

◆ The cuckoo in the nest

A DALLINGRIDGE TOMB IN THE FITZALAN CHAPEL AT ARUNDEL

By Nigel Saul

An indenture of 1 March 1476, preserved at Arundel Castle, records the acquisition by John Dudley of Atherington of a marble tomb in Arundel collegiate church. The tomb had originally been commissioned for the use of Richard Dallingridge, who had died five years before. The article identifies the tomb as the lower of the two currently supporting the effigies of the 9th Earl of Arundel and his wife in their chantry chapel on the south side of the Fitzalan Chapel at Arundel. It is suggested that Dudley acquired the tomb for the use of his wife Elizabeth, whose interment at Arundel is referred to in his will of 1500. The article concludes by identifying the circumstances which could have led Richard Dallingridge, the last of the Dallingridges of Bodiam, to seek burial in a church at the opposite end of the county from his family's base.

Most of what we know about the commissioning of monuments in the Middle Ages comes from wills. Large numbers of such documents survive from the late fourteenth century onwards, when they begin to be copied regularly into registers. Wills offer many insights into the arrangements which testators made for burial and commemoration when they had not made such arrangements beforehand. In most cases, testators contented themselves with simple instructions to their executors for the laying of a 'stone' or brass over the place of burial in the church and with setting aside an appropriate sum for that purpose. For a brass an amount of between £2 and £10 would be sufficient; for a sculpted effigy with canopy some £40 or more might be needed. In the majority of cases testators' instructions were fairly brief. Occasionally details might be given of the heraldry to go on the shields. In 1429, for example, Sir Richard Poynings, a Sussex testator, wanted to ensure that the insignia of his and his wife's family were properly represented: he asked for a shield on one side of his brass showing his father's arms impaling his mother's, and a second shield on the other with his own arms impaling his wife's.¹ Where little or no such detail is given, it is reasonable to infer that testators either gave oral instructions to their executors or left the whole matter of commemoration to their executors' discretion.

Much greater detail is to be found in the contracts which the executors, on the testator's instructions, made with the sculptor or engraver. Specifications would be given for the type of memorial (a brass or

sculpted stone), the attire of the figures, assuming that the memorial was effigial, the wording of the epitaph, any accessories such as scrolls or figures of saints, and the armorial bearings to go on the shields. In the final clauses arrangements would be laid down for payment and for delivery of the product to the church. Contracts are the most valuable of documentary sources for the study of the medieval funerary trade. Unfortunately, however, they are as rare as wills are numerous. Scarcely more than a dozen have survived for the period down to the Reformation, and for the most part these relate to monuments commissioned by patrons of high rank. Apart from wills and the handful of contracts, documentary sources for the commissioning of medieval tomb monuments are relatively few. Perhaps the most valuable are the court proceedings resulting from legal actions brought by an aggrieved customer against a producer who, for some reason, had failed him. Altogether denied to the medievalist are the rich insights of the kind revealed by the correspondence in the 1590s between John Gage of Firle and Gerard Johnson of Southwark showing Gage insisting on modifications to proposed brasses for himself and his two wives to go in Firle church.²

To this background, an indenture of agreement relating to a monument in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel, to which Dr J. M. Robinson has recently drawn attention, occupies a position of some importance.³ For once, the obscuring veil is lifted from the often improvised and surprising arrangements which went into the making of a memorial. The agreement, which is dated 1 March



Fig. 1. Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel. Chantry chapel of the 9th Earl of Arundel and his wife, showing the Dallingridge tomb chest at ground level at the east end (i.e. on the left).

1476, reads as follows:

'Arundel Castle Muniments MD 413⁴
This indentur' made atte Arundell the Furst
day of Marche the xv^e yere of the Rengne of
Kynge Edward the / iiiij^{the} wittenessith that
Edward Poyngges mayster of the Colledge of
the holy Trinite of Arundell and the chapleyns
of / the same place havyn yeve and grauntyd
unto John Dudley squyar a Tombe of marbyll
standyng in the chauncell / of the chirche
of Arundell callyd the Vicaryyschauncell
The whyche Tombe afore tyme was made
and ordeynyd / for on Richard Dalyngrigg'
squyar The seid John to have the seid tombe
to hym and his assign' so that at / no season
the seid Tombe be had nor in no maner wyse
takyn ner removyd from the place hit now
standyth yn / In Wittenesse here of to the
on party of these indentur' remaynyng with
the seyde maystr' and chapleyns / The seid

John Dudley squyar hath putte hys seall To
the othir party of these indentur' remaynyng
with the / seid John Dudley The seid mayster
and chapellayns havyn putte here comyn
seall yevyn at Arundell / aforeseid in oure
chaitour hous the day and yere Aboveseid
[1 March 1476].'

Indented at top; tag at bottom; seal lost.

The indenture records that the master of Arundel College, Edward Poynges, assigned to one John Dudley, for his use, a marble tomb originally commissioned for another patron, Richard Dallingridge; and that that tomb was to remain in its position in the 'vicars' chancel of Arundel collegiate church (Fig. 1). It was by no means unusual in the pre-Reformation period for a tomb chest or effigy to be appropriated for the use of another patron long after the person originally commemorated had died and his or her memory was forgotten. Such appropriations were particularly frequent in

the early sixteenth century, when churches were becoming crowded and tomb space was in short supply.⁵ The transaction involved in the Arundel indenture, however, was not a recycling exercise of this well-documented kind, carried out long after memories had faded and everyone had lost interest. Richard Dallingridge had died a mere five years before the making of the indenture, in 1471; his memory was still fresh.⁶ The conveyance between Poynings and Dudley gives the impression of a transaction carried out between two men who had actually known the person for whom the tomb had been intended. For a tomb to be claimed in this way by a new owner when the person by whom it had been commissioned was not long in the grave is wholly remarkable. The impression is given of a market in funerary monuments altogether less ordered than the tidy affair suggested by the testamentary and contract evidence. Clearly the goings-on in the college at Arundel in the 1470s merit some investigation.

Dr Robinson assumed in his discussion of the indenture that because it related to a tomb apparently in the 'chancel' (the Fitzalan Chapel), the burial place of the Earls, then Dudley must have been an agent acting on behalf of the Earl or his family. The date of the document — 1476 — he thought, pointed to the possibility that the tomb formed part of the elaborate chantry chapel commissioned by the 9th Earl to the south of the high altar. Construction of the chapel probably began in the mid-1470s following the death of the Earl's wife in 1462, and it has long been recognized that one or other of the pair of tombs at its eastern end which until recently supported the effigies of the Earl and his wife do not belong.⁷ Dr Robinson wrote:

'The astonishingly elaborate Purbeck marble sub-chantry of the 9th Earl and his wife, Joan Neville (sister of Warwick the Kingmaker) has always been a puzzle, as the fine painted Caen stone effigies — probably made in their lifetimes — do not relate to it. A recently discovered indenture made at Arundel on March 1, 1476 (a year before the 9th Earl died), shows that it [the tomb] was originally commissioned for Richard Dalyngrygge of Bodiam Castle, an associate of the Earls of Arundel in the French Wars, and so must have been acquired by the executors and used for the Earl after his death, the effigies being popped on top of the high catafalque, either then or later.'⁸

According to this interpretation, the earl and his agents, Dudley among them, went about the construction of the chapel in a curiously haphazard way. They found what they wanted by searching around in different places. They evidently went to a top-flight sculptor for the two effigies: these are of superb quality and have been stylistically related to the now fragmentary figures originally on the reredos of Winchester Cathedral.⁹ They employed an accomplished, if rather idiosyncratic, team of stonemasons for the chapel itself. The ornate cage structure is decorated with delicate tracery over all its surfaces, inside and out, and has twisted Cosmati-style columns at the corners, to carry candles. They went to another team of sculptors again for the upper of the two tomb chests in the chantry — the one, immediately under the roof, which until the recent conservation work supported the effigies of the Earl and his wife. Finally, on Dr Robinson's hypothesis, they also acquired the tomb chest, originally intended for the use of Richard Dallingridge, finding it either at Arundel or in some other local church. Dr Robinson's reconstruction goes a long way to explaining the hotchpotch character of the 9th Earl's chantry as we see it today. Magnificent though the ensemble looks, it certainly does not comprise a coherent whole (Figs 2 & 3).

Amid the composite elements making up the Chapel, there is no difficulty in recognizing the tomb which was originally intended for the use of Dallingridge. It is the lower of the two tomb chests occupying the east end of the chapel. The tomb is a typical example of metropolitan-style work of the late fifteenth century. It consists of a long chest with four cusped quatrefoiled panels containing shields on its long side and two identical panels at the end. On the top is a simple stone slab with a chamfered edge on the long side for a brass inscription, now lost. The chest is of a type commonly employed for gentry memorials in southern England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is a work of completely different character from the smaller and richer chest with arcaded sides now on top of it. This latter chest appears to be the one which the effigies of the earl and his countess were originally intended to rest on: they are of precisely the size to fit it. The 'Dallingridge' chest beneath, larger and functionally superfluous, is out of place in this setting. There can be absolutely no doubt that it is the 'marble tomb' referred to in the indenture:



Fig. 2. Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel. Chantry chapel showing the effigies of the two commemorated, removed from the chest, in the foreground, and the Dallingridge tomb chest at ground level behind.

the date fits very neatly. But can its presence in the Chapel be accounted for in the way which Dr Robinson suggests? Is it actually the case that it was a purchase made by the 9th Earl's agents for his own and his countess's tomb? It is well known that over the centuries monuments and parts of monuments have been shifted around in the Fitzalan Chapel. In Samuel Hieronymus Grimm's sketches of the Chapel, made in 1780, a tomb base is shown occupying the arcade of the Lumley monument, to the north of the high altar, a site which is now empty.¹⁰ As in other burial chapels, floor monuments have been moved around too. What must certainly be beyond doubt is that the lower tomb in the 9th Earl's chantry is a feature

without connection with the chapel with which it is now associated. It is worth remembering in this context that the 9th Earl is not once mentioned in the indenture between Dudley and Poynings. The argument for associating the 'marble tomb' with him is one which is based almost entirely on the coincidence of date.

To this background it is clearly important to discover more about the circumstances in which Dudley entered into the indenture with Poynings in 1476. It needs to be established who Dudley was, and in what capacity he was acting: was he acting independently or, as Dr Robinson supposed, as the Earl's agent or feoffee? Fortunately, Dudley's will survives in the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and it supplies full answers to these questions.¹¹

Dudley made his will on 1 October 1500, a matter of months before his death early in the next year.¹² He describes himself as 'John Dudeley of Hatheryngton in the shire of Sussex'. 'Hatheryngton' is Atherington, near Bailiffscourt, in the parish of Climping, to the south of Arundel. Dudley's background lay in the middling nobility. He was the second son of John Sutton, Lord Dudley, a magnate with court connections. His brother, William, was bishop of Durham and a figure who rose high in royal favour under Edward IV. John Dudley himself may have had a legal training; his appointments give the impression of a man who excelled as a local administrator and general man of affairs. He established himself at Atherington as a tenant of the abbess of Syon, who held the main estate in the village.¹³ The will itself is a lengthy document which amply attests both his piety and his sense of place in local society. He left many bequests to members of his family. To his son Edmund, Henry VII's notorious councillor, he left a gold chain worth £33 6s. 8d., to remind him to pray for his soul. To his daughter Anne he left another

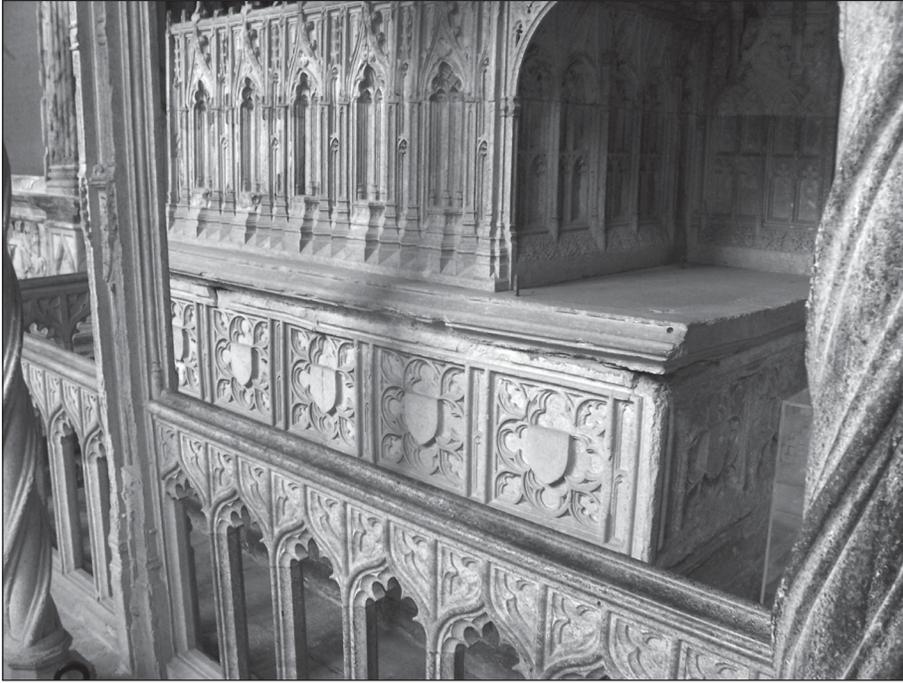


Fig. 3. Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel. Chantry chapel looking east, showing the Dallingridge tomb chest inserted below that of the Earl of Arundel and his wife.

valuable gold chain for the same purpose. To Arundel College he left his best gown, to be made into a cope, and a pair of silver cruets worth forty shillings, engraved with his and his wife's arms. On the evidence of the will, there can be little doubt of the close relations which he enjoyed with the Arundel community and, in particular, with the Earl. He left a cope worth £5 to the Earl, whom he referred to as 'my speciall goode lord of Arundell'. He also left the sum of forty shillings in gold to the Earl's son and heir, Lord Maltravers, whom he described as 'my gentill and kynde lorde, my lord Maltravers'. He speaks in the will as a retainer would of his lord and patron. Almost certainly, he was one of the Earl's inner circle, probably one of his officers or a member of his council. He is found serving alongside the Earl in numerous capacities in local government. From the early 1470s he was regularly appointed to commissions of array in Sussex, which from 1484 were under the leadership of the 9th Earl and, after his death, of his son.¹⁴ From 1471 to his death he also served as a justice of the peace in Sussex, again under the leadership of the Earls.¹⁵ It is likely that before his son Edmund's

rise to power he owed his nomination to these positions to the Earls' influence with the Crown.

Despite the many indications in the indenture that he might have been acting as an agent for the 9th Earl, it is evident from one crucial sentence in the will that this was not the case. The clue comes near the beginning, in the instructions which Dudley gave for his burial. Dudley requested burial 'within the college church of Arundell in my tombe of marbill the wher' Elizabeth late my wif lyeth buried'. The phrase 'tombe of marbill', precisely the phrase which had been used a quarter of a century before in the indenture, identifies the tomb as the one which Dudley took over in 1476 from Dallingridge and which survives today as the lower of the two chests in the 9th Earl's chapel. As servants and associates of the Earl, Dudley and his wife had evidently been accorded the privilege of burial in the heart of the family mausoleum church. Dudley's wife appears to have died sometime in the mid-1470s, perhaps in childbirth. By some means, he acquired for her a tomb chest which had originally been intended for the use of Richard Dallingridge. It is evident from another

passage of the will that the chest had stood for some twenty years in the church unmarked. Dudley now asked for it to be completed. He said: 'I will that myn executours doo fornysh my tombe with myn armys and my wiff' and that a convenyent scriptour for her and me theruppon to be sett'; a task for which he set aside the sum of ten marks. It was not uncommon in the Middle Ages for tombs to be set up in churches unmarked, and completed only when the surviving spouse's end drew near. A number of other late medieval testators made provision for the finishing touches to be put to tombs which they had commissioned years before, usually on a spouse's death.¹⁶

What is not altogether clear is where in the church the tomb was actually placed. According to the indenture, it stood in the 'Vicaryyschauncell': precisely, 'the chauncell of the churche of Arundell callyd the Vicaryyschauncell'; and the indenture specified that it was not to be removed from there. Tim Hudson has suggested that the 'vicars' chancel' is to be identified with the south transept of the church, where there was an altar for the use of the parishioners.¹⁷ If it was the south transept which was referred to, then the stipulation is a somewhat puzzling one, because the transept was not an area normally associated with the burial of Fitzalan retainers. In the fifteenth century those, like Dudley, who had given distinguished service to the Fitzalan family were generally accorded the privilege of burial in the chancel. Thus in 1430 Thomas Salmon and his wife Agnes, principal lady-in-waiting to Earl Thomas's wife, were buried in the middle of the chancel, west of Earl Thomas's tomb, under a splendid memorial brass which remains. In 1465 John Threel, marshal of the household to the 9th Earl, and his wife were buried slightly to the south of the Salmons under a brass, which likewise remains.¹⁸ It is possible that the insistence on the tomb remaining in the 'vicars' chancel' was made in recognition of its size — a bulky masonry tomb being much harder to accommodate in a crowded chancel than a brass which could lie flush with the floor. Unfortunately, we have no means of ascertaining whether Dudley adhered to the terms of the indenture after the tomb chest had come into his possession. All we can say is that at some stage in its chequered history it made the short journey round the corner from the 'vicars' chancel' — assuming this to mean the transept — to the chancel. It can be established that the

tomb was in its present position in the 9th Earl's chapel by 1780, when it appears in a sketch made by Grimm that year.¹⁹ A possible hypothesis is that the tomb was moved to the chancel on Dudley's death in 1501, when it became his tomb as well as his wife's and when the arms and inscription would have been added in accordance with the terms of his will. If this was the case, then the most likely position for it to have occupied is that to the north of the high altar, the site now occupied by the Lumley monument. Lord Lumley commissioned his large archaising monument to his wife's Fitzalan relatives and ancestors in the mid-1590s. If we assume Dudley's tomb to have occupied the site previously, then we have an immediate explanation for its displacement and eventual incorporation in the 9th Earl's chapel opposite.

One final matter calls for consideration: how did Dudley come to acquire a tomb chest which had been intended for someone who had died five years before, and with whom he had no apparent blood tie? How does the elusive Richard Dallingridge fit into the story?

Dallingridge, unlike Dudley, was not a largely self-made man newly established in the Arundel area. He belonged to the famous Sussex family of Dallingridge of Bodiam Castle near the border with Kent. He was the cousin and eventual heir of Sir John Dallingridge, sometime MP for Sussex and son of the builder of the castle. Sir John had died without issue in 1408. On his death his estates were held for her lifetime by his widow, the redoubtable and long-lived Alice, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Powick (Worcs.). On Alice's death in 1443, they passed to Richard as John's cousin (the son of his uncle Walter).²⁰ Richard, like John, was to die without issue. On his death in 1471 his estates in Sussex and Hampshire passed through the female line to Sir Thomas Lewknor, the head of another rich and distinguished Sussex family.²¹

Although the Dallingridges resided some way from Arundel, they were in fact long-standing associates of the Fitzalan family. What brought them into the Fitzalans' political orbit was Earl Richard I's acquisition of the vast Warenne estates, which included the lordship of Lewes, on the death of the last earl, John de Warenne (d. 1347), his mother's brother. The acquisition of the inheritance gave his family interests in the east of the county which they had hitherto lacked. Roger Dallingridge esquire (d. c. 1380), whose main seat

was at Fletching, was the first of his line to enter the service of the earls, entering Earl Richard's pay on the death of the last Countess Warenne in 1361.²² Edward Dallingridge, his son, the builder of the castle, was retained by Earl Richard II and fought in his military retinue;²³ the Earl was to intercede for him with the king in 1384 when he fell foul of John of Gaunt in a dispute over the duke's exercise of franchisal rights in the rape of Pevensey, where Dallingridge held sway.²⁴ In the next generation, after the execution of Earl Richard II by Richard II in 1397, Edward's son Sir John established a strong and, as it was to happen, a long-lasting tie with the house of Lancaster as a result of having accompanied Gaunt's son Henry of Derby on his crusade to Prussia in 1390–1. In 1400 he was formally retained by Henry (by now King Henry IV) with a handsome annuity of 100 marks.²⁵ In the next generation, old allegiances were to reassert themselves. Richard Dallingridge, the man whose tomb monument John Dudley was to appropriate, was to be employed in the service of the Fitzalan family for a period of some 50 years. His connection with the Fitzalans appears to have originated in 1417, when he accompanied John Arundel, Lord Maltravers (*de jure* earl of Arundel) on Henry V's invasion of Normandy that year.²⁶ By 1432 he had gained the position of constable of Arundel castle, an appointment in which he was confirmed by the crown in 1435, and from 1440 he was forester of Worth in the lordship of Lewes on the nomination of the dowager Countess Beatrice.²⁷ Dallingridge was still in the service of the Fitzalans as late as the 1460s, when he was nearly 70. For some 30 years he served on commissions in local government alongside or under the leadership of Earl William. He served under the Earl as a justice of the peace in Sussex from 1446 to 1461 and again from 1468 to 1470 and in the same position in Hampshire for shorter periods.²⁸ He also served under the Earl as a commissioner of array in Sussex.²⁹ At the same time, he sustained and built on his deceased cousin's ties with the house of Lancaster. In the last years of the Lancastrian regime he was one of Henry VI's government's most trusted agents in east Sussex. For the greater part of his career, however, he seems, like Dudley, to have owed his appointments to office principally to the influence of his patron, the Earl of Arundel. The fact that through his paternal aunt he had inherited lands in south Hampshire, not far from Arundel, on which

he appears to have been periodically resident, only added to the strength of what was evidently a well-established tie with the Fitzalan family.³⁰

Dallingridge's close relations with Earl William help to explain how, after his death, Dudley would have come to know about his plans for a tomb. But how did that tomb come to be available in the first place? What is difficult to explain is why it was never put to its intended use. Earlier members of the Dallingridge family had been buried in churches in the eastern half of Sussex close to the manors where they resided. Roger Dallingridge had been buried in Fletching church, where his brass remains, and Edward and John at the Cistercian abbey of Robertsbridge, close to Bodiam.³¹ Unfortunately, there is no extant will for Richard to indicate where he had in mind for his own resting place. One possibility is that he made provision for burial near his relatives at Robertsbridge, by the fifteenth century the family's usual place of interment. If that had been the case, then it is easy to imagine that the tomb now at Arundel was intended for Robertsbridge, delivered there and acquired thence by Dudley. Conceivably, it was a 'waster', a monument commissioned by Dallingridge's executors but rejected subsequently for some reason — perhaps faulty workmanship or a difficult fit in the church - in favour of a replacement. Dudley, hearing of its rejection, could have snapped it up for his wife's use and brought it to Arundel. Poynings, as Master of the college and another associate of the Earl, could have been acting as one of Dallingridge's executors. If that were the case, the indenture would have merely set the seal on what was effectively a *fait accompli*.

Against this hypothesis, however, has to be set the clear evidence of the indenture that the tomb which Dudley was acquiring was at Arundel, not Robertsbridge; in the words of the agreement, it was 'stondyng in the chancel of the churche of Arundell callyd the Vicaryyschauncell'; moreover, it had to remain there. The choice of words in the agreement seems to imply that the tomb had been destined for Arundel all along and that it had been rejected by its purchasers only after its arrival there. This in turn seems to imply that Dallingridge had actually been buried at Arundel — perhaps, like the earlier servants of the Fitzalans, at the earl's behest as a mark of the esteem in which he was held. If this was the case, and if the ownership was transferred with the tomb already in the church, then there

is a problem: why, if the tomb was no good for one patron, was it apparently wholly acceptable to another, and one of near-equal wealth and status? Dudley, as a well-to-do servant of the earl, was unlikely to settle for second-best, particularly for a wife whose loss clearly pained him. There is no evidence today that there was anything wrong with the chest. Nor can it be supposed that it did not fit in its intended space, because it evidently fitted for Dudley.

There is only one convincing solution to these problems, and that is to suppose that Dallingridge changed his mind about his place of burial. A possible reconstruction of what happened is this: Dallingridge arranged burial for himself at Arundel or, alternatively, burial at Arundel was arranged for him by the Earl; a tomb was then ordered for delivery to Arundel church; subsequently, however, the burial arrangements were changed, and Dallingridge was interred elsewhere, perhaps at Robertsbridge, leaving the tomb at Arundel free for re-use. It was then acquired by Dudley. This is the only explanation which makes reasonable sense of the evidence as we have it. It has the double attraction of explaining both why the tomb was available so soon after Dallingridge's death and why Dudley was able to snap it up with Master Poyning's consent.³² Dudley and Poyning probably acted together. Indeed, it is possible that the indenture was actually written by Poyning, as it appears to be in an old man's hand and Poyning, who had become master by 1447, was already aged by this time.³³

The indenture between Dudley and Poyning is thus a document with a great deal to tell us about the sometimes erratic and unpredictable routes by which monuments could end up in churches. It has long been appreciated that informal contact and social networking together played major roles in the processes by which clients were brought into touch with tomb-makers. What is of especial

interest in the present context is to find such networking and negotiation going on after the monument had actually been delivered. A new tomb monument could turn into a second-hand one very quickly.

It is also of interest to observe the role which the magnate retinue played in this process of networking. The Arundel retinue in the fifteenth century is a singularly ill-documented body, and one whose role in Sussex society remains largely unexplored. It is all too easy to assume that following the sharp contraction of the Arundel estates after 1415, when the former Warenne inheritance was lost to Earl Thomas's coheirs, its role in Sussex political life was much diminished. It may, indeed, be the case that in the fifteenth century it was no longer the force in local affairs which it had been a century before in the heyday of Earl Richard I. None the less, on the evidence of Dudley's and Dallingridge's careers it was still a focus for gentry loyalties, and it is noteworthy that the Dallingridges' record of service to the Fitzalans was to stretch over no fewer than four generations. Earl William himself, a shadowy figure in national affairs, appears to have commanded the loyalty — perhaps even the affection — of his servants. John Dudley spoke of him in his will with evident warmth. To this background, it is not altogether surprising that those who served the family should have sought the honour of burial in what is now the Fitzalan Chapel. Nor should it be an occasion for surprise that it is in the context of the family retinue that we find an explanation for the transfer of the tomb chest effected in the indenture between Dudley and Poyning.

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

¹ T(he) N(ational) A(rchives), PROB 11/3, fo. 110v.

² *Sussex Notes and Queries* 2 (1929), 175–7. For the correspondence and drawings, see East Sussex Record Office, ACC 5312/1-3.

³ J. M. Robinson, 'Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel', *Country Life* 202 (1 May 2008), 88–92, at 90.

⁴ Noted in *Arundel Castle Archives, II. A Catalogue*, ed. F. W. Steer (Chichester, 1972), p. 6.

⁵ An excellent example in Sussex is afforded by the brass at Ticehurst, on which an armed figure of c. 1370 is appropriated for the memorial of John Wybarne and his two wives of c. 1503: C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses, V', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) 80 (1939), 115–17.

- ⁶ *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (hereafter *CFR*) 1461–71, 268.
- ⁷ In 1982, following conservation, the effigies were removed to their present position on a slab to the west of the tomb chests.
- ⁸ Robinson, 'Fitzalan Chapel', 90.
- ⁹ For the effigies, see A. Brodrick and J. Darrah, 'The fifteenth-century polychromed limestone effigies of William Fitzalan, 9th Earl of Arundel, and his Wife, Joan Nevill, in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel', *Church Monuments* **1** (1986), 65–94.
- ¹⁰ B(ritish) L(ibrary), London, Add. MS 5674, fos 19 and 21. It was still in the Lumley monument in 1836, when it can be picked out in Frederick Nash's painting, 'The Fitzalan Chapel before Restoration', reproduced in the guide leaflet to the Chapel, (J. M. Robinson) *The Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel Castle, West Sussex*.
- ¹¹ TNA, PROB 11/12, fo. 149r–149v.
- ¹² Dudley was dead by 1 February 1501: *CFR* 1485–1509, 304.
- ¹³ It is tempting to think that he was lessee of the Atherington estate, but there is no evidence to support the suggestion in the surviving accounts, which show one Sir John Smyth as lessee: TNA, SC6/1099/16, 17; SC6/1100/4, 6, 7, 9, 13, 17; SC6/1101/7, 10, 19; SC6/HENVII/731, 736. Dudley also held property in Arundel town: TNA, E326/120.
- ¹⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter *CPR*) 1467–77, 318, 351; *CPR* 1476–85, 397, 489; *CPR* 1485–94, 281, 323; *CPR* 1494–1509, 67. For a summary of Dudley's career, see J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439–1509* (2 vols., London, 1936), **2**, 286. He was an esquire of the king's body from 1490 to 1500. In his later years his career was assisted by the rise of his son, Edmund, Henry VII's notorious councillor, for whom see H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (63 vols, Oxford, 2004) **17**, 66–9 (by S. J. Gunn).
- ¹⁵ *CPR* 1467–77, 633; *CPR* 1476–85, 575; *CPR* 1485–94, 503; *CPR* 1494–1509, 662. He was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1483–4.
- ¹⁶ In 1445, when her husband died, Katherine Fastolf of Suffolk arranged for his burial place in Oulton church to be marked by an unincised stone. Thirty years later, when she made her own burial arrangements, she provided (in her case) for an entirely new stone with brasses: BL, London, MS Harley 10, fo. 121v.
- ¹⁷ *VCH Sussex* **5(1)** (Oxford, 1997), p. 91.
- ¹⁸ For these brasses, see C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *SAC* **76** (1935), 65–71.
- ¹⁹ BL, Add. MS 5674, fo. 18.
- ²⁰ J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386–1421* (hereafter *Commons*) **2** (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992), 744.
- ²¹ According to his *inquisition post mortem*, he held the manors of Lockerley and Waytes Limborne (Hants.), and Sheffield, Warningore, Wapsbourne, Iford, Worth, Bolebrook, Iden, Wilting, Dalling Ridge, Radingden, Hollington and Bodiam (Sussex): *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem sive Escaetorum* **4** (London, 1828), 350.
- ²² W. D. Peckham (ed.), *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, Sussex Record Society **46** (1942–3), no. 882; *CPR* 1364–7, 198, 237; *CPR* 1374–7, 495. For Roger's career, see N. E. Saul, 'The rise of the Dallingridge family', *SAC* **136** (1998), 123–32.
- ²³ *Commons* **2**, 738–42.
- ²⁴ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361–1399* (Oxford, 1990), 127–41.
- ²⁵ *Commons* **2**, 742–4.
- ²⁶ History of Parliament Trust, London, unpublished article on Richard Dallingridge by Linda Clark; I am grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to see this article in draft.
- ²⁷ *CPR* 1429–36, 464; *CPR* 1436–41, 417.
- ²⁸ *CPR* 1436–41, 592; *CPR* 1441–6, 479; *CPR* 1446–52, 596; *CPR* 1452–61, 677, 679; *CPR* 1461–7, 572, 574; *CPR* 1467–77, 633.
- ²⁹ *CPR* 1446–52, 540; 1452–61, 311, 490, 558, 564.
- ³⁰ His paternal aunt was Katherine, widow, first, of John Butler (d. 1377) and, secondly, of John Stevenes. She held the manor of Lockerley (Hants.). Dallingridge also attempted to gain possession of her manor of Wymering, but was forced to relinquish it to the Wayte family, in return for the manor of Waytes Limborne in Havant (Hants.): History of Parliament Trust, London, unpublished article on Richard Dallingridge by Linda Clark. Dallingridge held Waytes Limborne as a tenant of the Earl of Arundel. After his death he was referred to as 'late of Limbourne', implying residence there: TNA, C1/66/44.
- ³¹ *Commons* **2**, 744.
- ³² Changes of mind did occur. In his will of 1419 the Midlands lawyer Thomas Tickhill requested burial in the church of St Laurence Jewry, London (TNA, PROB 11/2B, fo. 352r); in the event, however, he was buried at Aston on Trent (Derb.), where he held lands. There can be little doubt that the fine alabaster tomb in Aston church of a man in lawyer's dress is his, even though it lacks an inscription.
- ³³ The indenture certainly does not give the impression of having been written by a legal professional. Poynings was to die only a few years later, in 1484: *Victoria County History of Sussex* **2** (London, 1907), 109.

