build a chapel at Astley, 'accordinge to the will of my lorde my father' and commission a tomb to be placed over his father and mother. Clearly, Grey had failed to put in place these permanent memorials to his parents, despite twenty-nine years having passed since his father's death.⁷⁰⁰ These forms of religious commemoration also ceased in the aftermath of the religious Reformations. When the country is viewed as a whole, attachment to tradition and ignorance of doctrinal reforms did lead to bequests for obits and trentals continuing and a number of monuments still included requests for prayers.⁷⁰¹ However, this is not so apparent amongst the nobility who were in a position to be fully informed of the Reformation legislation and to be expected to abide by and enforce that legislation.

Prayers and chantries were not the only foundations that could demonstrate religious beliefs and piety and it was possible to adapt these to the theological changes. Charitable foundations enabled the perpetuation of a nobleman's name along with his Christian virtues. Some chose to use their

⁷⁰⁰ TNA, PROB 11/24.

⁷⁰¹ Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, p. 30.

bequests to establish almshouses, schools, and other forms of education that were deemed appropriate at the time. Foundations of this type were not as common but almshouses can be found both before and after the Reformation. In the pre-Reformation period, the founding of almshouses was similar to dole giving at the funeral in that there were multiple benefits for the benefactors. As an act of charity they were a good deed that would in itself help ease the soul's passage through purgatory. In addition, the foundation was often made on the basis that inhabitants of the almshouse would pray for the soul of the benefactor.

The will of Henry, Lord Marney, d. 1523, provided for the building of a new almshouse for five poor men who were 'of good name and fame' but unable to support themselves. They would have a place to live, a wage, wood, and a russet gown at the feast of St Michael the Archangel. However, the poor men were expected to be able to say their pater noster, ave and creed in Latin. This knowledge was required by Lord Marney so that when they first got up they could say five pater nosters, five aves and a creed for him, his family and his ancestors. They were also expected to go to Layer Marney church every day to hear mass in the new chapel that his executors were to found. On entering the church they had to kneel before the sacrament and say a pater noster and an ave. Then they were to go to Lord Marney's tomb and say three pater nosters, three aves and a creed in the worship of the Trinity.⁷⁰² A connection was clearly being made between the physical object of the tomb and the act of praying for deceased and his family. It

⁷⁰² TNA, PROB 11/21/156.

would have also have been a ritual that was visible to the other residents of the village. Before leaving the church, the men had to say Our Lady's psalter for the family's souls and, before going to bed, they were to say five pater nosters, five aves and a creed, or, if they knew it, the De Profundis, a psalm in commemoration of the dead. On Wednesday and Friday afternoons, they were to go to the church again and say Our Lady's Psalter before his tomb, unless they knew the Dirge in which case they were to say that. Even illness did not allow them to escape the requirements set out by Lord Marney. If they could not make it to the church, they had to say their prayers at home and, if they could not even do that, then the other poor men had to say their prayers for them.⁷⁰³ Marney was unusual in setting out the details of his foundation in such detail in his will. The will of Thomas Grey, 2nd marquis of Dorset, d. 1530, also sets out the details of an almshouse his executors were to found at Astley to house thirteen poor men. As at Layer Marney, they were to receive wages and an annual livery. Unlike Marney, Dorset did not set out the details of the prayers that he expected in return. However, there clearly were obligations on the poor men. The prayers that the poor men were to say for Dorset and his ancestors, and the attendance that 'they shalbe bounde to gyue', were to be declared and written down on a tablet that would be set in the College of Astley.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰³ TNA, PROB 11/21/156.

⁷⁰⁴ TNA, PROB 11/24/141.

As discussed above (p. 248), within the Catholic Church, it was expected that Christians would relieve the poor and alms-giving was closely associated with salvation.⁷⁰⁵ Establishing an almshouse was a means of continuing with works of mercy even after death. Protestants believed that good works enacted in life had only a limited impact on the salvation of the soul in comparison with the exercise of faith but charity remained a Christian virtue when accompanied by reflective faith and examination of the conscience. With a growing emphasise on fame through moral excellence, a nobleman would wish to be seen to demonstrate charity.⁷⁰⁶ The provision of educational foundations also emerged at this time as a desirable quality. John, Lord Williams of Thame, d. 1559, bequeathed his executors the means to establish a free school in Thame and to find and sustain a schoolmaster. He also wished that other lands be used to ‘augemente and increase’ the alms house in Thame and ‘the living of the poo[r]e’ who resided there.⁷⁰⁷ A free grammar school was also established in 1566 in Kirkby Stephen by Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568, with an endowment to maintain the school and relieve the poor there.⁷⁰⁸ As well as fulfilling a Christian duty, establishing charitable institutions was another means of ensuring a lasting memory in a world without prayers for the dead. Buildings could be embellished with coats of arms

⁷⁰⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 358.

⁷⁰⁶ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 387; Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 288; Stephen, *Italian Renaissance*, p. 6.

⁷⁰⁷ TNA, PROB 11/43/156.

⁷⁰⁸ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Elizabeth I* (9 Vols., London, 1960), iii, 2067.

and schools named after the founder, as in the case of Lord Williams' School in Thame.

Whilst epitaphs on tombs became lengthier and more biographical as the sixteenth century progressed, they were still constrained by the space available. Printed elegies offered the flexibility to commemorate the deceased's religious identity as well as their career and family. However, as they wished to present the deceased as an exemplar to the living, they could make them appear more conformist than they had been in life. The epitaph of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, d. 1570, praised his devotion to God that it claimed 'his lyfe well shows, his death doth that declare'. The Protestant nature of his religious belief is stressed in the line that, 'On Christ alone, the corner stone, he onely layd his care.'⁷⁰⁹ On the surface, this appears a clear cut statement of religious belief but as with the preambles to wills it is a statement easily made and in need of backing up with actions that demonstrated the rejection of specific teachings. When Pembroke's life is considered he could be seen as an ambiguous figure in mid-Tudor politics. His rise to power occurred during Edward VI's reign and he was closely allied with John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, receiving his earldom on the same day that Dudley received his dukedom. He initially backed Lady Jane Grey's claim to the throne and married his son to her sister but was rehabilitated into the service of Mary.⁷¹⁰ John Aubrey repeated a story of the earl confessing to

⁷⁰⁹ Churchyard, *The epitaphe of the honorable Earle of Penbroke*, STC (2nd ed.)/5227.

⁷¹⁰ Narasingha P. Sil, 'Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke (1506/7–1570)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2009) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13055>, accessed 30 Aug 2014]

the restored nuns of Wilton Abbey that he had sinned but then throwing them out of the abbey as soon as Elizabeth succeeded to the throne.⁷¹¹ Whilst this story might be questionable, Pembroke was variable in his religious position. He sided with William, Lord Paget against the heresy bill but, in 1555, he defended Sir Edward Hastings when he supported the government's bill to penalize exiles from Marian England. He was close to Elizabeth I for much of her reign and appeared to be loyal to the religious settlement but supported proposals to marry Mary, Queen of Scots to Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk. The magnificence of his lifestyle, with a large array of liveried retainers, was not in keeping with extreme Protestant views on worldly pomp and his burial was to be done in accordance with his estate rather than outwardly desiring pomp to be eschewed but he did make a generous bequest of £200 to be given to the poor.⁷¹² The mourners at his funeral included men loyal to the Protestant settlement, including the earl of Leicester, William Cecil, Walter Mildmay and Nicholas Throckmorton.⁷¹³ On balance, he probably tended more towards reform than religious conservatism but his elegy, does ignore some of his pragmatism and periods when his loyalty was questioned.

This artistic license is even more obvious in the epitaph written in honour of Edward Stanley, 3rd earl of Derby, d. 1572. The poem made more of the earl's charitable and religious activities than that written for Pembroke. He is depicted as having carried out acts of charity, aiding 'the hungrie poore' who now had

⁷¹¹ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. John Buchanan-Brown (London, 2000), p. 154.

⁷¹² Sil, 'Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke'; TNA, PROB 11/52/186.

⁷¹³ TNA, SP 12/67, f. 153r.

nowhere to turn. This could be interpreted as in keeping with Catholic beliefs but his image is given a Protestant slant with the claim that he cleaved 'to his Christ'. This is further emphasised with the claim that he read the Scriptures, practised what they contained and, specifically, at the moment of his death he was a Protestant,

'And thus hee died in Christ, no help he sought from Pope:
but in the death and blood of Christ, he put his fixed hope.'⁷¹⁴

This was a clear statement of anti-Popery. In reality, Derby had regularly dissented against the Protestant reform of Edward VI's reign, voting against all the major reformist legislation. He resented interference by the government in his areas of influence and, as with much of the rest of Lancashire society, favoured local habits and relationships over official policy. Rumours linked Derby and the earl of Shrewsbury to a plot by the duke of Somerset against the earl of Warwick in 1550-1551 although he ultimately ended up on the prosecution.⁷¹⁵ He retained no absolute loyalty to Warwick and avoided signing the letters patent for Lady Jane Grey's accession through his absence in the North of England before raising troops for Mary in Cheshire. Under Mary, he took a participating role in ceremonies, acting as high steward for her coronation and played a role in prosecuting local heretics. He was not as dissenting in Elizabeth's reign as he had been during Edward VI's reign but he was deliberately slow to act against local Catholics and

⁷¹⁴ Denton, *An Epitaph vpon the death of the right honourable Edward Earle of Darby*, STC (2nd ed.)/6674.

⁷¹⁵ Haigh, *Reformation & Resistance*, pp. 141-2.

often only acted against those of low importance. It was certainly suspected that he might join the Northern rebels in 1569 and his younger sons were implicated in plots to free Mary, queen of Scots.⁷¹⁶ This is acknowledged to a certain extent within the poem which does refer to papists extolling Derby and, in refuting his connection to them, it states that he renounced them 'at his death' implying that he had not been as determined at distancing himself from them in his lifetime. The extra space devoted to Derby's religious beliefs in his epitaph over the short reference to religion in Pembroke's suggests that contemporaries recognised that his loyalty to government religious policy had not been exemplary. By having him turn to Christ not to the Pope at the moment of death, the Stanleys recognised the legitimacy of the Elizabethan settlement which, given the power structures within Lancashire, would have sent out a powerful message of conformity rather than dissent to their supporters. The epitaph ends with the hope that God would grant the new earl grace to, amongst other things, 'stave in Gospell pure'. Clearly, by 1572, Protestantism was an important part of noble identity amongst those who wished to retain royal favour and, with it, the power and offices to which they were accustomed.

Personal piety and religious belief were integral to life in Tudor England and they are consistent themes in the commemoration of the period. Images of the deceased in prayer and acts of charity in memory of the deceased are present

⁷¹⁶ Louis A. Knafla, 'Stanley, Edward, third earl of Derby (1509–1572)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn., 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26262>, accessed 30 Aug 2014]).

throughout. However, it was also a period of religious turmoil and confusion that restricted some forms of commemoration and altered the purpose behind others. The dissolution of the monasteries limited the choice of burial locations and also challenged dynastic, commemorative schemes as monuments were destroyed in the process. Within churches, the choice of burial location became purely about statements of status and family stripped of their supposed holiness. Religious imagery was stripped out of churches and off monuments. Tombs and charitable giving were solely a way to achieve secular renown and set an example to the living rather also being a prompt for prayers. For noblemen, it could be challenging to navigate the changes and to commemorate a religious identity that might be, or shortly be, contrary to government legislation. Creating a monument that was so religiously controversial that it would be destroyed would prevent the perpetuation of family and status. Noblemen were able to adapt their use of commemoration and, as their confidence returned under Elizabeth, used it to stress their conformity, to elaborate on biographical details and to demonstrate their Christian virtues.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to set the Howard family in the context of a wider study of noble identity and commemoration. The core image presented by the Howard family was of powerful, military-based noblemen, with extensive and illustrious family connections, and a strong religious faith that tended towards the traditional. During the sixteenth century, their monumental commemoration was focused on a small number of locations, Thetford Priory and Framlingham and Lambeth parish churches. This meant that they were able to create the sense of a family mausoleum within those churches. In the cases of the 2nd and 3rd dukes of Norfolk, the impact on the local area was amplified by the large, heraldic funerals held for them. They sought to use burial and memorials to link themselves to higher status relatives, first the Mowbrays with their royal connections to Sir Thomas Brotherton and then Henry Fitzroy, the son of Henry VIII. The original designs of the tombs commemorating Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk and Fitzroy complemented one another both in terms of form and religious narrative and they were in keeping with their surroundings at Thetford Priory. Whilst the later phase of work on the tombs at Framlingham did not make a narrative link between the monuments, there are stylistic similarities between the tombs. The Howards made use of commemoration to create an identity more consistent in its fulfilment of noble values than the events of their careers might warrant. Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, prominently buried in Thetford Priory, appeared as the powerful lord of his later years, his epitaph turning his support for Richard III

into an honourable loyalty.⁷¹⁷ Similarly, his son's tomb at Framlingham restored him as a prominent figure in the area just years after his release from his long imprisonment.

The coherence of the image being presented extended beyond monuments. An emphasis on the Howards' military service was also evident in their funerals and in the elegies and poems written about them. Heraldic symbols and language, in particular the lion rampant and the arms of Thomas Brotherton, were widely used in their funerals, poetry, portraiture and architecture. Although their commemoration was not a complete biographical record and skimmed over some aspects of their careers such as the 3rd duke of Norfolk's imprisonment, it created an image that could be backed up by the events of their lives. The Tudor noble ideal was a nobleman who combined virtue in their actions, the theoretical marker of nobility, and illustrious ancestry and wealth, the reality on which social and political power was based.⁷¹⁸ The Howards sought to present their lives in a way that fulfilled that ideal. Retrospectively, the recurring motifs across different forms of commemoration give the impression of a coherent image. However, the attempt to link the Norfolk and Fitzroy tombs, appears to have been the closest that the family came to a deliberately conceived commemorative scheme spanning multiple generations. The greatest noble house in Tudor England did not,

⁷¹⁷ Martin, *History of the Town of Thetford*, App. 43-9.

⁷¹⁸ Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 187.

it appears, have the will to shape and maintain a comprehensive, coherent and sustained commemorative strategy.

The 3rd duke of Norfolk's tomb has long attracted attention because of its French influence which set it apart amongst contemporary monuments.⁷¹⁹ The access to skilled craftsmen, an awareness of French trends and the image presented by the tomb, correlate with the wealth, status, ancestry and power of the Howard family at their political height. The same correlation is evident in the placement and design of the tomb of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk at Thetford Priory and that of Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond. The funeral of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, one of the largest and most expensive funerals of the Tudor period, is also fitting for his position as one of England's premier nobleman. However, whilst it is the case that some of the wealthiest individuals did have some of the most extravagant funerals and monuments, commemoration largely defies stratification along the lines of status, power or family heritage. Noblemen of most ranks and wealth were able to secure burial in favourable locations within churches and whilst the prestige of an institution might make it an attractive burial option, for many noblemen it was not the primary consideration. As approximately two-thirds of noblemen did not have a physical monument erected, wealthy and powerful individuals did not necessarily even have a tomb. The Manners and Mordaunt families were estimated by Lawrence Stone to have an income in 1559 that was half that of Thomas Howard,

⁷¹⁹ Colvin and Stone, 'Howard Tombs at Framlingham', p. 168-9; Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 218.

4th duke of Norfolk and yet the tombs belonging to those families rival those at Framlingham in terms of scale and domination of the local church.⁷²⁰

Where tombs can be identified as part of a 'group', it was more likely to be based around the work of a particular craftsman or workshop and include monuments to a range of individuals rather being exclusively based around a social group. One notable correlation is between membership of the Order of the Garter and the surviving tombs, as members are significantly more likely to have a tomb than other noblemen. Funerals also more nearly correlate with rank and wealth due in part to the guidelines laid out by the College of Arms. Yet, there was variation in the amount invested into banners and funerary trappings and in the type of decorations that predominated. The funerals of William, Lord Windsor in 1558 and John, Lord Williams in 1559 commemorated noblemen of the same rank and both incorporated one hundred and forty-four escutcheons but, where Lord Williams had eight bannerrolls of arms and one hundred and twenty pencilles, Lord Windsor had half the number of bannerrolls and just seventy-two pencilles.⁷²¹ There was a diversity of practice and a multiplicity of motivations and even funerals, the most controlled form of noble commemoration, could vary between individuals.

Whilst a nobleman's wealth or rank may not be an accurate prediction of the type of commemoration that they would have had, commemoration does

⁷²⁰ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 760.

⁷²¹ *Machyn's Diary*, pp. 172, 217.

reflect the wealth, power and interests of the nobility. Can we therefore use commemoration to shed light on the debates about the shift to a civil society, centralization of political society and the notion of the nobility as a social class in crisis? There are examples of commemoration reflecting new ideas of service. Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy's will emphasised to his children the importance of serving their King, making use of his epitaph and lectures to educate the living.⁷²² This fitted with gradual shifts in the form of commemoration and the developing notion of a community of honour with the King at the centre rather than networks of personal loyalties centred on noblemen.⁷²³ Broce and Wunderli suggested that the 6th earl of Northumberland's low-key funeral and churchyard burial reflected Henry VIII's victory over the previously over-mighty house of Percy whilst James saw the funerals of Lords Dacre and Wharton as a microcosm of a declining society of war-bands, rallying around their chieftain, and the emergence of a political society based on the new Tudor administration.⁷²⁴

Whilst these theories are beguiling they are based on a small number of examples and most noblemen did not use commemoration to frame their identities in those terms. Rather images of nobility show continuity with their medieval past. Thomas, Lord Wharton had mourners drawn from the ranks of the new administration and was not recorded as having an offering of heraldic achievements at his funeral, but on his tombs he is depicted as a traditional

⁷²² TNA, PROB 11/30/653.

⁷²³ Mervyn James, 'English Politics and the Concept of Honour', in Mervyn James (ed.), *Society, Politics and Culture* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 338-9.

⁷²⁴ Broce and Wunderli, 'The Funeral of Henry Percy', pp. 214-5; 'Two Tudor Funerals', p. 187.

military nobleman. The image of the nobleman as a military leader remained prevalent and was promulgated through armoured effigies and by the continued offering of the heraldic achievements in noble funerals, even amongst men such as John, Lord Williams and William Paulet, marquis of Winchester who had no military background. The insignia of the Order of the Garter with its chivalric connotations retained a prominent place in the commemoration, even amongst men such as Thomas, Lord Audley who had risen through the administrative ranks and for whom membership was a political reward. Members of the Order were significantly more likely to have a tomb erected in their memory.

Rather than a centralized political society, many funerals continued to promote power based on networks of family, the noble household and local communities. They were intended to remind people of the power of the nobility and in the case of families such as the Stanleys, Talbots and Howards, that meant reminding people of the regional power of particular dynasties. Ancestry was also celebrated in elegies and family histories whilst families such as the Howards and Manners created mausoleums that dominated their local churches and further stressed their continued power and influence in particular regions of the country. Commemoration served to promote and legitimize the continued social, political and ideological strength of the nobility.

The picture, therefore, is of a society that was beginning to alter its notions of honour and service but in which the nobility continued to depict themselves in

terms of military leadership and of powerful, wealthy families. The crown supported their commemoration as such, encouraging the preservation of monuments as a record of great families and promoting the heraldic funeral with its military overtones. The image presented was not one of a social and political class in crisis or decline. Newly ennobled men sought to aspire to a particular 'degree' or 'estate' by adopting existing forms of noble commemoration. Using an expected commemorative image legitimized their new position in the social order in the same way as having an appropriate house, household and level of expenditure. The records of grief, whilst scant, suggest that there were genuine bonds binding noble families and households together. Even the practicalities of commemoration pointed to the strength of the nobility. The scale of funerals, the extent of hospitality after the burial and the cost of tombs was not met lightly and did not present a picture of financial crisis.

The relationship between commemoration and the religious identity of individual noblemen is complex. On the one hand, monuments appear to have little overt religious imagery, focusing instead on the family, the individual and their position in society. There was also little concept of secular commemoration, for death and memorialisation were inextricably linked to religion. How far can we go in using commemoration to draw conclusions about noble beliefs and responses to religious change? The religious content of funerals was expected and prescribed with noblemen subscribing to the official funeral services. Acts of charity were conventional, although their scale and nature could vary. Some

noblemen enthusiastically supported religious change whilst others disapproved but, once decisions were taken on the dissolution of the monasteries, the introduction of new doctrines and liturgies, and changes to rituals, none of them could prevent the alteration of the religious landscape of England. It was a challenge for noblemen to negotiate the balance between their personal beliefs and Tudor legislation.

Noblemen could seek to mitigate the impact of religious change on their personal commemoration. Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk's response to the challenge of the dissolution of the monasteries to his commemoration was to seek to preserve Thetford Priory, explicitly referring to it in terms of ancestral burials, and then to preserve some tombs. He was not alone in this, but many more abandoned their ancestral burial locations and monuments. It would however, be erroneous to conclude from this that the majority did not have conservative religious beliefs. There were other considerations than religious belief including cost, shifting power bases and changes in family's political status. We can see in the indecision over burial locations and need to choose whether to abandon or attempt to save ancestral tombs and chapels, the confusion and conflict felt even by those at the centre of English politics. There was also scope for personalisation within the framework of official doctrine that can tell us about individual religious identity. Within commemoration we can see personal choices being made regarding the patronage of institutions prior to Edward VI's reign and the saints to be represented on banners carried at the funeral. Some individuals made

particularly generous doles and bequests to religious institutions. Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk revealed the importance of religious belief by using religious narrative to create a coherent commemorative scheme.

It should be questioned whether attempts at creating an identity through commemoration or pulling together a unified scheme had an impact outside the immediate family. Any conclusions regarding the reception of noble commemoration by the wider public are necessarily limited by the available evidence. The symbols and badges that were used as an identifying feature on tombs, funeral furnishings and chapels and in elegies would have been familiar and understood. Their function as a historical and genealogical source was acknowledged and encouraged. Similarly, religious iconography and the implications of tomb location within a church's topography would have been recognised. Funerals were participatory acts and their scale, rituals and sermons were designed to have an impact on their audience. There is evidence that this was achieved and that notable funerals, such as that of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, were remembered. Donations to churches of copes and vestments presumably provided reassurance to their donors but the lack of attribution in the Edwardian church inventories suggest that their origins were quickly forgotten or deemed irrelevant by wider society. Tombs and the heraldic decoration of churches were intended to make a visual impact on the public but it seems probable that the impact was lessened by familiarity. This growing distance between the living and the commemorated was further amplified by the

dissolution of the chantries which removed the regular masses that were linked to tombs and private chapels. It also removed the link between chantry and community provided by the chantry priests. Certainly, the exact identity of the commemorated could be lost to subsequent generations and not everyone felt an obligation to preserve memorials. It is likely that noblemen were aware that they would not be able to control the way that their commemoration was interpreted and that alternative narratives could be created but that did not prevent them from seeking to influence it.

In addition to relinquishing control of audience interpretation of their commemoration, nobleman had to accept that its fate and form were susceptible to external religious and political change. Any attempt at commemoration or a commemorative strategy could be altered, as could the ability of later audiences to read and interpret them. The scheme conceived by Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, for his tomb and that of the duke of Richmond, was disrupted first by the dissolution of Thetford Priory and then by the political fall of the Howards, before being restored in altered form after Norfolk's political recovery. Then, in 1572, the monument planned by Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk was also altered by a political fall from favour. This also disrupted the funerary arrangements that would presumably have rivalled those of his grandfather and great-grandfather had he not been executed. It was left to Henry Howard, earl of Northampton to use commemoration to rewrite his family history after the fall of the Tudors by

representing his father, the earl of Surrey, as a wealthy and successful nobleman rather than an executed traitor.

There was a spectrum of actions that could be taken by Tudor noblemen that reflected their noble identity. At one end of the scale were practical acts of service such as the raising and leading of troops or sitting in Parliament that were undertaken by most noblemen at some points in their lives and which were an intrinsic part of being noble. At the other end were personal acts of expression such as the poetry written by Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, that captured his world view and experience of being noble but which was not an activity in which many noblemen engaged in to the same extent as Surrey. Between these two extremes lay the commissioning of cultural and religious output such as buildings, books, portraits, and commemoration which expressed noble identity but were not required of noblemen. Within that output there was also distribution across the spectrum. A heraldic funeral was expected for most noblemen whereas the erection of a monument or the publication of an elegy was a rarer occurrence. Despite similarities in the images they presented, caution should be exercised before reaching hasty generalisations. Noblemen were not buying into a shared commemorative strategy, in the sense of being obliged to have monuments and printed elegies, to adopt a particular style or to emphasise the same aspects of their identities. Commemoration was about remembering an individual, celebrating their values and achievements, and cementing their position in the social and political hierarchy.

PLATES



PLATE 1: EFFIGIES ON THE TOMB OF THOMAS FIENNES, LORD DACRE OF THE SOUTH, D. 1533 AND HIS SON THOMAS FIENNES, D. 1528, RESTORED TO REFLECT THEIR ORIGINS ON TOMBS COMMEMORATING THE LORDS HOO



PLATE 2: STANDARD AND BANNERS FROM THE FUNERAL OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, LORD ST. AMAND, D. 1508 © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, MS ADD. 45131 F. 81R.

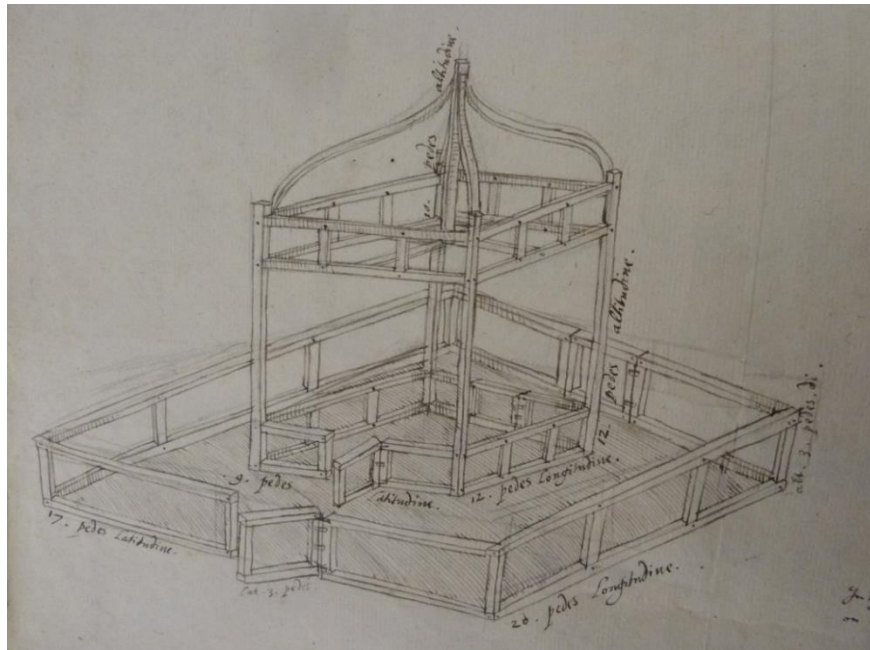


PLATE 3: SKETCH SHOWING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HEARSE FOR WILLIAM PAULET, MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER, D. 1572. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. MS ASHMOLE 836, F. 212.

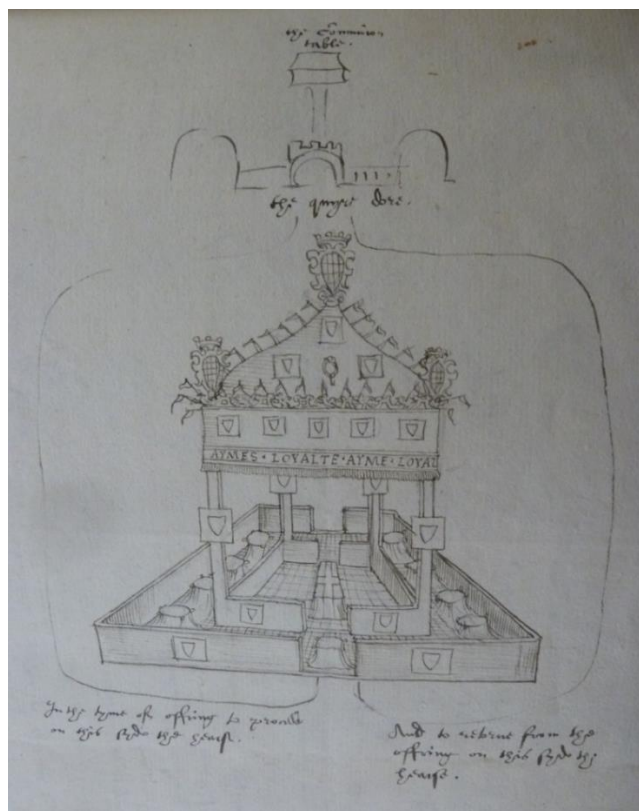


PLATE 4: SKETCH OF THE COMPLETED HEARSE FOR WILLIAM PAULET, MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER, D. 1572. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. MS ASHMOLE 836, F. 212.



PLATE 5: EFFIGIES ON THE TOMB OF THOMAS MANNERS, EARL OF RUTLAND, D. 1543.



PLATE 6: EFFIGIES ON THE TOMB OF HENRY MANNERS, EARL OF RUTLAND, D. 1563.



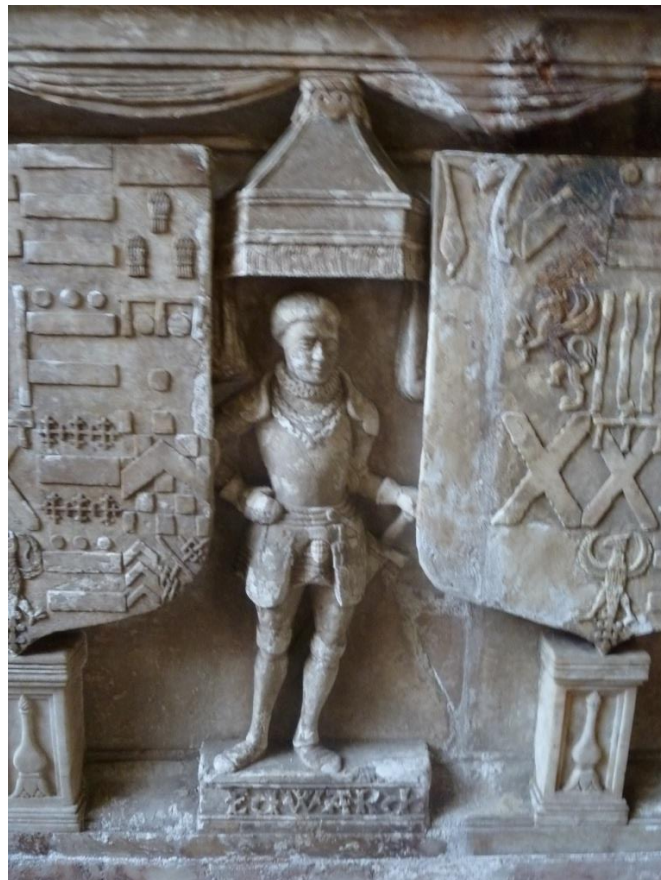
PLATE 7: EFFIGIES ON THE TOMB OF WALTER DEVEREAUX, VISCOUNT HEREFORD, D. 1558.



PLATE 8: HERALDRY ON THE TOMB COMMEMORATING THE WIVES OF THOMAS HOWARD, 4TH DUKE OF NORFOLK.



**PLATE 9: FIGURES DEPICTING THE SONS OF GEORGE MANNERS, LORD ROOS, D. 1513.
REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE DEAN AND CANONS OF WINDSOR.**



**PLATE 10: FIGURE AND HERALDRY ON THE TOMB OF FRANCIS HASTINGS, EARL OF
HUNTINGDON, D. 1560.**



**PLATE 11: HERALDRY AND FIGURES ON THE TOMB OF THOMAS, LORD WHARTON, D. 1568.
HEALOUGH.**



PLATE 12: KNEELING FIGURES ON THE TOMB OF HENRY MANNERS, EARL OF RUTLAND, D. 1563.



PLATE 13: HERALDIC BADGES ON THE TOMB OF HENRY PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, D. 1489. © NICK CLAUDEN.



PLATE 14: ILLUSTRATION OF THE TOMB OF THOMAS HOWARD, 2ND DUKE OF NORFOLK, D. 1524, AT THETFORD PRIORY. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, MS ADD. 45131 F. 85R.



PLATE 15: SHIELD ON THE TOMB OF EDWARD STAFFORD, EARL OF WILTSHIRE, D. 1499.



PLATE 16: TOMB OF GEORGE TALBOT, EARL OF SHREWSBURY, D. 1538.



PLATE 17: HERALDRY ON THE TOMB OF HENRY MANNERS, EARL OF RUTLAND, D. 1563



PLATE 18: DETAIL OF THE EFFIGY ON THE TOMB OF EDWARD STAFFORD, EARL OF WILTSHIRE, D. 1499.



PLATE 19: EFFIGY BELIEVED TO BE THOMAS STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY, D. 1502. © NAT MERRY.



PLATE 20: BRASS DEPICTING HENRY CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, D. 1570 AND HIS FAMILY. © NICK CLAUDEN.



PLATE 21: EFFIGY BELIEVED TO BE EDWARD STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY, D. 1572. © NAT MERRY.



PLATE 22: FRAGMENT OF HERALDIC GLASS IN THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND'S CHAPEL, BEVERLEY MINSTER. ©NICK CLaidEN.



PLATE 23: EFFIGIES ON THE TOMB OF JOHN, LORD WILLIAMS OF THAME, D. 1559.



PLATE 24: EFFIGIES ON THE TOMB OF FRANCIS HASTINGS, EARL OF HUNTINGDON, D. 1560.



PLATE 25: HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND'S COAT OF ARMS WITHIN THE GARTER.



PLATE 26: EFFIGY ON THE TOMB OF JOHN, LORD CHENEY, D. 1499. © NAT MERRY.



PLATE 27: ILLUSTRATION OF THE TOMB OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, LORD ST AMAND, D. 1508. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, MS ADD. 45131 F. 82R.



PLATE 28: BEDESMEN ON THE TOMB OF CHARLES SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER, D. 1526. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE DEAN AND CANONS OF WINDSOR.



**PLATE 29: ANGELS HOLDING HERALDIC SHIELDS ON THE TOMB OF GEORGE MANNERS, LORD ROOS, D. 1513.
REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE DEAN AND CANONS OF WINDSOR.**



PLATE 30: SECTION OF FRIEZE ON THE TOMB OF HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND, D. 1536.



PLATE 31: STATUE ON THE TOMB OF THOMAS HOWARD, 3RD DUKE OF NORFOLK, D. 1554.



PLATE 32: FIGURES ON THE TOMB OF WALTER DEVEREAUX, VISCOUNT HEREFORD, D. 1558.



PLATE 33: EFFIGIES ON THE TOMB OF HENRY NEVILLE, 5TH EARL OF WESTMORLAND, D. 1564.

APPENDIX 1: REQUESTED BURIAL LOCATIONS – STATISTICAL TABLES

Type of Religious Institution	1485-1536	1485-1547	Mid-Tudor*	1558-1572**
none requested	1	4	6	1
left to family/executors	5	5	3	
left to God			3	
where he dies	1	2	1	
single - monastic house	12	12		
single - mendicant house	5	5		
single - collegiate church	7	8		
single - hospital	1	1		
single - parish church	12	22	5	9
single - household chapel			1	1
multiple - monastic houses	1	1		
multiple - monastic house and collegiate church	1	1		
multiple - monastic house and mendicant house	2	2		
multiple - monastic house and parish church	1	1		
multiple - hospital or left to family/executors	1	1		
multiple - parish church and collegiate church	2	2		
multiple - parish church and mendicant house	1	1	1	
multiple - parish church or left to family/executors	2	3	1	
multiple - cathedrals				1
multiple - parish churches				1
Total number of wills	55	71	21	13

*from Henry VIII's death to Mary I's death

** from Mary I's death

TABLE 2: BREAKDOWN OF PREFERRED BURIAL LOCATIONS BASED ON 105 SURVIVING NOBLE WILLS.

Location in Church	Pre-1547	Mid-Tudor*	1558-1572**
not stated in will	28	17	7
left to executors	3	1	1
left to warden	1		
where convenient	1		
in a pre-determined location	1		1
near family	3		1
near spouse	3		2
chancel	4		
quire	1	1	
north aisle	3		
south aisle	1		
new chapel	6	1	1
Lady chapel	4		
near high altar	7		
before an image	3		
multiple - quire or other	2	1	
Total number of wills	71	21	13

*from Henry VIII's death to Mary I's death

** from Mary I's death

TABLE 3: BREAKDOWN OF PREFERRED BURIAL LOCATION WITHIN CHURCH BASED ON 105 SURVIVING NOBLE WILLS.

APPENDIX 2: ENGLISH NOBLEMEN, D. 1485-1572 – SOURCES

The following individuals constitute the nobility 1485-1572 as used in this thesis and form the basis of the statistical analysis. Titles given are the primary title held by an individual at the time of their death or attainder.

Heirs apparent who predeceased their father or brother have been included as have minors who inherited a title but did not achieve their

majority. The sons of Dukes who survived infancy and were styled as 'Lord' have been included.

Holders of non-English titles have been included only if they operated primarily at the English court.

Name	Title	Date of Death	Will	Tomb	Funeral
Thomas Audley	Lord Audley of Walden	30th April 1544	TNA, PROB 11/31/64	St Mary's Church, Saffron Walden, Essex	
Richard Beauchamp	Lord Beauchamp of Powick	19th January 1503			
Richard Beauchamp	Lord St Amand	btw. 14th June and 15th July 1508	TNA, PROB 11/16/32 & 44	British Library, Add MS 45131, f. 82r (illustration)	
William Beaumont	Viscount Beaumont	19th December 1507		St Mary the Virgin, Wivenhoe, Essex and British Library, Add MS 45131, f. 88v (illustration of tomb at London Blackfriars)	
William Berkeley	Marquis of Berkeley	14th February 1492	TNA, PROB 11/9/104		
Maurice Berkeley	Lord Berkeley	September 1506			

Maurice Berkeley	Lord Berkeley	15th September 1523	TNA, PROB 11/21/237	
Thomas Berkeley	Lord Berkeley	22nd January 1533	TNA, PROB 11/25/28	<i>L & P, Vol. 6, 66</i> (accounts)
Thomas Berkeley	Lord Berkeley	19th September 1534		
John Blount	Lord Mountjoy	12th October 1485	TNA, PROB 11/7/374	
William Blount	Lord Mountjoy	8th November 1534	TNA, PROB 11/25/473	
Charles Blount	Lord Mountjoy	10th October 1544	TNA, PROB 11/30/653	
Thomas Boleyn	Earl of Wiltshire	12th March 1539		St Peter's Church, Hever, Kent
George Boleyn	Lord Rochford	17th May 1536		
John Bouchier	Lord Berners	19th March 1533	TNA, PROB 11/25/115	
Henry Bouchier	Earl of Essex	13th March 1540		CA, MS I.15, f. 214
John Bouchier	Earl of Bath	30th April 1539	TNA, PROB 11/28/525	
John Bouchier	Lord FitzWarin	28th February 1557		
John Bouchier	Earl of Bath	10th February 1561		
Charles Brandon	Duke of Suffolk	22nd Aug 1545	TNA, PROB 11/31/456 and Lincolnshire Archives, 3-Anc 8/1/1	Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1109, ff. 142-6
Henry Brandon	Earl of Lincoln	1st March 1534		
Henry Brandon	Duke of Suffolk	14th July 1551		

Charles Brandon		14th July 1551	TNA, PROB 11/34/462	
Edmund Bray	Lord Bray	18th October 1539	TNA, PROB 11/28/429	
John Bray	Lord Bray	19th November 1557	TNA, PROB 11/39/548	CA, MS I.15, ff. 279r-281r and <i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p.158
John Brooke	Lord Cobham	9th March 1512		
Thomas Brooke	Lord Cobham	19th July 1529	TNA, PROB 11/23/361	
George Brooke	Lord Cobham	29th September 1558	TNA, PROB 11/43/628	St Mary Magdalene Church, Cobham, Kent
John Brydges	Lord Chandos of Sudeley	12th April 1557	TNA, PROB 11/39/200	<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 133
Thomas Burgh	Lord Burgh	18th March 1496	TNA, PROB 11/10/570	
Edward Burgh	Lord Burgh	20th August 1528		
Thomas Burgh	Lord Burgh	28th February 1550	TNA, PROB 11/33/427	
Philibert de Chandee	Earl of Bath	unknown, aft. 6th January 1486		
John Cheney	Lord Cheney	30th May 1499		Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury, Wiltshire
Henry Clifford	Lord Clifford	23rd April 1523		
Henry Clifford	Earl of Cumberland	22nd April 1542	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , Vol. 6, pp. 127-30	Holy Trinity Church, Skipton, North Yorkshire

Henry Clifford	Earl of Cumberland	2nd January 1570		Holy Trinity Church, Skipton, North Yorkshire
John Clinton or Fiennes	Lord Clinton	4th June 1514		
Thomas Clinton or Fiennes	Lord Clinton	7th August 1517		
William Conyers	Lord Conyers	bef. 14th April 1524		
Christopher Conyers	Lord Conyers	14th June 1538		
John Conyers	Lord Conyers	June 1557		
Edward Courtenay	Earl of Devon	28th May 1509	TNA, PROB 11/16/435	
William Courtenay	Earl of Devon	9th June 1511		CA, MS I.3, ff. 33v-35r
Henry Courtenay	Marquis of Exeter	9th January 1539		
Edward Courtenay	Earl of Devon	18th September 1556		
Thomas Cromwell	Earl of Essex	28th July 1540		
Gregory Cromwell	Lord Cromwell	4th July 1551		Launde Abbey, Leicestershire
Humphrey Dacre	Lord Dacre of Gilsland	30th May 1485		Lanercost Priory, Lanercost, Cumbria
Thomas Dacre	Lord Dacre of the North	24th October 1525		Lanercost Priory, Lanercost, Cumbria
William Dacre	Lord Dacre of the North	18th November 1563		

Thomas Dacre	Lord Dacre of the North	1st July 1566			
George Dacre	Lord Dacre of the North	17th May 1569			
Thomas Darcy	Lord Darcy of Temple Hurst (of Aston)	30th June 1537		St Botolph without Aldgate, London	
George Darcy	Lord Darcy of Aston	28th August 1558	<i>Register of York Wills</i> , Vol. 15 pt. 2, f. 291	St Wilfrid's Church, Brayton, North Yorkshire	
Thomas Darcy	Lord Darcy of Chiche	28th June 1558	TNA, PROB 11/44/115	Church of St Peter and St Paul, St Osyth, Essex (erected post-1572)	
Giles Daubeney	Lord Daubeney	21st May 1508	TNA, PROB 11/16/445	Westminster Abbey, London	CA, MS I.3, f. 44r
Henry Daubeney	Earl of Bridgewater	8th April 1548			
Walter Devereux	Lord Ferrers of Chartley	22nd August 1485			
John Devereaux	Lord Ferrers of Chartley	3rd or 7th May 1501			
Richard Devereaux		13th October 1547			
Walter Devereux	Viscount Hereford	17th September 1558	TNA, PROB 11/41/66	St John the Baptist Church, Stowe-by-Chartley, Staffordshire	
John Dinham	Lord Dinham	28th January 1501	TNA, PROB 11/16/355		

John Dudley	Duke of Northumberland	22nd August 1553		
Henry Dudley		Btw. 1544 and 1545		
John Dudley	Earl of Warwick	21st October 1554		
Guildford Dudley	Lord Guildford Dudley	12th February 1554		
Henry Dudley	Lord Henry Dudley	10th August 1557		
William Eure	Lord Eure	15th March 1548	<i>Register of York Wills, Vol. 12a, f. 2</i>	
Ralph Eure		6th March 1545		
Thomas Fiennes	Lord Dacre of the South	9th September 1533	TNA, PROB 11/25/171	All Saints Church, Herstmonceux, Sussex
Thomas Fiennes		26th October 1528		All Saints Church, Herstmonceux, Sussex
Thomas Fiennes	Lord Dacre of the South	29th June 1541		
Thomas Fiennes		1553		
William Fitzalan	Earl of Arundel	late 1487		Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel Castle, Sussex
Thomas Fitzalan	Earl of Arundel	25th October 1524	TNA, PROB 11/21/478	
William Fitzalan	Earl of Arundel	23rd January 1544	TNA, PROB 11/30/56	
Henry Fitzalan	Lord Mautravers	30th June 1556		
Richard Fitzhugh	Lord Fitzhugh	20th November 1487		
George Fitzhugh	Lord Fitzhugh	28th January 1513		

Henry Fitzroy	Duke of Richmond and Somerset	23rd July 1536	
William Fitzwilliam	Earl of Southampton	15th October 1542	<i>North Country Wills</i> , Vol. 1, pp. 190-2
Henry Grey	Lord Grey of Codnor	1496	TNA, PROB 11/10/615
Edward Grey	Viscount Lisle	17th July 1492	TNA, PROB 11/9/177
John Grey	Viscount Lisle	9th September 1504	TNA, PROB 11/14/302
Thomas Grey	Marquis of Dorset	20th September 1501	TNA, PROB 11/13/139
Thomas Grey	Marquis of Dorset	10th October 1530	TNA, PROB 11/24/141
Henry Grey	Duke of Suffolk	23rd February 1554	
Thomas Grey	Lord Thomas Grey	1555	
John Grey	Lord Grey of Pirgo	19th November 1569	TNA, PROB 11/48/27
Leonard Grey	Lord Leonard Grey	28th July 1541	
Edmund Grey	Earl of Kent	22nd May 1490	
George Grey	Earl of Kent	21st December 1503	TNA, C 54/393, m. 4
Richard Grey	Earl of Kent	3rd March 1523	
Henry Grey		24th September 1562	

John Grey	Lord Grey of Powis	btw. 31st October and 10th November 1494	
John Grey	Lord Grey of Powis	15th April 1504	
Edward Grey	Lord Grey of Powis	2nd July 1551	TNA, PROB 11/34/203
Reynold Grey	Lord Grey of Wilton	22nd February 1493/94	
John Grey	Lord Grey of Wilton	3rd April 1499	CA, MS I.3, f. 79
Edmund Grey	Lord Grey of Wilton	5th May 1511	TNA, PROB 11/16/417
George Grey	Lord Grey of Wilton	15th January 1514/15	
Thomas Grey	Lord Grey of Wilton	30th October 1517	
Richard Grey	Lord Grey of Wilton	15th October 1521	
William Grey	Lord Grey of Wilton	14th or 15th December 1562	<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 298
Ralph Greystoke	Lord Greystoke	1st June 1487	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , Vol. 4, pp. 20-2
Edward Hastings	Lord Hastings	btw. 4th and 15th November 1506	TNA, PROB 11/16/47
George Hastings	Earl of Huntingdon	23rd March 1544	

Francis Hastings	Earl of Huntingdon	23rd June 1560 (His tomb gives his year of death as 1561 but <i>Machyn's Diary</i> details his funeral in July 1560)		St Mary's Church, Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire	<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 239
Edward Hastings	Lord Hastings of Loughborough	5th March 1572	<i>Testamenta Vetusta, Vol 2</i> , pp. 740-2		
Richard Hastings	Lord Willoughby	September 1503	TNA, PROB 11/13/539 and 542		
William Herbert	Earl of Huntingdon	16th July 1491			
William Herbert	Earl of Pembroke	17th March 1570	TNA, PROB 11/52/186	William Dugdale, <i>History of St Pauls Cathedral in London</i> , pp. 88-9	TNA, SP 12/67/153-5
John Howard	Duke of Norfolk	22nd August 1485			
Thomas Howard	Duke of Norfolk	21st May 1524	TNA, PROB 11/21/391	British Library, Add MS 45131, f. 85r and Henry Lilly, <i>Genealogie of Howards</i> (1638), ACA, p. 120 (illustrations)	CA, MS I.7, ff. 56r-60v
Edward Howard		25th April 1513	TNA, PROB 11/17/424		
Thomas Howard		31 st October 1537			
Edmund Howard		March 1539			

Henry Howard	Earl of Surrey (courtesy title)	25th August 1547		Church of St Michael, Framlingham, Suffolk (erected post-1572)	
Thomas Howard	Duke of Norfolk	25th August 1554	TNA, PROB 11/37/171	Church of St Michael, Framlingham, Suffolk	CA, MS I.11, ff. 34-5 and <i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 70
Thomas Howard	Duke of Norfolk	2nd June 1572	ACA, MS T5	Church of St Michael, Framlingham, Suffolk	
John Hussey	Lord Hussey	29th June 1537	TNA, SP 1/122/159-77		
Henry Lovel	Lord Morley	13th June 1489			
Francis Lovell	Viscount Lovell	after 1485			
Thomas Lumley	Lord Lumley	1st April 1485			
George Lumley	Lord Lumley	13th November 1507			
Thomas Lumley		1487			
Richard Lumley	Lord Lumley	26th May 1510			
John Lumley	Lord Lumley	1544 or 1545			
George Lumley		2nd June 1537			
George Manners	Lord Ros	27th October 1513	TNA, PROB 11/17/487	St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, Berkshire	
Thomas Manners	Earl of Rutland	20th September 1543	TNA, PROB 11/30/425	St Mary the Virgin, Bottesford, Leicestershire	
Henry Manners	Earl of Rutland	17th December 1563		St Mary the Virgin, Bottesford, Leicestershire	

Henry Marney	Lord Marney	24th May 1523	TNA, PROB 11/21/156	St Mary the Virgin, Layer Marney, Essex	CA, MS I.3, f. 57r (bill) and CA, MS I.7, ff. 50r-52v
John Marney	Lord Marney	27th April 1525	TNA, PROB 11/21/540	St Mary the Virgin, Layer Marney, Essex	
John Mordaunt	Lord Mordaunt	18th August 1562	TNA, PROB 11/45/213	All Saints Church, Turvey, Bedfordshire	<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 291 (items made)
John Mordaunt	Lord Mordaunt	btw. April and October 1571	TNA, PROB 11/53/462	All Saints Church, Turvey, Bedfordshire	
George Nevill	Lord Bergavenny	20th September 1492	TNA, PROB 11/11/1		
George Nevill	Lord Bergavenny	1535	TNA, PROB 11/25/546		
Richard Nevill	Lord Latimer	btw. 12th and 28th December 1530	<i>Register of York Wills</i> , Vol. 11, f. 672		
John Nevill	Lord Latimer	2nd March 1542/43	TNA, PROB 11/29/303		
Ralph Nevill	Earl of Westmorland	6th February 1499			
Ralph Nevill	Lord Neville	1498			
Ralph Nevill	Earl of Westmorland	24th April 1549			
Henry Nevill	Earl of Westmorland	10th February 1564	<i>Register of York Wills</i> , Vol. 17, f. 833	St Mary's Church, Staindrop	
Edward North	Lord North	31st December 1564	TNA, PROB 11/48/64	All Saints Church, Kirtling, Cambridgeshire	

Owen Ogle	Lord Ogle	1st September 1486		
Ralph Ogle	Lord Ogle	16th January 1513		
Robert Ogle	Lord Ogle	btw. 28th September 1530 and 26th January 1532		
Robert Ogle	Lord Ogle	6th March 1545		
Robert Ogle	Lord Ogle	1st August 1562		
Thomas Ormond or Butler	Earl of Ormond	3rd August 1515	TNA, PROB 11/18/184	
William Paget	Lord Paget of Beaudesert	9th June 1563	TNA, PROB 11/46/286	<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 309
Henry Paget	Lord Paget of Beaudesert	28th December 1568	TNA, PROB 11/51/153	
Henry Parker	Lord Morley	27th November 1556		<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 120
William Parr	Marquis of Northampton	28th October 1571		Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 818, f. 44
William Parr	Lord Parr of Horton	November (bef. 13th December) 1547	TNA, PROB 11/32/121	St Mary Magdalene Church (closed), Horton, Northamptonshire
William Paulet	Marquis of Winchester	10th March 1572		St Mary's Church, Old Basing, Hampshire (possibly erected post- 1572) Bodleian, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 211-14

Henry Percy	Earl of Northumberland	28th April 1489	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , Vol. 3, p. 304-10	Beverley Minster, Beverley, East Yorkshire and CA, MS RR 14.C, f. 89 (illustration)	<i>Desiderata Curiosa</i> , Vol. 2, pp. 246-7
Henry Algernon Percy	Earl of Northumberland	19th May 1527			
Henry Percy	Earl of Northumberland	29th June 1537			
Thomas Percy		2nd June 1537			
Thomas Percy	Earl of Northumberland	22nd August 1572			
Arthur Plantagenet	Viscount Lisle	3rd March 1542			
Edward Plantagenet	Earl of Warwick	28th November 1499			
John de la Pole	Duke of Suffolk	btw. 1491 and 1492		St Andrew's Church, Wingfield, Suffolk	
John de la Pole	Earl of Lincoln	16th June 1487			
Edmund de la Pole	Earl of Suffolk	4th May 1513			
Richard de la Pole		14th February 1525			
Margaret Pole	Countess of Salisbury	28th May 1541			
Henry Pole	Lord Montagu	9th January 1539			
Thomas Poynings	Lord Poynings	August 1545	TNA, PROB 11/31/85		
John Radcliffe	Lord FitzWalter	24th November 1496			

Robert Radcliffe	Earl of Sussex	27th November 1542			
Henry Radcliffe	Earl of Sussex	17th February 1557	TNA, PROB 11/39/378		<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , pp. 127-9
Richard Rich	Lord Rich	12th June 1567	TNA, PROB 11/50/176		
Hugh Rich		1st November 1554			<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 76
John Russell	Earl of Bedford	14th March 1555	TNA, PROB 11/38/27	Bedford Chapel, St Michael's Church, Chenies, Bedfordshire (restricted access)	<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , pp. 83-4
William Sandys	Lord Sandys	btw. 3rd and 7th December 1540	TNA, PROB 11/29/107		
Thomas Sandys	Lord Sandys	bef. 6th February 1560			
John Scrope	Lord Scrope of Bolton	17th August 1498	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , Vol. 4, pp. 94-7		
Henry Scrope	Lord Scrope of Bolton	1506			
Henry Scrope	Lord Scrope of Bolton	December 1533			
Henry Scrope		25th March 1525			
Richard Scrope		28th July 1525			
John Scrope	Lord Scrope of Bolton	22nd June 1549			

Thomas Scrope	Lord Scrope of Masham	23rd April 1493	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , Vol. 4, pp. 72-4	
Henry Scrope	Lord Scrope of Masham or Upsall	1512		
Ralph Scrope	Lord Scrope of Masham or Upsall	17th September 1515	<i>Register of York Wills</i> , Vol. 9, f. 29	
Geoffrey Scrope	Lord Scrope of Masham or Upsall	1517		
Edward Seymour	Duke of Somerset	22nd January 1552		
John Seymour		1552	TNA, PROB 11/36/113	
Thomas Seymour	Lord Seymour of Sudeley	20th March 1549		
Edmund Sheffield	Lord Sheffield of Butterwick	31st July 1549	TNA, PROB 11/33/132	
John Sheffield	Lord Sheffield	10th December 1568	TNA, PROB 11/51/31	
Charles Somerset	Earl of Worcester	15th April 1526	TNA, PROB 11/22/232	St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, Berkshire
Henry Somerset	Earl of Worcester	26th November 1549		St Mary's Church, Chepstow (erected post-1572)

Edward Stafford	Duke of Buckingham	17th May 1521		
Henry Stafford	Lord Stafford	30th April 1563		
Edward Stafford	Earl of Wiltshire	24th March 1499	TNA, PROB 11/11/602	St Peter's Church, Lowick, Northamptonshire
Henry Stafford	Earl of Wiltshire	March 1523		
Thomas Stanley	Earl of Derby	29th July 1504	TNA, PROB 11/14/354	Church of St Peter and St Paul, Ormskirk, Lancashire (allegedly)
George Stanley	Lord Strange	4th or 5th December 1503		
Thomas Stanley	Earl of Derby	23rd May 1521	TNA, PROB 11/21/376	CA, MS I.15, ff. 147- 8
Edward Stanley	Earl of Derby	24th October 1572		Church of St Peter and St Paul, Ormskirk, Lancashire (allegedly) Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 215-23
Edward Stanley	Lord Monteagle	6th or 7th April 1523	TNA, PROB 11/21/407	
Thomas Stanley	Lord Monteagle	25th August 1560		<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 243
John Stourton	Lord Stourton	6th October 1485	TNA, PROB 11/9/337 ??? Check it is his will	
Francis Stourton	Lord Stourton	18 or 27th February 1486/87		
William Stourton	Lord Stourton	17th February 1523/24	TNA, PROB 11/21/319	
Edward Stourton	Lord Stourton	13th December	TNA, PROB	

		1535	11/25/443		
Peter Stourton		after 1508			
William Stourton	Lord Stourton	16th September 1548	TNA, PROB 11/32/258 & PROB 11/39/286		
Charles Stourton	Lord Stourton	6th March 1557			
John Sutton or Dudley	Lord Dudley	30th September 1487	TNA, PROB 11/8/135		
Edward Sutton or Dudley	Lord Dudley	31st January 1532			
John Sutton or Dudley	Lord Dudley	18th September 1553			<i>Machyn's Diary,</i>
Gilbert Tailboys	Lord Tailboys	15th April 1530			
George Tailboys	Lord Tailboys	6th September 1540			
Robert Tailboys	Lord Tailboys	12th March 1541			
George Talbot	Earl of Shrewsbury	26th July 1538	TNA, PROB 11/26/199	Sheffield Cathedral, Sheffield, South Yorkshire	CA, MS I.15, f.213
Francis Talbot	Lord Talbot and Earl of Shrewsbury	29th September 1560			Bodleian, MS Ashmole 818, ff. 28-30 (plan) and <i>Desiderata Curiosa,</i> <i>Vol. 2, pp. 252-6</i>
Edward Tiptoft	Earl of Worcester	12th August 1485			
John Tuchet	Lord Audley	26th September 1490			
James Tuchet	Lord Audley	28th June 1497			

John Tuchet	Lord Audley	bef. 20th January 1558			
George Tuchet	Lord Audley	1560			
Jasper Tudor	Duke of Bedford	12th December 1495	TNA, PROB 11/10/591		
Nicholas Vaux	Lord Vaux of Harrowden	14th May 1523	TNA, PROB 11/21/178		
Thomas Vaux	Lord Vaux of Harrowden	btw. March and October 1556			<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 115
John de Vere	Earl of Oxford	10th March 1513	TNA, PROB 11/17/379	British Library, Add MS 27348 p. 31 (illustration)	CA, MS I.7, ff. 45r- 46r
John de Vere	Earl of Oxford	14th July 1526			
John de Vere	Earl of Oxford	21st March 1540		St Nicholas' Church, Castle Hedingham, Essex	
John de Vere	Earl of Oxford	3rd August 1562	TNA, PROB 11/46/247		<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 239
John Welles	Viscount Welles	9th February 1499	TNA, PROB 11/11/657		British Library, Add MS 45131, ff. 14r, 60v-61v.
Thomas Wentworth	Lord Wentworth	3rd March 1551	TNA, PROB 11/34/488		
Thomas West	Lord La Warre	11th October 1525	TNA, PROB 11/22/57	St Mary's Church, Broadwater, Sussex	

Thomas West	Lord La Warre	25th September 1554	TNA, PROB 11/37/175	St Mary's Church, Broadwater, Sussex and Boxgrove Priory (chantry chapel)	<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 71
Thomas Wharton	Lord Wharton	23rd or 24th August 1568		St John the Baptist Church, Healaugh and Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria	Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 836, ff. 189-91
Thomas Wharton	Lord Wharton	14th June 1572			
John Williams	Lord Williams of Thame	14th October 1559	TNA, PROB 11/43/156	St Mary the Virgin, Thame, Oxfordshire	<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 217
Robert Willoughby	Lord Willoughby de Broke	23rd August 1502	TNA, PROB 11/13/393	St Mary's Church, Callington, Cornwall	
Robert Willoughby	Lord Willoughby de Broke	10th November 1521	TNA, PROB 11/20/66		
Edward Willoughby		November 1517	TNA, PROB 11/19/23		
Christopher Willoughby	Lord Willoughby de Eresby	btw. 1st November 1498 and 13th July 1499	TNA, PROB 11/11/675		
William Willoughby	Lord Willoughby de Eresby	19th October 1526	TNA, PROB 11/23/362		
William Willoughby	Lord Willoughby of Parham	30th July 1570			
Andrew Windsor	Lord Windsor	30th March 1543			
George Windsor		bef. November 1520			
William Windsor	Lord Windsor	20th August 1558	TNA, PROB 11/42A/91		<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 172

Thomas Windsor		December 1552			<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 29 (month's mind)
Richard Woodville	Earl Rivers	6th March 1491	TNA, PROB 11/8/659		
Thomas Wriothesley	Earl of Southampton	30th July 1550	TNA, PROB 11/34/154	St Peter's Church, Titchfield (erected post-1572)	<i>Machyn's Diary</i> , p. 1
John Zouche	Lord Zouche	March 1526	TNA, PROB 11/22/98		
John Zouche	Lord Zouche	10th August 1550	TNA, PROB 11/34/123		
Richard Zouche	Lord Zouche	22nd July 1552	TNA, PROB 11/35/410		
George Zouche	Lord Zouche	19th June 1569			

APPENDIX 3: TOMBS COMMEMORATING ENGLISH NOBLEMEN, D. 1485-

1572

Note: I have visually inspected those tombs marked with an *. Descriptions of those tombs are based on the inspection and secondary material. The other descriptions are based on written sources and the consultation of available photographs.

1 - Thomas, Lord Audley, KG, d. 1544

St Mary's Church, Saffron Walden, Essex

The tomb is located in the south chapel and is by Cornelius Harman.⁷²⁵ Inspection of photographs revealed that it is a black marble tomb chest with an elaborately decorated back plate. Carved in relief on the back-plate is a heraldic shield within the garter and with supporters and helm and crest. Underneath, in a smaller panel, is a carved inscription that reads:

‘The stroke of deathes ievitabl dart hath now alas of lyfe bereft the hart of Syr Thomas Avdeley of the garter knight late channcellovr of Englonde vnder our prince of might Henry theight wvrthy highrenovn and made by him lord Avdeley of thys tovn obit vltimo die Aprilis anno domini 1544 regni regis Henrici8 36 cancellariatvs svi 13 & suae aetatis 56’⁷²⁶

His motto, ‘Garde ta Foy’, is carved in a frieze across the top of the back plate.⁷²⁷

The sides of the tomb chest are badly eroded but some of the design is still visible.

The end of the tomb has a badly defaced heraldic shield within the garter between

⁷²⁵ Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 333.

⁷²⁶ Photographs shared by Dr Jackie Hall. A photograph of the back plate is published in Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 70.

⁷²⁷ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, i, p. 233.

enriched pilasters. Either side of the coat of arms are putti, now headless. The sides of the tomb are divided into panels by pilasters, their detail now worn away. It is possible to determine that the panels were decorated with heraldic shields, some within a wreath and, at least one, within a garter and with putti identical to the end panel.

2 - William, Viscount Beaumont, d. 1507

St Mary the Virgin, Wivenhoe, Essex

Viscount Beaumont is commemorated with a brass in the chancel. He is depicted in armour and sword with his hands clasped in prayer. His head is resting on his helm with a lion crest and his feet on an elephant with castle, standing on a broom pod. Above the helm is a coat of arms. The figure is under a triple-arched canopy with crocketed gables and pinnacles. There is a damaged epitaph around the edge of the brass. A brass of his wife, Elizabeth, who later married John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford is located nearby.⁷²⁸

Beaumont was also commemorated with a tomb chest in the London Blackfriars where he was depicted in military garb, his feet on a heraldic lion and the tomb decorated with heraldry.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁸ The following description is based on *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, iii, p. 233 and Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 431.

⁷²⁹ An illustration of the tomb is preserved in BL, Add MS 45131, f. 88v.

3 - Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, d. 1538

St Peter's Church, Hever, Kent

The tomb is located between the Bullen Chapel and the north side of the sanctuary. It is a Purbeck marble tomb chest with traces of canopied niches along the side.⁷³⁰ Inspection of photographs of the tomb revealed that it is now badly weathered and has been crudely repaired with brick work.⁷³¹ The brass effigy of Wiltshire is intact and is said to be one of the best sixteenth-century brasses in England. He is depicted in armour and Garter robes with his head resting on his helm and his feet on a Wyvern.⁷³²

4 - George Brooke, Lord Cobham, d. 1558

St Mary Magdalene Church, Cobham, Kent

The tomb is located in the centre of the chancel. It is a tomb chest of alabaster touch, or Tournai 'marble', with recumbent effigies that was erected, retrospectively, in 1561.⁷³³ Inspection of photographs revealed that both effigies have their hands clasped in prayer.⁷³⁴ Cobham is depicted with his lower half in armour and coat, heraldic tabard and cloak. His head is resting on a pillow with ah

⁷³⁰ John Newman, *West Kent and the Weald* (New Haven and London, 2012), p. 292.

⁷³¹ Photographs publicly available at <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=12262> [accessed 2nd June 2015].

⁷³² Newman, *West Kent and the Weald*, p. 292.

⁷³³ Newman, *West Kent and the Weald*, p. 182. Tournai 'marble', a dark limestone from the Tournai region, has been identified as a component of this, and several other tombs. However, researchers now believe that some stone identified as Tournai 'marble' may have come from other northern European quarries. It is impossible to determine the origin from visual inspection along, F. Dimes, 'Sedimentary rocks' in J. Ashurst and F. Dimes (eds.), *Conservation of Building and Decorative Stone* (2 Vols., Oxford, 1990), i, pp. 61-134.

⁷³⁴ Photographs are publicly available at <http://www.cobham-luddesdowne.org/cobbroke.html> [accessed 5th June 2015].

helm on the head of the tomb slab. Around the sides of the tomb are shell-headed niches containing kneeling figures of Cobham's ten sons and four daughters, their names written above them. His sons are depicted in painted, heraldic tabards. Between the niches are Ionic columns. Their appearance has been enhanced with paint in the fluting.⁷³⁵ Below the bases of the columns is a Triglyph frieze.⁷³⁶ A lengthy and tightly set epitaph is carved around the edge of the tomb slab. The tomb has been substantially restored. A falling beam shattered it in the eighteenth century and it was only pieced back together in 1840 with further work being done by J. G. Waller in 1865.⁷³⁷

5 - John, Lord Cheney, KG, d. 1499

Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire

(See also, Plate 26)

The tomb is located in the nave but this is probably not its original location. The cathedral was restored in 1789, a restoration that got rid of some of the medieval chapels, refurbished the interior and tidied it up. As part of the refurbishment, the tombs from the medieval Lady, Beauchamp and Hungerford chapels were removed to the nave where they neatly lined up between the arcade piers.⁷³⁸ It is a tomb chest with a recumbent alabaster effigy.⁷³⁹ Inspection of photographs

⁷³⁵ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 139.

⁷³⁶ Newman, *West Kent and the Weald*, p. 182.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁷³⁸ Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, pp. 391, 415.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

reveals that the chest is badly worn with only a few traces of carving remaining.⁷⁴⁰

The effigy is in much better condition although there are some small signs of damage. Cheyney is dressed in armour with sword, now broken, and his hands clasped in prayer. He is wearing the garter and mantel of the Order of the Garter. Around his neck is a Lancastrian collar of 'esses' with portcullis pendant. His head is resting on a pillow supported by angels.

6 - Henry Clifford, 1st Earl of Cumberland, KG, d. 1542*

Holy Trinity Church, Skipton, North Yorkshire

The tomb is located on the north side of the sanctuary. Under the sanctuary is a vault, constructed in 1542, and containing the body of the 1st earl of Cumberland, his four successors and some of their wives and children. It is a tomb chest with a slab of polished black marble, inset with brass effigies of Cumberland and his second wife, Margaret Percy.⁷⁴¹ Personal inspection of the tomb revealed that both effigies are depicted with their hands clasped in prayer. The countess is wearing a heraldic mantle. Cumberland is bareheaded in armour with sword and garter on his left leg, his head resting on a helm. In the corners of the slab are four coats of arms within the garter, two of Clifford, one of Percy and one of Clifford quartered with Percy. The sides of the tomb have three quatrefoil panels; in the centre of each is a brass coat of arms within a garter. There are traces of colour on

⁷⁴⁰ Photographs shared by Natalie Merry.

⁷⁴¹ Pyrah, *The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, Skipton*, pp. 10-2.

the shields and the countess' mantle. An epitaph runs around the edge of the tomb slab which reads:

'Of your charitie pray for the soule of Sir Henry Clifford knight of the most noble order of the Garter Earle of Cumberland sumtyme Governor of the town and castle of Carlisle and President of the King's Council in the North also of Margaret hys wife daughter of Sir Henry Percy knight Earle of Northumberland whyche Sir Henry departed thys lyfe the xxii daye of April in the yere of our Lord God MCCCCXLII on whose soules Jesu have mercy Amen'.⁷⁴²

The tomb was damaged during the Civil War and the brasses removed. Lady Anne Clifford paid for their repair and the inscriptions replaced. In 1867, the Duke of Devonshire paid for the tombs to be repaired again, this included incorporating a brass of the Trinity and a fragment of the 2nd earl's family (inset into a marble slab that is mounted vertically at the east end of the tomb). The brass of the Trinity was subsequently stolen. Further repainting work was done in 1989.⁷⁴³

7 - Henry Clifford, 2nd Earl of Cumberland, d. 1570*

Holy Trinity Church, Skipton, North Yorkshire

(See also, Plate 20)

A marble slab has been mounted vertically on to the east end of the 1st earl of Cumberland's tomb slab with brasses of the 2nd earl and his family.⁷⁴⁴ Personal observation of the monument identifies Cumberland kneeling in prayer, two sons behind him. All three are wearing heraldic surcoats and have their helms by their

⁷⁴² Ibid., pp. 11-2.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁴⁴ Peter Leach and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding: Leeds, Bradford and the North* (New Haven and London, 2009), p. 708; Pyrah, *The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, Skipton*, p. 12.

knees. Opposite them, the countess is also depicted kneeling in prayer with three daughters. The countess and the first of the daughters are wearing heraldic cloaks. Below the figures is a small rectangular brass with an inscription. Above are two banner inscriptions and above them a figure of the Trinity. In the corners are four emblems of evangelists. The heraldry on the surcoats and mantles is coloured. The incorporation of these elements into the tomb of the 1st earl of Cumberland was done in 1867 (Appendix 3/6). The brass of the Trinity is modern, the original having been stolen and the brasses were repainted in 1989.⁷⁴⁵

8 - Gregory, Lord Cromwell, d. 1551

Launde Abbey, Leicestershire

The tomb is located within the chapel at Launde Abbey, a manor house that now serves as the Retreat House for the dioceses of Leicester and Peterborough.⁷⁴⁶ The chapel is all that remains of the original, medieval Priory Church, the Cromwells having built a mansion on the site of the priory.⁷⁴⁷

The tomb is a wall monument on the left hand side of the altar. It is said to be fine example of early English Renaissance sculpture and is of local stone.⁷⁴⁸ A sketch of the monuments was published in John Nichols' antiquarian history of Leicestershire.⁷⁴⁹ At the centre of the monument is a large, square panel that

⁷⁴⁵ Pyrah, *Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, Skipton*, p. 11.

⁷⁴⁶ Launde Abbey website, <http://www.laundeabbey.org.uk/> [Accessed 31st May 2015].

⁷⁴⁷ Pevsner, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, p. 197.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁷⁴⁹ John Nicholls, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (4 Vols. in 8, 1800, reprinted Wakefield, 1971), iii, pt. 1, Plate XLV, fig. 26.

contains a shield with two flying horses as supporters, above is a helm with pelican crest and label carved in high relief. Nicholls recorded the label as reading 'Faire mon devoir'.⁷⁵⁰ Under the coat of arms is a small, rectangular panel contains an inscription that reads:

'Here lyeth the body of Gregory Crumwel kyght lorde Crumwel who departed thys lyfe the 4 daye of lulye in the yeare of our lorde God 1551'.⁷⁵¹

Under the central panel is a smaller, rectangular panel containing putti holding a rectangular cartouche. The space inside the frame is blank, although in 1800, lines for an inscription were visible.⁷⁵² The pilasters framing the monument are decorated with trophies.⁷⁵³ At their base are pedestals and, in the Nicoll sketch, these had the initials 'E.C.' on the left and 'G.C.' on the right.⁷⁵⁴ Above the central panel is decorated entablature including the initials 'E.C.' and the whole is surmounted a pediment with three putti holding shields.⁷⁵⁵

9 - Humphrey, Lord Dacre, d. 1485

Lanercost Priory, Cumbria

The tomb is located within the ruins of Lanercost Priory. His wife, Lady Mabel Dacre, had founded a chantry there before her death in 1510.⁷⁵⁶ The tomb is

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., iii, p. 327.

⁷⁵¹ Transcribed from photographs publicly available at <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=61592851> [accessed 2nd February 2015].

⁷⁵² Nicholls, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, iii, p. 327.

⁷⁵³ Pevsner, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, p. 198.

⁷⁵⁴ Nicholls, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, iii, pt. 1, Plate XLV, fig. 26.

⁷⁵⁵ Pevsner, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, p. 198.

⁷⁵⁶ Lindley, 'Heraldic Tomb Monuments', p. 157.

believed to have been commissioned by their son, Lord Thomas Dacre.⁷⁵⁷ It is a sandstone tomb chest without effigies and has been designed to fit around the thirteenth-century architecture.⁷⁵⁸ Carved on the west end of the tomb is a large heraldic shield. The east end is against the wall of the chapel. The sides of the tomb are divided into three sections, with baluster shafts between them. The central sections on both contain large, heraldic shields.⁷⁵⁹ On the south side the shield is between supporters and the arms relate to Dacre, on the north side it is within a wreath and the arms relate to Lady Mabel Dacre. The other four sections have carved angels bearing shields, two of the shields are the Dacre scallops and the other two are the de Vaux coat of arms.⁷⁶⁰ The remains of a carved epitaph are visible on the edge of the tomb slab, below a decorative pattern. The tomb is badly eroded.⁷⁶¹

10 - Thomas, Lord Dacre, KG, d. 1525

Lanercost Priory, Cumbria

The tomb is located within the ruins of Lanercost Priory. It is believed to have been commissioned by Lord Thomas along with the tomb for his parents, with which it shares some similarities. The date of his death has been provided as MCCCCC-,

⁷⁵⁷ Matthew Hyde and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Cumbria. Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness* (New Haven and Yale, 2010), p. 484.

⁷⁵⁸ Lindley, 'Heraldic Tomb Monuments', p. 158.

⁷⁵⁹ Based on photograph and sketches published in *Ibid.*, Figs 83-4.

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

presumably with the intention of completing it after his death.⁷⁶² However, this addition was never carried out. It is under a low, stone canopy in an archway. However, an illustration from the late eighteenth century depicts it without a canopy and it is believed that the canopy was added between 1794 and 1814.⁷⁶³ It is a tomb chest of red sandstone without effigies.⁷⁶⁴ Inspection of photographs reveals that the head and the foot of the tomb are not visible because of the archway.⁷⁶⁵ On the north and south sides, the chest is divided into three sections. The two central sections contain heraldic shields within the garter with supporters – the Dacre salmon and griffin. On either side are angels holding coats of arms. These were originally within the garter but that has largely vanished from all four. Dacres' motto, 'Fort en Loiaute' is divided across the side panels on each side, carved above the coats of arms. Between the sections are traces of carved niches containing religious figures.⁷⁶⁶ The tomb was rebuilt in the early nineteenth century with sections of different moulding being inserted and there are signs of crude repair work. Since then it has been neglected again and is now in need of serious restoration.⁷⁶⁷ There was originally a brass epitaph on the tomb which is now mounted on a wooden board.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶² Hyde and Pevsner, *Cumbria. Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness*, p. 484.

⁷⁶³ Lindley, 'Heraldic Tomb Monuments', pp. 164-6; Hyde and Pevsner, *Cumbria. Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness*, p. 484.

⁷⁶⁴ Lindley, 'Heraldic Tomb Monuments', p. 162

⁷⁶⁵ Photographs are reproduced in *Ibid.*, pp. 160-1.

⁷⁶⁶ Colour sketches recreating the original appearance of the heraldry and religious figures are published in *Ibid.*, Fig. 189.

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-6.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

11 - Thomas, Lord Darcy, KG, d. 1537

St Botolph's without Aldgate, London

The monument is a wall mounted marble monument in the baptistery. It was preserved after the medieval church was demolished in 1739. The new building was completed in 1744 but it was remodelled in the late nineteenth century and then again in 1965 following a fire. It was during this last improvement that the baptistery was created.⁷⁶⁹

It is believed to have been erected c. 1560 and is a combined monument to Lord Darcy, Sir Nicholas Carew and various members of their families.⁷⁷⁰ Photographs show that the focal point is a corpse with head thrown back, and a cloth wrapped around the lower limbs, leaving the torso bare.⁷⁷¹ Above the corpse is a panel containing an inscription that reads:

‘Here lieth Thomas Lorde Darcy of the Northe and sumtyme of the Order of the Garter, Sir Nicholas Carrew Knight sumtyme of the Garter, and Lady Elizabeth Carrew, daughter to Sir Thomas Brian Knight, and Sir Arthur Darcy Kingt Yonger sone to the aboe named Lorde Darcy, and Lady Mary Darcy his dere wif, daughter to Sir Nicholas Carrew, who had tenne sonnes and five daughters. Here lieth Charles Will[ia]m and Phillip, Mary and Ursully, Sonnes and daughters to saide Sir Arthur and Mary his wif whose sowlls God take to his infinit mercy, Amen’.⁷⁷²

The whole is framed by fluted Corinthian columns supporting a cornice. Below are two panels carved in relief with lozenge shields and a ribbon motif. On the cornice

⁷⁶⁹ Bradley and Pevsner, *London 1: The City of London*, p. 207-8.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 208.

⁷⁷¹ Photographs of the tomb are publicly available at <http://www.speel.me.uk/chlondon/stbotolphaldgate.htm> [accessed 2nd February 2015].

⁷⁷² Transcribed from photographs of the tomb, Ibid.

is a roundel framed by columns with a pediment above. The roundel contains a blank lozenge shield, helm and mantling

12 - George, Lord Darcy of Aston, d. 1558

Church of St. Wilfrid, Brayton, North Yorkshire

There is little information available about this tomb which has been left out of the latest edition of the Buildings of England guide to the West Riding of Yorkshire, presumably being intended for inclusion in a revised guide to the North Riding (where it has been located since 1974). Earlier editions described it as being a tomb chest with heraldic cartouches on the sides and recumbent effigies, now headless. The cartouches are divided by two tiers of narrow, blank gothic arches.⁷⁷³

13 - Thomas, Lord Darcy of Chiche, KG, d. 1558

Church of St Peter and St Paul, St Osyth, Essex

The tomb is located against the south wall of the chancel and is a tomb chest with effigies and canopy. It was constructed retrospectively, c. 1580, at the same time as a tomb was erected for his son, John, 2nd Lord Darcy. The two tombs stand opposite each other, are both of alabaster and marble, and closely resemble each other.⁷⁷⁴ The effigies are recumbent with that of Lord Darcy behind and higher

⁷⁷³ Pevsner, *Yorkshire. The West Riding*, p. 145.

⁷⁷⁴ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, iii, p. 198.

than that of his wife.⁷⁷⁵ Inspection of photographs established that he is dressed in armour, with the garter, his head resting on a pillow and his hands clasped in prayer. The canopy is resting on pilasters which inspection of photographs showed to be carved with victories. On the cornice there are two heraldic shields in cartouche frames above the pilasters. In the centre, there is a more detailed coat of arms within the garter with supporters, helm and crest. The back plate between the tomb chest and the canopy has two inset black panels with a Latin epitaph. Between the panels is mounted a skull.⁷⁷⁶

14 - Giles Daubeney, Lord Daubeney, KG, d. 1508

Westminster Abbey, London

The tomb is located in the centre of the Chapel of St Paul. It is a tomb chest with alabaster effigies of Lord Daubeney and his wife located within metal railings. Daubeney is depicted in armour with sword, garter and collar of the Order of the Garter.⁷⁷⁷ His head rests on a helm with a holly tree crest and his feet on a lion with two carved beadsmen on the soles of his feet.⁷⁷⁸ On the sides of the tomb chest are heraldic shields within cusped diamond and square panels. Between them are narrow blank gothic arches. There are similarities to the tomb of Edward

⁷⁷⁵ Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 342.

⁷⁷⁶ Photographs publicly available at <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=74087287> [accessed 2nd June 2015].

⁷⁷⁷ Based on photographs shared by Dr. Steven Gunn.

⁷⁷⁸ Westminster Abbey website, <http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/people/giles-daubeney> [accessed 16th June 2014].

Stafford, earl of Wiltshire, d.1499, in St Peter's Church, Lowick. Around the top of the tomb slab is an epitaph which reads:

'Here lieth buried within this tombe Sir Gyles Daubeney knight lord lieutenant of Calis lord chamberlaine unto the noble King Henrie the Seventh the which Gyles died the xii day of May in the yere of our Lord 1507 and dame Elizabeth his wife the which died in the yeere of our Lord God 1500 on whose soules Jesus have mercy Amen'

The tomb was heavily restored in the 1880s because the panels and grille had become badly decayed. The inscription was replaced on the basis of a guidebook from 1600 and an additional plate fixed to the rails explaining the tombs history and the restoration. The heraldic shields were repainted and it is probable that the effigies were also restored and painted.⁷⁷⁹

15 - Walter Devereaux, Viscount Hereford, KG, d. 1558*

St John the Baptist's Church, Stowe-by-Chartley, Staffordshire

(See also, Plates 7 and 32)

The tomb is located in the chancel, under a shallow arch recessed into the wall. It is a tomb chest with effigies, made of alabaster and believed to be by Richard Parker. It was probably built during Devereaux's lifetime. It is often dated to 1537, not long after the death of his first wife as her date of death is the only one to be given in the inscription, a blank space having been left for his to be filled in later.⁷⁸⁰

The gable hood and square toed shoes on one of the female effigies and Devereaux's square toed shoes suggest that they date from the earlier sixteenth

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁰ Bayliss, 'Richard Parker', p. 44.

century. In contrast, the other female effigy has round toed shoes and a French style hood, although her dress and cloak are identical to that of the other effigy.⁷⁸¹

Bayliss suggests that it at least post-dates his creation as Viscount Hereford in 1549 on the basis of the inscription and the coronets surmounting the heraldic shields.⁷⁸²

The three effigies are on thin, individual slabs on a marble slab that, based on personal inspection of the tomb, appears to have been inserted between them and the lid of the tomb chest. The tomb also appears to end before the recess, but the marble slab continues into it with the second female effigy under the archway suggesting it is not resting on the tomb. The viscount is depicted in armour, with the collar of the Order of the Garter and the garter below his left knee. His hands are clasped in prayer, his head rests on his helm with crest and his feet on a ram. The sides of the tomb are divided into panels, two on each end and three on the sides. The end panels and two of the panels on the side contain shallow, s-shaped arches by baluster shafts. Underneath each arch is a pair of figures. They are a mix of male and female figures and stand in 'active' poses rather than standing or kneeling stiffly. The central panel on the side of the tomb contains a coloured heraldic shield within the garter and supported on the back of two putti. An inscription runs around the edge of the tomb slab:

'Here lythe ye body of ye right honourable syr walter devereux of ye kings moste noble order of ye garter knight vicounte Hereford lord ferrers of chartteley who deceased... and ye body of lady Marye his wyf daughter of

⁷⁸¹ Based on inspection of the tomb.

⁷⁸² Bayliss, 'Richard Parker', p. 44.

ye lord Thomas marquis who deceased ye xxii day of februarye ad mdxxxvii here lyeth also ye body of lady Margarett his second wyf daughter of Robert Garnish of Kenton⁷⁸³

Above the archway are three shields, the central one within the garter.

16 - Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre, d. 1533 and Thomas Fiennes, d. 1528*

All Saints Church, Herstmonceux, Sussex

(See also, Plate 1)

The tomb is located in the Dacre Chapel on the north side of the chancel. The chapel was constructed c. 1450 by the Fiennes family and is an early example of brickwork in a Sussex church. The chapel is divided from the north aisle by a wooden screen with panels either side of the doorway and narrow, diamond-paned windows above. The tomb is a chest with two male, recumbent effigies under a canopied arch between the chapel and the chancel. It is constructed from Purbeck marble, Caen stone and Bonchurch and is believed to have been constructed by re-using parts from older tombs. The tomb was restored by master mason George Elliot in 1970 as it was deteriorating to the point of being hazardous.⁷⁸⁴

The two effigies are carved from Caen stone. Inspection of the tomb reveals that they are dressed in Milanese armour with Lancastrian SS collars and heraldic tabards. They are bare-headed with their heads resting on helms and their hands clasped in prayer. The feet of one rest on a bull and the other on a wolf-hound.

⁷⁸³ A transcription of the epitaph is displayed alongside the tomb.

⁷⁸⁴ A description of the tomb, the restoration and a discussion of its evolution is in Elliott, 'A Monumental Palimpsest', pp. 129-44.

The animals have been damaged and replaced incorrectly at some point before the recent restoration.⁷⁸⁵ The effigies, including the heraldry, have been repainted as part of the modern restoration. Originally, believed to be contemporary to the death of Lord Dacre, doubts were first raised over the identification in 1916. Based on heraldry and style, it was suggested that they represented the half-brothers Thomas, Lord Hoo d. 1455 and Sir Thomas Hoo d. 1486 and that they had belonged to a tomb at Battle Abbey.⁷⁸⁶ This identification was confirmed during the restoration of the monument which discovered attempts to alter the heraldry and to remove the garter from the leg of one of the effigies. They were probably purchased and moved from Battle Abbey. The heraldry on the tabards has been restored as that of the Lords Hoo.⁷⁸⁷

The tomb chest is Purbeck marble and the sides have four quatrefoil panels containing shields and, between them, narrow, tiered, blank arches. Between the tracery, the panels are painted with red and blue and the heraldry has been restored where it was possible to identify the arms. The north side of the tomb is more weathered than the chancel side, possibly indicating that it was constructed prior to the chapel and was recessed into the north wall of the church, exposed to the weather.⁷⁸⁸

There is evidence of the holes that would have been used to attach a brass epitaph panel around the edge of the tomb.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 134.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 129.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 137-9.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 142.

Above is a vaulted arch of Purbeck marble with a moulded central rib, also painted red around the tracery work. On the outside are spandrels, also of Purbeck marble, and decorated with tracery. The spandrels on the north side are badly weathered in contrast with the chancel side. Above the spandrels is a frieze of small quatrefoil panels containing painted heraldic shields and, above those, battlements. The canopy is flanked on both sides by canopied niches, carved from Caen stone and now empty. These are believed to be of a different age to the spandrels and tomb chest and were probably intended to be freestanding. On the chancel side, the canopy battlements are topped by an elaborately carved, Caen stone cornice with tracery, vines and leaf mouldings, painted in black and red. Attached in relief are three painted shields with helms, mantling and crests; the middle shield being the arms of the Fiennes with their eagle crest.⁷⁸⁹ Before the restoration, the flanking shields were blank but the donor requested they be painted with the Dacre arms.⁷⁹⁰

A brass commemorating their ancestor, Sir William Fiennes (d. 1402) is located in the chancel floor.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 134-5.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 140.

⁷⁹¹ Nicholas Antram and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Sussex: East with Brighton and Hove* (New Haven and London, 2012), p. 479.

17 - William Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, KG, d. 1487*

Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel Castle, Sussex

The tomb is located within the Fitzalan Chapel. Although the chapel appears to be part of St Nicholas church, it was a collegiate foundation and, along with the neighbouring Lady Chapel, can only be accessed from the grounds of Arundel Castle.⁷⁹² The chapels contain numerous monuments to the Fitzalan and Howard families.

There are two small, three-bayed chapels in the sides of the Fitzalan chapel. The one on the north side of the sanctuary was built by John, Lord Lumley in the 1590s as a retrospective commemoration for the three sixteenth century earls of Arundel. It contains a stone table rather than a tomb chest.⁷⁹³ It was intended to mirror the design of the older chapel on the south side. This was built to commemorate William Fitzalan, d. 1487, and his wife. It has detailed tracery both inside and out with Gothic motifs and detached, twisted columns on the outside that are topped by pinnacles.⁷⁹⁴ Inside are two tomb chests, one on top of the other. The lower chest looks like a fairly typical tomb chest of the period.⁷⁹⁵ The upper chest is taller than and not as long as the lower one, as well as having a different decorative scheme. It resembles a shrine more than a tomb and may have originally been located elsewhere.⁷⁹⁶ Viewed together, the combination of

⁷⁹² Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Sussex* (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 86.

⁷⁹³ *VCH, Sussex*, v, pt. 1, p. 93.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93; Nairn and Pevsner, *Sussex*, p. 88.

⁷⁹⁵ Nairn and Pevsner, *Sussex*, p. 88.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

the two resembles a small altar. Early references to the monument describe it as having been richly gilded.⁷⁹⁷ There are two effigies. Again, these are not necessarily original to the monument as, unlike the rest of the tomb, they are made of limestone. Over the centuries, they have been moved around. At one point they rested on the upper chest but this meant that they were not visible and had to be damaged to fit, suggesting it was not their original location. They now rest on their own slab in the chapel and have been restored.⁷⁹⁸ Personal observation of the effigies established that the latest restoration has recovered some of their colour and gilding.

18 - Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, KG, d. 1536*

St Michael's Church, Framlingham, Suffolk

(See also, Plates 25 and 30)

The tomb is located in the chancel, on the left hand side of the high altar. The chancel was lengthened and widened by the 3rd duke of Norfolk so that the church could house the monuments to himself and Richmond.⁷⁹⁹ Construction on these tombs had begun in the 1530s and it was originally intended that the tombs would be erected in Thetford Priory. The combination of religious and political events and the need to extend the chancel meant that the Richmond tomb was not

⁷⁹⁷ *VCH, Sussex*, v, pt. 1, p. 93.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁷⁹⁹ Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 217; Pitcher, *Church of Saint Michael Framlingham*, p. 7.

completed until the 1550s and, as such, the tomb we see today is the result of multiple construction phases.⁸⁰⁰

It is a large, stone tomb chest without effigies. Based on personal inspection of the tomb, it is evident that the chest consists of base, central section and upper section. The central section is divided into panels by fluted pilasters, four panels on each side and two at the ends. In the panels are heraldic shields, a mix of Fitzroy quartered with Howard, Fitzroy within the garter and Howard in diamond shields. Originally, there were ducal coronets above all the shields but a number of them have been cut away so that only traces of their shape remain on the tomb. The upper section consists of an Old Testament narrative frieze, each relief panel containing a story from the Book of Genesis. These include the Garden of Eden, Cain and Abel, Noah's ark, Noah's drunkenness, Abraham and the angels, Lot escaping from Sodom and Gomorrah, Abraham and Isaac, and Moses and the tablets of stone.⁸⁰¹ The panels are divided by small, *termini caryatids*.⁸⁰² Four figures stand on top of the tomb slab, one in each corner. Although they are wingless, they are often referred to as angels and each holds a shield showing an instrument of Christ's Passion.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰⁰ See Phillip Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Monument' for the history and historiography of the tombs.

⁸⁰¹ Pitcher, *Church of Saint Michael Framlingham*, p.7.

⁸⁰² Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 217.

⁸⁰³ Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Monument'.

19 - Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, KG, d. 1560*

St Helen's Church, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire

(See also, Plates 10 and 24)

The tomb is located in the centre of the south chapel otherwise known as the Hastings Chapel.⁸⁰⁴ A photograph mounted in the church shows that, in the nineteenth century it was located against the wall under the wall monument to the 6th earl of Huntingdon. The later monument shares some motifs with the earlier tomb chest suggesting that they were brought together to be viewed as a single composition but that was probably not the intention in the sixteenth century. It is an alabaster tomb chest with recumbent effigies.⁸⁰⁵ Personal inspection of the tomb revealed that Huntingdon is dressed in armour with sword, garter and cloak and collar of the Order of the Garter. His hands were clasped in prayer but have broken off as has his nose. His head is resting on his helm. There are heraldic shields on all sides of the tomb, those at the head and the foot under coronets. In places the relief carving of the heraldry is incomplete with just scratched outlines of the design. On one side, between the shields, there are figures of his five daughters under canopies and with their names carved underneath them. On the other side, similarly positioned, are figures of five of his sons dressed in armour. The male figures are in more active poses than the female figures. At the foot of the tomb there are animal heads in the panels under the shields. Between the shields is an empty niche. The head of the tomb is identical

⁸⁰⁴ Pevsner, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, p. 79.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

except that the niche contains a statue of a man in armour, cloak and coronet, his hand resting on a sword. It is labelled as Henri and presumably represents his eldest son and heir. The pilasters at the corners have vase motifs. Around the edge of the tomb slab is an epitaph, now badly defaced in places. The inscription on the tomb gives his death as 1561. However, *The Diary of Henry Machyn* describes his funeral as having taken place in July 1560 and *The Complete Peerage* concludes that the tomb is indeed incorrect.⁸⁰⁶

20 - Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, KG, d. 1547*

St Michael's Church, Framlingham, Suffolk

The tomb is located against the north wall of the chancel, to the west of a small altar tomb commemorating a daughter of the 4th duke of Norfolk. It is a painted tomb chest with two recumbent effigies and it was erected retrospectively in 1614 by his second son, Henry Howard, earl of Northampton.⁸⁰⁷ The tomb has been recently restored and repainted. The current heraldic shields no longer match those in the illustration of the tomb in Henry Lilly's *Genealogie of Howards*.⁸⁰⁸

Personal observation established that both effigies have their hands clasped in prayer, their heads rest on pillows and their feet on the heraldic beasts of their families; a gold lion for Surrey and a boar for his wife. Around the neck of the lion is a white collar with three prongs that resembles the augmentation added to the

⁸⁰⁶ *Machyn's Diary*, p. 239; *Complete Peerage*, vi, p. 656.

⁸⁰⁷ Pitcher, *Church of Saint Michael Framlingham*, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁰⁸ ACA, Lilly, *Genealogie of Howards*, p. 128.

English coat of arms as it appears in the duke of Norfolk's coat of arms. Surrey is depicted in armour with detail picked out in gold and red, the same colour scheme that is shown in the Lilly sketch of the tomb. His cloak is red, trimmed with ermine and he is wearing a gold chain. He is bareheaded and his coronet is placed by his knee. This has been taken to be a deliberate reference to the attainting of Surrey's titles but the coronet does not appear in the Lilly drawing.⁸⁰⁹ It is unclear when it was added to the tomb.

The corner pilasters are decorated with motifs of armour and weapons with lion heads and ribbons. On the south side, the same style of pilaster is used to divide it into three panels. The central panel has a Latin inscription in gold lettering on a black background that reads:

'Henrico Howardo Thomae secvndi Dvcis Norfolciae Filio primogenitor Thomae tertii part Comiti Svrriae, et Georgiani Ordinis Eqviti avrato, immatvre Anno salvtis mdxlvj abrepto, et Franciscae vxori eivs Filiae Ioannis Comitis Oxoniae, Henricvs Howardvs Comes Northamptoniae Filivs secvndo-genitvs hoc svpremvv pietatis in parentes monvmentvm Posvit Anno Domini 1614'.⁸¹⁰

The left hand panel contains the duke of Norfolk's coat of arms (Howard quartered with Brotherton, Warenne and Mowbray) within the garter with ribbon behind and a coronet above. The right hand panel contains the de Vere arms within a wreath, again with ribbons behind and a coronet. This is a change from the illustration in Lilly which shows the left hand coat of arms as just Howard within the garter and the right hand coat of arms as Howards quartered with de Vere.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁹ Pitcher, *Church of Saint Michael Framlingham*, p. 8; ACA, Lilly, *Genealogie of Howards*, p. 128..

⁸¹⁰ Transcribed from the tomb.

⁸¹¹ ACA, Lilly, *Genealogie of Howards*, p. 128.

There are coats of arms on the ends of the tomb chest but they are obscured by other elements of the tomb and the north side is against the wall.

The chest stands on a wider base that has five figures kneeling in prayer on it. At the head are three women all in red robes trimmed with ermine who represent Surrey's daughters. At the foot two men representing his sons are depicted in armour that is identical to the earl's garb. They are also wearing red robes and the gold chain and pendant of the Order of the Garter. On the base are black panels with gold lettered inscriptions; the inscriptions don't appear in the Lilly illustration and may have been added at a later date.⁸¹²

21 - Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, KG, d. 1554*

St Michael's Church, Framlingham, Suffolk

(See also, Plate 31)

The tomb is located in the chancel on the right hand side of the altar. For details of the history of the chancel and the tombs, see Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond (Appendix 3/18).

It is a particularly large tomb chest with two recumbent effigies that is held to be a fine example of French influenced sculpture.⁸¹³ The effigies are generally said to be those of Norfolk and his first wife, Anne Plantagenet.⁸¹⁴ This identification is on the basis of the positioning of her effigy on his right hand and his poor relationship

⁸¹² Ibid., p. 128.

⁸¹³ Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 218.

⁸¹⁴ Pitcher, *Church of Saint Michael Framlingham*, p. 6.

with his second wife but there is no heraldry to back up the identification. Personal inspection of the tomb established that both effigies are depicted lying on rush mats, wearing coronets and with their hands clasped in prayer. Norfolk is dressed in armour and cloak with the garter on his left leg and a collar. His head is resting on his helm. The tomb chest is divided into two horizontal layers. The main section consists of shell-headed niches divided by pilaster shafts, four niches on each side and three on each end. The niches contain full length figures of the twelve apostles and two additional Old Testament figures.⁸¹⁵ These statues are beautifully carved but have suffered some damage. Above this main section of the tomb is a narrow upper section consisting of plain, moulded panels. At the corners are complex baluster shafts, detached from the tomb chest. The main section of which consists of a thick, central shaft surround by three detached, slender balusters. Originally three figures were attached to each of the central shafts, standing on a narrow ledge half way up the baluster. Only one figure survives on each baluster, in all cases the figure on the inside, facing the tomb. A lion sits on each corner of the tomb slab holding a shield that rests on top of the baluster shaft. On the shields is a relief carving of Norfolk's coat of arms within the garter and with the ducal coronet above. The lion by the countess' feet is smaller than the other three and the shield does not rest on the baluster shaft. On closer inspection, it has clearly been moved from the tomb of the 4th duke of Norfolk to replace a lost or damaged lion on the 3rd duke of Norfolk's tomb.

⁸¹⁵ Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Monument'.

22 - Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, KG, d. 1572*

St Michael's Church, Framlingham, Suffolk

(See also, Plate 8)

The tomb is located against the north wall of the chancel, to the east of a small tomb commemorating his daughter, Elizabeth. For the expanding of the chancel see Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond. It was built during the 4th duke of Norfolk's lifetime and is a large tomb chest with two recumbent effigies and a space for a third.

The two effigies depict his first and second wives.⁸¹⁶ Personal examination of the tomb revealed that both are lying on rush mats, their hands clasped in prayer and they are dressed in robes with detailing that suggests ermine trim. Both are wearing coronets. One has her head resting on a horse and her feet on a stag and the other her head on a dog and her feet on a dragon. Based on further personal investigation it is evident that the top of the tomb on which they are resting is in a poor state of repair and, on close inspection, looks at risk of collapse. In his will, Norfolk asked that an effigy of himself be placed between those of his wives or on the wall near the tomb.⁸¹⁷ However, in light of his execution, it appears that this request was not acted upon.

There are four horizontal layers to the tomb chest. The bottom layer consists of plain moulded panels and column bases, also with plain, moulded panels. The

⁸¹⁶ Pitcher, *Church of Saint Michael Framlingham*, p. 7.

⁸¹⁷ ACA, MS T5.

next, and largest, layer has panels with egg and dart borders, three panels on the ends and four on the sides.⁸¹⁸ Each panel contains shields carved in relief. Originally, there would have been coronets over the shields but a number of those have been cut away from the tomb. At the head of the tomb the central shield is blank and it is possible that it was intended to have been the Norfolk arms also as it would have been under his effigy. The two side shields either side show Norfolk quartered with the arms of each wife respectively. The shields on the south side are two shields of Norfolk quartered with his wives and two diamond shields, one for each wife. The north side and east end are now obscured by the tomb's position against the wall. Between the panels are Corinthian columns. The next layer is narrow and consists of plain, moulded panels below a decorative cornice, the panels divided by the top sections of the Corinthian columns. The upper layer is narrow again and consists of panels decorated with a foliage motif. Between the panels are small busts resting on the top of the columns. A winged design around the neck of the busts suggests they are intended to represent angels.

Lions holding shields stand on three corners of the tomb slab. The shields have relief carvings of the Norfolk coat of arms within the garter and with a coronet above. The fourth lion has been moved to the tomb of the 3rd duke of Norfolk (Appendix 3/21). There are pillar bases at the corners of the tomb suggesting that it may have had a canopy.⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁸ For identification of the style of the borders see, Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 218.

⁸¹⁹ Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 218.

23 - George Manners, 11th Lord Roos, d. 1513*

St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, Berkshire

(See also, Plates 9 and 29)

The tomb is located in the centre of the north transept of the chapel. The transept is polygonal in shape with two tiers of windows and a groined vault with various heraldic badges. It is separated from the crossing by a stone screen of open tracery. A chantry was formed within the transept in 1481 by Sir Thomas St Leger in memory of his wife Anne, duchess of Exeter, but it is now known as the Rutland Chapel.⁸²⁰ The monument to Lord Roos is an alabaster tomb chest with recumbent effigies of Lord Roos and of his wife Anne, daughter of the Duchess of Exeter.⁸²¹ It is of extremely high quality and is one of the best examples of the work of the Midlands alabaster workshops.⁸²² Personal inspection of the tomb established that the effigy of Lord Roos is dressed in armour with a Lancastrian livery collar of 'esses' with a Tudor rose pendant, sword and dagger, and his gloves casually discarded by his leg. His head rests on a helm with a peacock crest. Lady Anne is depicted with an intricately carved headdress, a pillow flanked by angels and two small dogs in the folds of her skirt. The head and foot of the chest have angels holding coloured shields in decorative, ogee-headed niches. On each side are seven niches containing full-length figures. In each case, the central statue is an angel bearing a coloured shield. On one side the remaining niches contain female

⁸²⁰ *VCH, Berkshire*, iii, p. 39.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸²² Nigel Saul, 'The Pre-1600 Tombs and Brasses of St George's Chapel, Windsor', *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 87 (2007), p. 245.

figures in a range of praying poses. Each is in unique in terms of dress and pose and they are probably intended to represent Lord Roos' six daughters. The other side has a similar layout but with male figures. They are all dressed in armour with swords and daggers. Five of them are bare-headed with helms by their feet and probably represent his five sons. The sixth has no helm and is carrying a cap. This is probably because Roos only had five sons and by including an extra, but differentiated, it was possible to balance the design.

An English epitaph in raised, black lettering runs around the slab of the chest and reads:

'Here lyethe buried george maners knight lord roos who decesed the xiiij daye of october in the yere of our lorde god m v xiiij and ladye Anne his wife daughter of anne daughter of anne suster unto king Edward the fourthe and of thomas [lettering unclear but her father was St. Leger] knight the wyche anne decesed the xxij day of apryll In the yere of our lorde god m v xxiiij on whose souls god have mercy amen.'⁸²³

24 - Thomas Manners, 1st Earl of Rutland, KG, d. 1543*

St Mary the Virgin, Bottesford, Leicestershire

(See also, Plate 5)

The tomb is located within the chancel, now very much a mausoleum to the earls of Rutland with monuments to eight earls and to some of their Roos ancestors.⁸²⁴

It is an alabaster tomb chest with two recumbent effigies and is the work of

⁸²³ Transcribed from the tomb.

⁸²⁴ The Visitor Guide to the church describes all the monuments alongside brief details of the original locations of the older tombs, Shipman, *St. Mary the Virgin, Bottesford*, pp. 24-34.

Richard Parker at a cost of £20.⁸²⁵ Personal inspection of the tomb reveals that Rutland is depicted in armour and wearing the mantle, garter and collar of the Order of the Garter. He is also wearing a coronet and his head is resting on his helm whilst his feet rest on a unicorn, the horn now missing. His second wife, Eleanor Paston, is on his left hand, also wearing a coronet and her feet resting on a griffin. The chest has corner pilasters and figures, a mixture of male and female, the men in armour and all with in varying poses of prayer, possibly intended to be his children.⁸²⁶ There are traces of colour on their garments. On the west side of the tomb, at the head is a male figure kneeling in prayer at low stool with a book on it, under a looped garland.⁸²⁷ Two lines of epitaph run around the edge of the tomb slab, carved in black-letter script.

25 - Henry Manners, 2nd Earl of Rutland, KG, d. 1564*

St Mary the Virgin, Bottesford, Leicestershire

(See also, Plates 6, 12 and 17)

The tomb is located in the centre of the chancel, described above under Thomas Manners, 1st earl of Rutland. It is an alabaster table tomb with heavily decorated, bulbous legs. Two effigies lie underneath the tomb.⁸²⁸ Personal inspection of the tomb revealed that Rutland is depicted in armour the garter and collar of the

⁸²⁵ Pevsner, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, p. 106.

⁸²⁶ Shipman, *St Mary the Virgin, Bottesford*, pp. 26-7.

⁸²⁷ Described by Pevsner as the tomb's 'most handsome side', Pevsner, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, p. 106.

⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

Order of the Garter, the pendant of the collar unusually hanging below his waist. He is wearing a coronet, his head is resting on a helm and his feet rest on a unicorn, its horn now missing. Rather than wearing his sword round his waist, he is shown with it held in his left hand. In his right hand he is holding a closed book. The second effigy, positioned on his left hand, is his first wife, Margaret Neville. She is also depicted wearing a coronet, her feet resting on a lion. In the centre of the table is highly decorated, upright panel. On the north side, is a coat of arms on a cartouche showing a Neville quartering, Rutland's ancestry within the garter and with a coronet above. Also on the table are three kneeling figures that represent their children. Positioned above the feet of the effigies is a male figure in robes, his hands clasped in prayer, representing Rutland's second son who became Rector of Helmsley.⁸²⁹ Above their heads are a male and a female figure, representing Edward and Elizabeth Manners, both are kneeling at lecterns with books open on them.⁸³⁰ The male figure is wearing a full suit of armour, the visor on the helmet pushed open, with sword and dagger. Around the edge of the table, in gothic script is an epitaph that reads:

'Heare lieth henry Maners earle of Rutland And Margarett his wife Daughter to Radulphe Earle of Westmerland Whiche Earle of Rutland died lord Preside[n]t of her Maiestie Counsaile in the Northe the seuententhe daye of September 1563'⁸³¹

⁸²⁹ Shipman, *St Mary the Virgin, Bottesford*, p. 28.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁸³¹ Transcribed from the tomb.

26 - Henry, Lord Marney, KG, d. 1523

St Mary the Virgin, Layer Marney, Essex

The tomb is located in the archway between the chancel and the north chapel. It is a tomb chest with recumbent effigy under a canopy.⁸³² The lid of the tomb and the effigy are believed to be of touch, or Tournai 'marble', and are high quality work.⁸³³ Lord Marney is depicted in armour with a heraldic tabard and his hands clasped in prayer. His feet are resting on a lion and he has the garter on his left leg.⁸³⁴ The tomb chest and canopy are of terracotta, a material that was used by Italian craftsmen fashionable at the royal court at that time.⁸³⁵ They also incorporate Early Renaissance details. The sides of the chest are divided into four sections by Renaissance shafts. Each section contains heraldic shields of Marney impaling Venables within the garter.⁸³⁶ The canopy incorporates a mix of Composite capitals, vases, baluster shafts, pendants, moulded trabeations on the underside of the canopy and panels richly carved with Italian decoration. On top of the canopy are semi-circular pediments.⁸³⁷

⁸³² Photograph publicly available at <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3086728> [accessed 2nd February 2015] and a photograph is reproduced in *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, iii, p. 157.

⁸³³ Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 263.

⁸³⁴ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, , iii, p. 157

⁸³⁵ Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 263.

⁸³⁶ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, iii, p. 157

⁸³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 157; Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 263.

The north chapel also contains an alabaster tomb commemorating an ancestor of the Marney family and the tomb of John, Lord Marney, d. 1525 (Appendix 3/27). The stained glass in the chapel's east window depicts Marney heraldry.⁸³⁸

27 - John, Lord Marney, d. 1525

St Mary the Virgin, Layer Marney, Essex

The tomb is located within the west part of the north chapel. It is a tomb chest with recumbent effigy and shares similarities with that of his father, Henry, Lord Marney, although it is a simpler design.⁸³⁹ They were probably made by the same craftsman. The tomb slab is believed to be touch, or Tournai 'marble', with a moulded edge. The effigy is of the same stone and similar that on his father's tomb.⁸⁴⁰ The chest is made of terracotta and has square panels on the sides and end, divided by pilasters that, again, are similar to those on Henry Marney's tomb. In each panel, there is a heraldic shield of Marney impaling Venables within a wreath.⁸⁴¹ Across the west end of the tomb there is an altar of terracotta with similar pilasters, panels and shields and with a modern, marble slab.⁸⁴²

⁸³⁸ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, iii, p. 156-7.

⁸³⁹ Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 263.

⁸⁴⁰ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, iii, p. 157; Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 263.

⁸⁴¹ Based on the inspection of a photograph publicly available at <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3086714> [accessed 2nd February 2015]; *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, iii, p. 157.

⁸⁴² *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, , iii, p. 157.

The north chapel also contains an alabaster tomb commemorating an ancestor of the Marney family and the tomb of Henry, Lord Marney, d. 1523 (Appendix 3/26).

The stained glass in the chapel's east window depicts Marney heraldry.⁸⁴³

28 - John, 1st Lord Mordaunt, d. 1562*

All Saints Church, Turvey, Bedfordshire

The tomb is located in the on the south side of the chancel under a large superstructure between the chancel and Lady Chapel. It is an alabaster sarcophagus with pilasters surmounted by busts, two recumbent effigies and a large canopy.

Study of the effigies established that both figures are depicted with their hands clasped in prayer. Lord Mordaunt is wearing plate armour, sword and cloak. He is bare-headed and his head rests on his helm with its crest. Lady Mordaunt's headdress is outdated for the 1560s.

The superstructure is of Totternhoe stone and consists of two distinct parts. The lower part has pairs of doric columns, the arch decorated on the underside with linked squares and circles, and a decorated cornice.⁸⁴⁴ Victories are carved in relief in the spandrels. The upperpart has caryatids in the place of columns, supporting a pediment. They are either side of a central panel containing a high relief carving of the Mordaunt coat of arms, with sixteen quarters, supporters and helm.⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴³ Ibid., p. 156-7.

⁸⁴⁴ Edis, 'Beyond Thomas Kirby', p. 38.

⁸⁴⁵ *VCH, Bedfordshire*, iii, p. 115.

Based on personal examination of the tomb, it is in a good condition although the busts on the exposed sides of the chest have weathered slightly and there is graffiti on the effigies. The west end of the superstructure was damaged in the 1850s when a pier was constructed against it.

The *Victoria County History* for Bedfordshire dates the tomb to the late sixteenth century but questions have to be raised as to the accuracy of this description as it also states that John, 1st Lord Mordaunt and his wife died some hundred years before the tomb was constructed.⁸⁴⁶ Pevsner described it as early Elizabethan and ascribed it to T. Kirby. The existence of Thomas Kirby has been disputed by Jonathan Edis who dates this tomb to 1571-5.⁸⁴⁷

Tombs commemorating Lord Mordaunt's parents, Sir John and Edith Mordaunt, and his son, Lord John Mordaunt, are located elsewhere in the church.

29 - John, 2nd Lord Mordaunt, d. 1571*

All Saints Church, Turvey, Bedfordshire

The tomb was erected retrospectively in 1592-3 by Lewis, 3rd Lord Mordaunt after the death of his step-mother, Joan.⁸⁴⁸ It is located at the east end of the north aisle and is an alabaster sarcophagus under a free standing canopy with three recumbent effigies positioned on different levels.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 115.

⁸⁴⁷ Pevsner, *Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Peterborough*, p. 160; Edis, 'Beyond Thomas Kirby', pp. 34-5, 38.

⁸⁴⁸ Edis, 'Beyond Thomas Kirby', p. 41.

All three effigies lie on rush mats which are rolled at the feet. Their hands are clasped in prayer. Lord Mordaunt's effigy is in the centre and is supported on square columns to raise him above the level of his wives' effigies.⁸⁴⁹ Close personal study of the tomb revealed that he is depicted in plate armour with a sword, now broken, ruffles are visible at his neck and cuffs. He is bare-headed and his head rests on his helm with its crest. Both his wives have girdles, one bearing a pendant and the other a small book. The sarcophagus is supported on a plinth. It has festoons of fruit and Nereids on the corners.⁸⁵⁰

The tester is supported on eight Doric columns on pedestals.⁸⁵¹ The underside is decorated with pendants and strapwork.⁸⁵² Comparison of the tombs in the church revealed the edge of the tester is decorated with a similar motif to the cornice on his father's tomb (Appendix 3/28). On the tester are strapwork cartouches carved in relief with detailed heraldry of Mordaunt and his marriages, they have also been painted. The carving on the tomb is detailed and in a good state of repair. There are traces of gilt and colour on the effigies and canopy.

Tombs commemorating his parents and his grandparents are located elsewhere in the church.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-1.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁸⁵¹ *VCH, Bedfordshire*, iii, p. 115.

⁸⁵² Edis, 'Beyond Thomas Kirby', p. 40.

30 - Henry Neville, Earl of Westmorland, KG, d. 1564*

St Mary's Church, Staindrop, County Durham

(See also, Plate 33)

The tomb is located by the entrance to the church. Close personal inspection revealed that it is placed over later tomb slabs suggesting that it has been moved from its original location. It is a tomb chest made of oak and the construction of the tomb has been attributed to John Tarbotons by Nikolaus Pevsner.⁸⁵³ There are recumbent effigies of Westmorland and two of his three wives. The slab that they are lying on is larger than the chest and rests on baluster shafts. There is an epitaph carved around the edge. All three figures have their hands raised in an action of prayer or adulation and their feet resting on carved animals. Both the wives have long girdles, one with what appears to be a pendant on the end. The other has been damaged but it looks like a square object, possibly a book, was attached to the girdle. Westmorland is depicted in armour with faces carved on his knee and elbows. There is a chain and pendant around his neck, presumably intended to be the collar of the Order of the Garter and the George pendant. The current position of the tomb means that the head of the chest is no longer visible. On the foot of the tomb, there are three decorative, heraldic shields carved in relief with carved balusters between them. Kneeling statues are placed against the side of the tomb, three on one side and four on the other. The tomb has been damaged in places.

⁸⁵³ Pevsner, *County Durham*, p. 428.

Also in the church are tombs commemorating his other members of his family, including Margary Neville, d. 1313 and Ralph Neville, 1st earl of Westmorland, d. 1425, and his wives.

31 - Edward, Lord North, d. 1564

All Saints Church, Kirtling, Cambridgeshire

The tomb is located in the North family chapel on the south side of the chancel. The chapel may have been built between 1553 and 1567.⁸⁵⁴ It is a tomb chest of black marble, placed at right angles to the east wall with fluted columns and heraldic shields in wreaths on the sides.⁸⁵⁵ Inspection of photographs shared by Dr Jackie Hall revealed that, on each side, one shield is that of Edward North and the wreath incorporates the letters 'E' and 'N'. The other shields are North quartered with a second shield, presumably that of his first wife, Alice, as the wreaths incorporate the initials 'E' and 'A'. On the west end there is a shield with crest, supporters and motto. A back plate against the wall has fluted columns, decorative carving, motto, Latin epitaph and, above, a shield with crest and supporters inside a wreath with the initials 'E' and 'N'.

There are similarities between this tomb and those of Thomas, Lord Walden at Saffron Walden in Essex and John de Vere, 15th earl of Oxford at Earl's Colne also in Essex suggesting that they came from the same workshop.⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁵⁴ *VCH, Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, x, p. 76.

⁸⁵⁵ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire* (Harmondsworth, 2nd ed. 1970), p. 418-9.

⁸⁵⁶ Based on *Ibid.*, p. 419 and inspection of photographs shared by Dr Jackie Hall and Dr Lisa Ford.

32 - William, Lord Parr of Horton, d. 1547

St Mary Magdalene Church, Horton, Northamptonshire

The church of St Mary Magdalene has been closed since 1998, as a result of structural problems and is likely to be sold off, leaving the preservation of Lord Parr's tomb uncertain.⁸⁵⁷

The tomb is currently located in the chancel and is an alabaster tomb chest with recumbent effigies of Lord Parr and his wife.⁸⁵⁸ Both effigies have their hands clasped in prayer and there are small traces of damage, although they are generally well-preserved. Lord Parr is depicted in armour with sword and dagger. Around his neck is a Lancastrian collar of 'esses' with a Tudor rose pendant.⁸⁵⁹ His hands are bare and the cuffs of his chemise are showing, a gauntlet hangs from his sword. He is bareheaded with a large beard and moustache. His head rests on his helm with the mail coif tucked into it and his feet rest on a lion.⁸⁶⁰

A foliage motif runs around the base of the tomb, interspersed with putti and sea creatures. The sides of the tomb consist of niches created by pilasters and round headed arches created by foliage. On the south side, under Lord Parr, the niches contain three male figures in civilian clothes and two cowled figures whilst on the north side, under Lady Parr, are five female figures. All the figures are depicted in

⁸⁵⁷ Bayliss, 'The monument of William, Lord Parr', pp. 78-9.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁸⁵⁹ *VCH, Northamptonshire*, i, pp. 416-7.

⁸⁶⁰ Based on inspection of sketch in *Ibid.*, i, pp. 416 and on the photographs published in Bayliss, 'The monument of William, Lord Parr', pp. 78-88.

prayer. The quality of carving is of a lesser standard than the main effigies.⁸⁶¹

There are two niches on the east end containing shields held by beadsmen.

The west end has three niches, again holding shields but this time supported by putti. The backs of the niches are painted red, although this is probably more recent work.⁸⁶²

An inscription running around the tomb slab gives the date of Mary Parr's death as 10th July 1555 and Lord Parr's as 10th September 1546. The latter date is a year too early.⁸⁶³ It has previously been accepted that the tomb was constructed for the Parris but Jon Bayliss believes that it is an older tomb, probably constructed around 1530, that has been reused. This is on the basis of the style of Lord Parr's armour and Mary Parr's gable headdress. In addition the Midlands alabaster workshops produced few tombs between the Reformation and the 1550s. He suggests that rather commission a new tomb at time of iconoclastic attacks it made more sense for Lady Parr or her executors to purchase one from a recently suppressed chantry and alter the inscription and heraldry.⁸⁶⁴ This tomb would have been at the forefront of alabaster monumental design in the 1530s.⁸⁶⁵ It is possible that it was the work of Richard Parker as Bayliss sees it as a stylistic forerunner of the tombs ascribed to him in the 1530s.⁸⁶⁶

The full inscription reads:

⁸⁶¹ Bayliss, 'The monument of William, Lord Parr', p. 82.

⁸⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁸⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 83-6.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

'Here lieth Sir Weliam Par Knight lat lorde Par of Horton and Lorde Chamberlene to the Quines Highness disesid the X of September Ano 1546 Here liethe Marie dowghter and coheir of John Salisberi esquire late wif to Ser Weliam Par lord Par of Horton desesed the X of Ivli A 1555'⁸⁶⁷

33- William Paulet, 1st Marquis of Winchester, KG, d. 1572*

St Mary's Church, Old Basing, Hampshire

The tomb is located between the chancel and the south chapel, under an arch that is open to both the chancel and the chapel. The south chapel was erected by Winchester, c. 1551-6, his father, Sir John Paulet, probably having been responsible for the building of the north chapel.⁸⁶⁸ It is the most easterly of the two tombs located on the south side of the chancel, the other being that of his son, John Paulet, 2nd Marquis of Winchester, d. 1576. On the opposite side, between the chancel and the north chapel are monuments to Sir John Paulet (d. 1492) and Sir John Paulet (s. 1525), probably both erected c. 1525.⁸⁶⁹

Personal inspection of the tombs established that the 1st Marquis' tomb is a plain chest with no effigy, heraldry or epitaph. The arch above the tomb incorporates two coats of arms in the spandrels. The shields are within the garter and surmounted by coronets. A frieze runs above both tombs on the south side of the chancel and features acanthus foliage and pedestals on which are small heads.⁸⁷⁰

These alternate between living heads and skulls and are unique in English

⁸⁶⁷ *VCH, Northamptonshire*, i, p. 417.

⁸⁶⁸ *VCH, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, iv, pp. 123-4.

⁸⁶⁹ Bullen, Crook, Hubbuck and Pevsner, *Hampshire: Winchester and the North*, p. 430.

⁸⁷⁰ *VCH, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, iv, p. 126; Bullen, Crook, Hubbuck and Pevsner, *Hampshire: Winchester and the North*, p. 430.

Renaissance memorial art.⁸⁷¹ The coat of arms on the cornice is within the garter and surmounted by a helmet, though the crest has been lost. A door between the two tombs links the chancel and the south chapel. On both sides, there is a coat of arms above the door within the garter and with helm, crest, supporters and motto, 'Aymes loyaulte'.

It is unclear when the tomb was constructed but it is stylistically identical to the neighbouring tomb, though the carving on the second tomb is incomplete, suggesting that they were conceived of as a pair to mirror the older, matching tombs in the north side of the chancel. It is possible, therefore, that they were built after the death of the 1st Marquis. All the tombs were damaged by parliamentarian forces in 1645 and were restored c. 1664-6.⁸⁷²

34 - Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland, KG, d. 1489*

Beverley Minster, Beverley, East Yorkshire

(See also, Plates 13 and 22)

The tomb is located within the Percy chapel, a chantry chapel built in the fifteenth century to house the 4th earl's tomb. It is located at the east end of the north choir aisle, separated from the choir by a wooden screen. The whole chapel was designed to memorialise Northumberland with the north window depicting his life and death, including his family at prayer and the body being prepared for burial by weeping relatives. There was also an inscription inviting prayers for their souls and

⁸⁷¹ Bullen, Crook, Hubbuck and Pevsner, *Hampshire: Winchester and the North*, p. 430.

⁸⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 430.

heraldic stained glass.⁸⁷³ Only one panel of the medieval glazing survives, now in the east window of the chapel. It depicts the Northumberland's coat of arms and has had fragments of medieval glass placed around it.⁸⁷⁴ One of these is decorated with a shacklebolt within a crescent, both symbols being badges of the Percy family. The archway into the chapel and the jambs of the north window incorporate carved shields borne by angels and carved with badges and armorials belonging to the Percy family and to his wife, Maud Herbert.⁸⁷⁵

Personal inspection of the tomb established it is a large tomb chest without effigies or brasses. The sides of the tomb are decorated with ogee headed niches. Between the niches are small heraldic shields and badges. The niches are now empty but there is evidence of attachments used to hold statues in place. As these had had been removed by 1641, it seems probable that they were saints or angels as statues depicting family members are more likely to have survived iconoclastic attacks.⁸⁷⁶

The tomb was originally underneath a canopy that rested on freestanding supports and had battlements and flattened, ogee arch. Northumberland's coat of arms and the shacklebolt badge, both within a garter and supported by heraldic beasts were carved into the spandrels along with smaller shacklebolt and crescent badges. His

⁸⁷³ Dawton, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 150.

⁸⁷⁴ A photograph of the panel is reproduced in Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history*, Plate 5.

⁸⁷⁵ Dawton, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 150.

⁸⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

motto, 'Esperance ma comfort' was carved into the cornice.⁸⁷⁷ This was removed in the early eighteenth century. In the 1540s, there was also a second tomb in the chapel, commemorating the 5th earl of Northumberland, but no trace of it remains today.

The eastern end of the Minster had been a favoured burial location for the Percy family since the thirteenth century. The north-east transept aisle is believed to have been used as a burial place by the family with an altar for masses to be said for them. There are references in wills and antiquarian accounts to tombs that no longer exist, including that of Henry Algernon Percy, 5th earl of Northumberland.⁸⁷⁸ Between the presbytery and the north aisle is the splendid fourteenth-century Percy tomb, although it is yet to be conclusively determined which member of the family the tomb commemorates.⁸⁷⁹

35 - John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, KG, d. c Oct1491-Oct1492

St Andrew's Church, Wingfield, Suffolk

The tomb is located against the north chancel wall under a canopy depressed into the wall. It is a tomb chest with alabaster effigies.⁸⁸⁰ Examination of photographs shared by Dr Steven Gun revealed that Suffolk is depicted in armour and mantle with the garter on his left knee. His hands are clasped in prayer, he is wearing a

⁸⁷⁷ A sketch of the tomb with canopy is reproduced in Rosemary Horrox, 'The Late Medieval Minster' in Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 38.

⁸⁷⁸ Dawton, 'The Medieval Monuments', pp. 136-7, 151.

⁸⁷⁹ Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, (Harmondsworth, 2nd ed. 1995) p. 290.

⁸⁸⁰ Pevsner, *Suffolk*, p. 492.

coronet, his head rests on a helm and a dagger is lying beside his hip. His wife, Elizabeth of York, lies on his left hand. There are traces of colour in the folds of the countess' dress, Suffolk's coronet and hair, and the crest of his helm. On the side of the chest are five shields in quatrefoil panels. The shields are now blank but may have been painted. The canopy has a quatrefoil frieze with small shields, also blank. The framing columns to the canopy look as if they may once have been taller. Attached to the wall above the tomb are stone supporters, now damaged, and between them a helm and crest.

Also in the church is the monument to Michael de la Pole, second earl of Suffolk and his wife which stands between the chancel and the south chapel. The decoration in the south chapel includes wings for the Wingfields, Stafford knots and the leopard heads of the de la Poles.⁸⁸¹

36 - John Russell, 1st Earl of Bedford, KG, d. 1555

Bedford Chapel, St Michael's Church, Chenies, Buckinghamshire

The tomb is located in the Bedford Chapel within St. Michael's Church. The chapel is rarely open to the public. As a result this description is based on secondary material and published photographs.⁸⁸² The tomb is in the north chapel of the church and was originally constructed in 1556 but was rebuilt and enlarged several

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., p. 491.

⁸⁸² Black and white photographs of the chapel and tomb are published in *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Buckinghamshire*, i, pp. 88-70.

times in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸⁸³ The tomb is situated at the east end of the chapel, on a dais beneath the stained glass window.⁸⁸⁴ It is a tomb chest with two alabaster, recumbent figures. Both effigies have their hands clasped in prayer. Bedford is depicted in plate armour with sword and the collar of the Order of the Garter. He is wearing a coronet and his head rests on his helm whilst his feet rest on a lion. His wife, Elizabeth, is dressed her robes and also wears a coronet. Her feet rest on a goat.⁸⁸⁵

There is a patterned frieze running around the top and bottom of the chest with inlaid lozenges and roundels of black marble. Between the friezes are panels containing coats of arms carved in high relief. The panels are divided by pilasters with the same decorative scheme as the friezes. The sides of the chest consist of three panels, containing a combination of heraldic shield with surrounding ribbon motif beneath a coronet, lozenge coat of arms within the garter and beneath a coronet and a diamond coat of arms beneath a coronet. The head and foot of the tomb have a lozenge coat of arms with supporters and helm and crest. Inset into the upper frieze is a black epitaph panel. The edge of the tomb slab has been carved to give a twisted effect.⁸⁸⁶

The tomb now forms part of a family mausoleum with a rich collection of monuments to the Russells and their relatives.⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸³ Nikolaus Pevsner and Elizabeth Williamson, *Buckinghamshire* (Harmondsworth, 2nd ed. 1994, reprinted 2000), pp. 228-9.

⁸⁸⁴ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Buckinghamshire*, i, p. 89.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁸⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89 and inspection of photograph, *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁸⁸⁷ Pevsner and Williamson, *Buckinghamshire*, pp. 229-31.

37 - Charles Somerset, 1st Earl of Worcester, KG, d. 1526*

St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, Berkshire

(See also, Plate 28)

The tomb is located within a small, polygonal chapel in the south-west corner of the nave, opening off the south aisle. The chapel was dedicated to our Lady and has been identified desired burial location of Sir Reynald Bray.⁸⁸⁸ However, the Bray chapel is in the south transept and Nigel Saul has suggested the association between the south-west chapel and the Bray is based on a misunderstanding.⁸⁸⁹ In 1506, this chapel was assigned to Charles Somerset, then Lord Herbert.⁸⁹⁰ Somerset was responsible for the metal gates that divide the chapel from the aisle and the tall iron screen enclosing the tomb.⁸⁹¹ It is a marble tomb chest that dominates the chapel and has recumbent, alabaster effigies of Somerset and, on his right hand, his wife, Elizabeth. Personal inspection of the tomb revealed that the earl is depicted in armour with sword, garter, mantle and collar of the Order of the garter. His feet rest on a goat. On the goat's back, leaning against the soles of his feet, are two small bedesmen, cross legged with their heads resting on their hands. The effigies are unusual in that they are of unequal length and the countess has loose, flowing hair.⁸⁹² At their heads is an angel holding his coat of arms within the garter. On the sides of the chest are painted coats of arms. The iron screen

⁸⁸⁸ *VCH, Berkshire*, iii, p. 40.

⁸⁸⁹ Saul, 'The Pre-1600 Tombs and Brasses of St George's Chapel', p. 249.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁸⁹¹ *VCH, Berkshire*, iii, p. 40.

⁸⁹² Saul, 'The Pre-1600 Tombs and Brasses of St George's Chapel', pp. 243, 245.

dates from 1517 and is the work of Jan van den Einde of Malines although with some post 1660 restoration work. Its design is unusual for England.⁸⁹³

In the chapel, there is also a wall mounted niche to the north of the altar. It incorporates his coat of arms within the garter and a Tudor rose with an arm, in the blue and white stripes from the Beaufort arms, clutching an arrow emerging from the centre.

38 - Henry Somerset, 2nd earl of Worcester, d. 1549

St Mary's, Chepstow

The tomb is located on the north side of the nave. It was erected retrospectively, probably during the reign of Elizabeth I.⁸⁹⁴ It was originally located in the south aisle, against the east end of the church but was moved to the chancel, and damaged, in 1841. It was moved to the current position and restored by Henry, marquis of Worcester, in 1898.⁸⁹⁵

Study of photographs revealed that it is a tomb chest with two recumbent effigies, underneath a freestanding canopy. The effigies are painted. Both figures are depicted wearing coronets, red robes trimmed with ermine and jewelled chains. Their heads rest on pillows and their hands are clasped in prayer. Somerset is depicted in plate armour. The tomb is relatively low and the sides of the chest

⁸⁹³ Geoffrey Tyack, Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Berkshire* (New Haven and London, 2010), p. 667.

⁸⁹⁴ John Newman, *Gwent/Monmouthshire* (New Haven and London, 2002), p. 167.

⁸⁹⁵ Joseph Bradney, *The History of Monmouthshire from the coming of the Normans into Wales down to the present time* (4 Vols. in 12, London, 1904-1933), iv, pt. 1, p. 25.

consist of plain inscription panels surrounded by scrollwork detail and pilasters supporting the columns of the canopy. The canopy is supported by arches and eight Corinthian half-columns. Below the cornice is a frieze of plain panels and floral bosses. On the tester are large, strapwork frames containing painted coats of arms, except the north side which is blank. At the corners of the tester are small, angle obelisks on pilasters.⁸⁹⁶

39 - Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, d. 1499*

St Peter's Church, Lowick, Northamptonshire

(See also, Plates 15 and 18)

The tomb is located within the south chapel which is said to have been founded as a chantry chapel for Sir Henry Greene (d. 1467). The earl of Wiltshire allegedly refounded the chantry and rebuilt the chapel.⁸⁹⁷ It is a tall tomb chest with a recumbent effigy of alabaster believed to be work of the Nottingham school.⁸⁹⁸

Personal inspection of the tomb established that Wiltshire is depicted in armour and a heraldic surcoat, his hands clasped in prayer and his head resting on his helm. Around his neck is a Lancastrian collar of 'esses'. The detail of the carving is delicate and well preserved and there are traces of colour but his sword has broken off half-way down the blade and there are other signs of damage. His feet

⁸⁹⁶ Photographs are publicly available at <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1671445> [accessed 2nd February 2015] and <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1671450> [accessed 2nd February 2015].

⁸⁹⁷ According to material displayed in the church.

⁸⁹⁸ Bruce Bailey, Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *Northamptonshire* (New Haven and London, 2013), p. 401.

are resting on a muzzled bear, a Stafford knot on its collar. Sat on the back of the bear, beneath Wiltshire's feet are two figures of clergymen with rosary beads. Around the sides of the tomb are shields encircled by Stafford knots within cusped diamond and square panels that are a similar design to those on the tomb of Giles, Lord Daubeney (d. 1508) in Westminster Abbey. The shields are blank with no sign of carving although it is possible that heraldry was one painted on them. Around the top of the chest, a Latin epitaph intertwined with foliage is carved in relief and reads:

'Orate pro Anima Edwardi Stafford Comitis Stafford Comitum Wyltschyr qui quidem Edwardus obit vicesimo quarto die mensis marcii Anno Domini mmo CCCC Nonagelimo Nono Cuius Anime ppicietur Deus Amen'.⁸⁹⁹

40 - Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, KG, d. 1504 and Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, KG, d. 1572

Church of St Peter and St Paul, Ormskirk, Lancashire

(See also, Plates 19 and 21)

There are four alabaster effigies located in the south east, or Derby, chapel. They are grouped as two, male-female couples resting on new slabs. Inspection of photographs reveals that one of the male figures is badly damaged, the legs are missing from just above the knees, the hands are the broken and the detailed carving is worn away.⁹⁰⁰ Enough detail remains to determine that he was dressed in armour with a heraldic tabard. The chain that is just visible around his neck may

⁸⁹⁹ *VCH, Northamptonshire*, i, p. 413.

⁹⁰⁰ Photographs shared by Natalie Merry.

have been a Lancastrian collar of 'esses'. It is believed that this is supposed to represent the 1st earl of Derby and that it was originally at Burscough Priory. The female effigies are thought to be of a similar age and to be his two wives, the second being Margaret Beaufort. The second of the male effigy has similarly damaged legs and hands but the carving on his armour and tabard is clearer. It is suggested that this effigy is from the later 16th century and represents the 3rd earl of Derby.⁹⁰¹

41 - Edward, Lord Stourton, d. 1535*

St Peter's Church, Stourton

The tomb is a large tomb chest with two recumbent effigies. Personal inspection of the tomb established that Lord Stourton is depicted in armour and sword, his hands clasped in prayer and his feet rest on a heraldic beast that is now damaged. At the heads of the effigies are three kneeling figures, one with the head missing, probably not in situ.⁹⁰² The sides of the tomb have canopied niches that are empty. At the foot of the tomb is a coat of arms held by badly defaced supporting animals and two angels. The corner pilasters are Renaissance in style with candelabra motifs.⁹⁰³ There is a frieze running around the top of the chest that is damaged in places.

⁹⁰¹ Pollard and Pevsner, *Lancashire: Liverpool and the South-West*, p. 534.

⁹⁰² Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, p. 494.

⁹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 494

42- George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, KG, d. 1538*

Shrewsbury Chapel, Sheffield Cathedral, South Yorkshire

(See also, Plate 16)

The tomb is located in the south-east chapel, on the south side of the sanctuary, in what was the parish church of St Peter and St Paul. The church was raised to cathedral status in 1914.⁹⁰⁴ Known as the Shrewsbury Chapel, it was built by the 4th earl of Shrewsbury c. 1520 as a chantry chapel. It adjoins the earlier Lady Chapel and is built over a crypt for Talbot family burials.⁹⁰⁵ The Shrewsbury Chapel passed to the dukes of Norfolk and remained their private property until they gifted it to the Cathedral in 1933.⁹⁰⁶

The tomb is believed to be the work of Richard Parker.⁹⁰⁷ It is positioned between the Shrewsbury Chapel and the sanctuary under a flat, freestone arch. It is a purbeck marble chest painted black with three recumbent, alabaster effigies, oriented with their feet at east end.⁹⁰⁸ Personal observation of the tomb established that Shrewsbury's effigy is between those of his two wives and all three have their hands clasped in prayer. The workmanship on the effigies is of a high standard with detailed carving and, although there is some slight damage, they are well preserved. He is depicted in armour with the garter, mantle and collar of the Order of the Garter. He is wearing a coronet and his head is resting on

⁹⁰⁴ Pevsner, *Yorkshire. The West Riding*, p. 450.

⁹⁰⁵ Guide to the Shrewsbury Chapel, <http://www.sheffieldcathedral.org/the-shrewsbury-chapel> [29th May 2015].

⁹⁰⁶ <http://www.sheffieldcathedral.org/cathedral-timeline/> [accessed 29th May 2015].

⁹⁰⁷ Bayliss, 'Richard Parker', p. 44.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

his helm. His feet rest on a talbot, the heraldic beast of the Talbot family. On his right hand, he is wearing a signet ring that is also engraved with a Talbot. By his wives' feet are figures holding blank shields. The chest has twisted shafts at the corners and quatrefoil panels with brass shields in the centre, a mix of Shrewsbury's coat of arms within the garter and coats of arms quartering his arms with those of his wives'. Only two of the shields remain (on the Shrewsbury Chapel side of the tomb) and the carving is badly weathered on the sanctuary and chapel sides. The carving on the ends of the tomb shows little sign of weathering but the shields are also missing. There is an epitaph engraved in brass running around the tomb slab.

The arch is panelled with a heavy pendant, carved with a Talbot, over the tomb.⁹⁰⁹

The western pilasters on both the sanctuary and chapel sides of archway are topped with pinnacles. Above them are coats of arms within the garter and with supporters and coronet.

Elsewhere in the church is a wooden sedilia, also carved with talbots.

43 - John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, KG, d. 1540

St Nicholas' Church, Castle Hedingham, Essex

The tomb is located in the chancel against the north wall but would originally have stood in the middle of the choir.⁹¹⁰ It is a tomb chest with a slab of black stone,

⁹⁰⁹ Pevsner, *Yorkshire. The West Riding*, p. 451.

⁹¹⁰ Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 113.

possibly of the type commonly identified as Tournai 'marble' or touch.⁹¹¹ Unusually, the brick of the chest is visible rather than covered by an outer layer. It was probably designed by Cornelius Harman who was responsible for the Audley tomb at Saffron Walden. The slab is polished and has two relief panels. In the top panel, there is a heraldic shield with eight quarters within a garter with supporters and a helm and crest. In the corners of the panel are the initials 'I' and 'O'. In the bottom panel, Oxford is depicted kneeling in prayer with his wife kneeling on his left side, facing him. He is bare-headed and in armour with sword and heraldic tabard. The collar of the Order of the Garter is around his neck. Graffiti has been carved into the edge of the slab, including the date 1539 under the figures of Oxford and his wife.⁹¹² Inspection of published photographs revealed that there are heraldic shields carved on the ends of the tomb. On the visible side of the tomb, are carved figures of four women kneeling in prayer. They represent Oxford's daughters and their names are carved above. The de Vere motto, 'Verite Vient' is carved on the corner pilaster.⁹¹³ Figures of his four sons, also kneeling in prayer, are carved on the opposite side of the tomb but they have not been visible since the tomb was moved.⁹¹⁴

The brick, west tower of the church has a five-light west window, above which is a frieze of shields relating to the 13th earl of Oxford.⁹¹⁵

⁹¹¹ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, i, p. 50.

⁹¹² Based on photographs shared by Dr Lisa Ford.

⁹¹³ Based on inspection of photographs in *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, i, p. 50.

⁹¹⁴ Pevsner, *Essex*, p. 113.

⁹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

44 - Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, KG, d. 1525

St Mary's Church, Broadwater

The tomb is located on the north side of the chancel, set against the wall. It is a chest of Caen stone with four small shields on the side, under a three-part canopy on the cusp between gothic and Renaissance.⁹¹⁶ Between the shields are niches which probably contained figures of saints, now destroyed.⁹¹⁷ The arches of the canopy are foliated with pendants and the canopy is topped with four pinnacles.⁹¹⁸ It may have been used as the Easter sepulchre.⁹¹⁹ At the back of the chest is a small shield with de la Warr's coat of arms within the garter.⁹²⁰ At some point it was covered with a thick coat of whitewash before being cleaned and repaired in the early nineteenth century under the instruction of George, earl de la Warr.⁹²¹

45 - Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, KG, d. 1554

St Mary's Church, Broadwater, Sussex

This tomb would benefit from a new study detailing its current appearance and history. It was moved from the east end of the south aisle to the south transept in the 1820s at which point it was discovered that figures of the Virgin and Child and

⁹¹⁶ Edmund Cartwright, *A history of the western division of the county of Sussex* (2 Vols. in 3, London, 1815-1830), ii, pt. 2, p. 37; Nairn and Pevsner, *Sussex*, p. 391.

⁹¹⁷ Cartwright, *A history of the western division of the county of Sussex*, ii, pt. 2, p. 37.

⁹¹⁸ Harrison and Leeney, 'The Church of St Mary, Broadwater', p. 126.

⁹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁹²⁰ Based on a sketch of the tomb reproduced in Cartwright, *A history of the western division of the county of Sussex*, ii, pt. 2, p. 38.

⁹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

St George had been turned into the monument and plastered over.⁹²² These were restored to the monument either side of a central panel which contained an image of Christ in Majesty, now lost.⁹²³ It also incorporates four coats of arms, two within wreaths, one within the garter and one with supporters and crest.⁹²⁴ Some Renaissance influence can be detected in the wreaths and spacing with columns being used to create partitions but there are also a number of gothic motifs.⁹²⁵

In addition to the tomb at Broadwater, de la Warr had earlier erected a chantry chapel for himself and his wife in the choir of Boxgrove Priory Church, now the church of St Mary and St Blaise. It was erected c. 1535 and is of Caen stone carved with a mixture of Gothic and Renaissance detailing. Up to sill level, the walls are decorated with rectangular panelling containing West family heraldic badges such as the crampet and leopard's face jessant de lis. The chapel has fan vaulting, ornamental pendants and shafts carved with Renaissance designs. The entablature has two tiers of niches above the shafts and pendants, these are empty but were presumably intended to contain figures. Between the niches the entablature is divided into two stages. The lower stage has coats of arms supported by alternating angels and winged putti. The upper stage has a variety of carvings including badges.⁹²⁶

There is an inscription that reads:

⁹²² Harrison and Leeney, 'The Church of St Mary, Broadwater', p. 127.

⁹²³ Nairn and Pevsner, *Sussex*, p. 391.

⁹²⁴ Based on inspection of the photograph reproduced in Hutchinson, 'Tombs of Brass Are Spent', p. 454.

⁹²⁵ Nairn and Pevsner, *Sussex*, p. 391.

⁹²⁶ *VCH, Sussex*, iv, pp. 146. A black and white photograph is published alongside the description.

‘of your charite pray for the souls of thomas la ware and elyzabeth his wyf’

And two of the pendants are inscribed, one with ‘thomas la war anno d(omi)ni m
v^c xxxii’ and the other with ‘elizabeth la war’.⁹²⁷

46 - Thomas, Lord Wharton, d. 1568*

St John the Baptist’s Church, Healaugh, North Yorkshire

(See also, Plate 11)

The tomb is located in the chancel. It is an alabaster tomb chest with recumbent effigies of Lord Wharton and his two wives.⁹²⁸ Personal study of the tomb revealed that the effigies are damaged, all three are missing their arms and their facial features are weathered. The two female effigies are almost identical, the main difference being the bodices on their dresses, possibly a cost saving decision. Wharton is depicted in armour and mantle and is bareheaded. On close inspection it appears that the effigy is too long for the tomb and his shoulders rather his head are resting on his helm. There are traces of colour in the folds of the petticoats on the female effigies. The sides of the chest are divided in two by twisted pilasters. In each panel is a shield within an inscribed circular band. On the chancel side, the carving on the shields is worn but slight traces of heraldry can be made out. Similarly, the inscriptions on some of the bands are no longer legible. The other side is in better condition and the heraldry can be clearly made out. A figure

⁹²⁷ Ibid., iv, pp. 146-7.

⁹²⁸ Leach and Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding: Leeds, Bradford and the North*, p. 329.

stands on each side of the shields, one male and one female, their hands clasped in prayer. In their design, the figures are miniature replicas of the effigies. They are now badly weathered. The head of the chest is divided into three panels. The two side panels contain shields, the carving now almost completely worn away. The central panel contains another worn shield, this time with supporters and above a banner on which lettering is just visible, suggesting it contained a motto. On the foot of the tomb is rectangular panel, shaped as a scroll, inscribed in relief with a Latin epitaph that reads:

‘Gens Whartona gens dat honoris dextera victrix Tres Aquilonares rigni
[illegible] gvbirno Bina mihi coninx stapliton ivvinim elionora prolibeat
fovet anna senem stirps clara salopvs nati eqnitis bini thomam svsex
propago anna facit patrem sine pro[?] henricvs obibat bina[?] itidem natae
penlitono loanna G[?]ilimo Agnis mvsgravo conivx [?]vnda riccardo’.⁹²⁹

Underneath, a further two lines of Latin have been etched into the tomb, including the dates 1568 and 1584. The two lines of carving are executed in different lettering. In both cases, it appears to be too even and well executed to be graffiti but is not accomplished in the same style or workmanship as the panel above. Even with close study, they are difficult to read but one gives Lord Wharton’s date of death and the other the date of death of his wife, Anna.

A third inscription is carved in relief around the edge of the tomb slab in the same script as the slab at the foot of the tomb. In places it is badly weathered and disrupted by later repairs making it difficult to read.

⁹²⁹ Transcribed from the tomb.

47 - Thomas, Lord Wharton

St Stephen's, Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria

The tomb is located behind the organ in the north chapel.⁹³⁰ It is a tomb chest beneath a larger slab that rests on baluster shafts. On the slab is a stone effigy of Lord Wharton in armour between effigies of his two wives. There are shell-headed niches carved on the sides of the chest.⁹³¹ On one side there are kneeling male figures and, on the other, two female figures, probably his children.⁹³² There are carved coats of arms under the remaining niches. On the east end there is an inscribed tablet. In 1801, Thomas Pennant recorded the inscription as:

'Gens Whartona genus dat honores dextra victrix
In Scotos. Stapletona domus mihi quam dedit uxor
Elionora fecit ter bina prola parentum:
Binam adimunt teneris, binam juvenilibus annis
Fata mihi; dat nomen avi mihi bina superstes.
Anna secunda uxor celebri est de gente Salopum',⁹³³

Another inscription, now damaged, runs around the edge of the tomb slab and was recorded by Pennant as:

'Thomas Whartonus jaceo hic: Hic utraque conjux; Elionora suum hinc, hinc habet Anna locum. En tibi terra tuum, carnes ac ossa resume; Tu Caelos anima, tu Deus alme, tuum',⁹³⁴

Study of the photographs revealed the carving of the tomb and effigies is poor quality and the effigies are badly damaged with hands and arms missing. A second

⁹³⁰ Hyde and Pevsner, *Cumbria. Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness*, p. 470.

⁹³¹ Photographs publicly available at <http://www.britainexpress.com/photo.htm?photo=1818> [accessed 2nd February 2015] and <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3612717> [accessed 2nd February 2015].

⁹³² Hyde and Pevsner, *Cumbria. Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness*, p. 470.

⁹³³ Thomas Pennant, *A Tour from Downing to Alston-Moor*, (London, 1801), p. 126.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

tomb to Lord Wharton is located at Healaugh, North Yorkshire, where he was buried (Appendix 3/46).

48 - John, Lord Williams of Thame, d. 1559*

St Mary's Church, Thame

(See also, Plate 23)

The tomb is located in the centre of the chancel and faces west, a result of being moved whilst undergoing repairs.⁹³⁵ It is tomb chest with recumbent effigies, set within metal railings. Both effigies have their hands clasped in prayer. Lord Williams is depicted in armour with his sword and with his head resting on his helm. His feet are resting on a greyhound and his wife's feet on a unicorn, the horn broken off. On the head and foot of the chest are coats of arms in cartouches with supporters and helms. Panels have been mounted on to the sides of the tomb. On both sides are two high relief lozenges within scrollwork and ribbon motif frames, themselves in a plain frame. Between them are elaborate frames topped by carved heads with wings. On one side, this panel contains a brass plate that is etched with a Latin inscription, now barely visible. Close personal inspection of the panel revealed that it reads:

'Epitaphium domini Ioanis Wyllyam
Equitis Aurati Baronis a Thame qui obiit 14 die
Octobris Anno Domini 1559

⁹³⁵ Anne Sharpe, revised by Rosalie Anne Gibson, *Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin, Thame, Oxfordshire. Guide* (High Wycombe, 3rd ed. 2010), p. 14.

Parua tegit cineres Gulielmidis vrna
 Joannis,
 Nulla teget tanti secula facta viri
 Quem detes animi fortuna dotibus
 vltro
 Ornarut sortis munere plus meritum
 Nam potuit vntus meritis si acquirere
 sortis
 Munera diuiteas vir bonus ecce tulit

Tam bonus vt merito cunctis
 charissimus
 Orclinibus titulis maior Gille sins
 [Si – illegible]gueris ple Stirpe satus
 non vilis, Equestri,
 Factus eques, Proccrum post Procer
 vnus erat
 Regum Aeri Questor, Regali exinde
 cubili
 Postremum Cambro prefuit G[?]
 Populo'

At the corners there are decorated pilasters. One is decorated with small coats of arms. The others incorporate a variety of motifs including musical instruments, weapons, shields and Roman armour. There is evidence of repairs on the pilasters. Repair work is known to have been undertaken in the seventeenth century as a result of damage done during the Civil War. William Bird of Oxford received £20 for a new unicorn, a greyhound and other stonework while Richard Hawkins was paid for painting and gilding.⁹³⁶ It was repaired again by Michael Eastman in 2002 as the effigies had been damaged and some of the old repairs needed work.⁹³⁷

49 - Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke, KG, d. 1502

St Mary's Church, Callington, Cornwall

The tomb is located in a chapel on the north side of the chancel. It is an alabaster tomb chest with recumbent effigy, dressed in armour and wearing the collar of the Order of the Garter, his feet resting on a lion.⁹³⁸ Photographs shared by Dr Steven

⁹³⁶ VCH, *Oxfordshire*, vii, p. 209.

⁹³⁷ Sharpe, *Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin, Thame*, p. 14.

⁹³⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, revised by Enid Radcliffe, *Cornwall* (London, 2nd ed. 1970, reprinted 2001), p. 48-9.

Gunn revealed that four coats of arms are visible on the side of the tomb, two of them with the Garter. Whilst two of the coats of arms are contiguous within one complete panel, the other two are each within their own panel. These two smaller panels do not quite line up and the shape and size of the carving is different from the larger panel, suggesting that they were carved at a different date.

50 - Thomas Wriothesley, 1st earl of Southampton, KG, d. 1551

St Peter's Church, Titchfield, Hampshire

The tomb is located in the centre of the south chapel. It was erected after the death of Henry Wriothesley in 1581 and commemorates the 2nd earl and his parents. The 2nd earl made provision in his will for £1000 to be spent on erecting two monuments but this was ignored in favour of the one monument. It is a marble tomb chest with three recumbent alabaster effigies, all three having their hands clasped in prayer. The central effigy is that of Jane, countess of Southampton, wife of the 1st earl.⁹³⁹ Inspection of photographs established that her effigy is raised above the rest of the tomb, resting on its own platform, supported by three arches.⁹⁴⁰ There is a small, gilded and winged head at the top of each arch and rose bosses on the underside of the arches. At the two corners of her platform by her head are small pilasters with winged heads on the sides. She is depicted wearing a coronet and a red, ermine lined mantle. On her left hand is the

⁹³⁹ *VCH, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, iii, p. 231.

⁹⁴⁰ Photographs publicly available at <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=133942441> [accessed 2nd February 2015].

effigy of her son, Henry Wriothesley, 2nd earl of Southampton. He is depicted lying on a rush mat. He is dressed in plate armour, his sword beside him. On her right hand is her husband, Thomas Wriothesley, 1st earl of Southampton. He is bareheaded, with his head resting on a pillow and is depicted in civilian, black robes. The collar of the Order of the Garter is worn around his neck.

The tomb is raised on a platform, at the corners of which are projecting pilasters, each supporting a tall obelisk. On the side of the tomb under the 2nd earl are statues of a male and a female kneeling in prayer before a lectern, a coat of arms carved into the tomb next to each of them. They are facing each other and are separated by a black pilaster. On the other side are two female figures also facing each other and knelt in prayer before lecterns. The ends of the chest are divided into the three panels by black pilasters. At the head of the tomb, coats of arms are carved in relief in the three panels with ribbon work around them. All three coats of arms are surmounted by a coronet and the central one also by a helm and crest. The coat of arms under the 1st earl is within a garter. At the foot of the tomb, black marble panels with gold inscriptions are set into the tomb. As the countess' effigy is raised, her inscription is on the end of the raised platform rather than the main chest. The central panel between the inscriptions for the two earls contains a coat of arms below a coronet and surrounded by scroll and ribbon decoration.

The inscription to the 1st earl reads:

'Here lyeth y^e bodye of y^e Right Honorable S^r Thomas Wrytheslye sonne of William Wrytheslye Esquire: who for his virtue and worthynes was created Knight of the Honorable order of ye Garter baron of Titchfyd? Earle of

Southampton Chancellor of England, one of ye Honorable privie counsell unto Kinge Henrie the 8 and Kinge Edward the 6 and one of the especialle chosen and trusted executors of the last will & testament of Kinge Henrie the 8 · by lady Jane his wife he had issue Henrie Earle of Southampton Elizabeth maryed unto Thomas Fitzwaters afterwards Earls of Sussex Marye maryed unto Rychard Lyster esquire Katherine maryed unto Thomas Cornwalllys Esquier & Mabell maryed unto syr Walter Sandes Knyght : besides dyvers other children w died unmarried · this Thomas Earle of Southampton dyed the [blank] daye of [blank] A^o D^o 1551,⁹⁴¹

⁹⁴¹ Transcribed from photographs publicly available at <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=133942441> [accessed 2nd February 2015].

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