The Reburial Expenses of Sir Thomas Arundell

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In a recent publication Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs drew attention to the exceptionally rich sources for the pageantry and protocol of the Yorkist court. Their particular attention was directed towards the documents connected with the reburial of Richard duke of York in 1476. The document printed below falls into the same category, being an account of the expenses incurred in moving the body of Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall, from its initial resting place in the parish church of Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire, to his final tomb in the church of the Grey Friars in Dorchester, Dorset. The manuscript consists of a single paper page, approximately 30.7 by 44 cm (12 by 17.3 in.), and is now preserved among the Arundell family papers in the Cornwall Record Office. It is written in a late fifteenth century hand and can be dated to between October 1485, the date of Sir John Arundell’s death, and the death of Lady Joan Dinham in 1497.

In his will dated 3 October 1485 Sir Thomas Arundell specified that he wished to be buried temporarily in the parish church of Waddesdon in Buckinghamshire. However, when his debts had been paid, his wife was to arrange for his remains to be moved to the church of the Grey Friars at Dorchester and to be interred there in a specially made tomb in the middle of the choir. The wife of Sir Thomas was Katherine, daughter of Sir John Dinham of Nutwell (died 1457), and Joan, his wife. Lady Joan Dinham, who was named as one of Arundell’s executors, was a formidable lady and, as the account of expenses shows, took charge of fulfilling her son-in-law’s request.

Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne was the son and heir of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, the richest landowner in Cornwall. Arundell’s estates extended across six counties: Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. Part of Thomas’ earlier life was overshadowed by his father’s injudicious
adherence to the Lancastrian cause in the Yorkist period: he raised Cornwall for Queen Margaret and fought at Tewkesbury in the retinue of Edward, Prince of Wales. While Arundell did not lose his lands he had to pay the king a fine of 6,000 marks, which ate substantially into the issues of his estates, and part of which had not been paid at the time of the death of Sir Thomas. The father’s disgrace did not entirely ruin the son’s prospects, and by 1480-81 Thomas had become an esquire of the body to Edward IV. He was summoned to be knighted at the coronation of Edward V, which had been scheduled for 22 June 1483, and was eventually made a knight of the Bath on the vigil of the coronation of Richard III, the evening of 5 July 1483. In spite of this, following Richard III’s seizure of the crown Arundell took part in the rebellion of October 1483 in the West Country. The reasons behind Arundell’s involvement are unclear, as he was among a number of rebels who had received grants from Richard III only shortly before the rebellion, as Rosemary Horrox has shown. A possible explanation offered by Dr. Horrox, that of family ties, is questionable in the case of Sir Thomas, as he had close relatives on both sides. Quite possibly he was simply prompted by the loyalty he felt for his former lord Edward IV and his young son, and outraged by the actions of Richard. Along with the other rebels Arundell was attainted by Richard III’s parliament in January 1484. He joined Henry Tudor in Brittany, where he soon became an integral part of the inner circle around the pretender, providing a supply of money, but himself incurring increasing debts in the process. Arundell’s lands were granted to Edward Redmayne, Laurence Towneley, and the earl of Huntingdon. A long-standing dispute with Sir James Tyrell, the husband of Anne, Sir Thomas’ half-sister from his father’s first marriage, was settled in Tyrell’s favour. In February 1484, possibly due to the Dinham’s connections with Richard III, Arundell’s wife Katherine was granted £100 annual rent from the forfeited former Chideock estates for the term of her husband’s life. Arundell accompanied Henry to England and fought for him at Bosworth. However, he did not enjoy a chance to reap reward for his support for the king: he died less than two months after Henry’s accession on either 5 or 11 October 1485. The attainder against him was reversed by Henry VII’s first parliament in November 1485.

The church of Waddesdon which Sir Thomas chose as his temporary resting place was not on Arundell property. The manor of Waddesdon was part of the estates Lady Joan Dinham had inherited from her father, Sir Richard Arches. It is indicative both of the role played by Lady Joan in her wider family and of the special regard Sir Thomas had for his mother-in-law that he chose initially to be buried there. The special relationship between the two is also indicated by the position as chief executor afforded to Lady Joan by Arundell in the case of his wife’s death. So it may have been quite natural for Lady Joan to take charge of the arrangements for the retrieval of Sir Thomas’ body.
The Route of the Funeral Cortège.

Sir John Dinham IV = Lady Joan Dinham  
  d. 1457  d. 1497

Sir John Arundell = Lady Katherine Arundell  
  d. 1473  d. 1479

John Lord Dinham  
  d. 1501

Roger Dinham  
  d. 1490  2 sons 4 daughters

Katherine Dinham = Sir Thomas Arundell  
  d. 1485

Selective Family Tree of the Dinham and Arundell Families in the Later Fifteenth Century.
The Franciscan Friary at Dorchester had no longstanding association with the Arundell family. It was one of a number of Franciscan houses favoured by Sir Thomas’ mother, Lady Katherine Arundell, née Chideock, in her will.\textsuperscript{21} The Friars Minor in general were an order long patronised by the Arundells. Sir Thomas’ father, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne received letters of confraternity from the order in general and from the abbot of Beaulieu in particular in 1447 and 1450 respectively.\textsuperscript{22}

The text begins with a long list of expenses for particular items of cloth and wood for the hearse and the funeral procession, as well as torches and tapers. The dorse of the roll contains the expenses incurred during the actual funeral procession, as well as a memorandum outlining the eventual distribution of the torches after the procession.

The funeral cortège was accompanied by four footmen, dressed in black gowns, as well as twelve poor men who were provided with black gowns and hoods. The poor men may have only been present at the actual burial at Dorchester, as this was where their gowns were taken. The body, covered in black cloth, was transported on a horse litter made specifically for the purpose at Exeter. It was made of beechwood and ashwood, held together by iron hoops and other ironwork and took two men hired for the purpose six days to construct. For the procession it was covered with black cloth.

The litter was carried by two horses, with black trappings, lined with linen cloth. The saddles, also newly acquired for the occasion, were similarly lined with black. Bridles and other harness were specially bought for the funeral. Twenty-four wax torches were provided, as well as twenty-nine wax tapers weighing one pound each, and four other wax tapers weighing two pounds each, to be carried along on the way and offered at the churches where the body rested. Of the tapers four were left at Waddesdon, four at Abingdon, two at the chapel at Hungerford, four at Amesbury, four at Blandford, and five at Dorchester. Sixteen torches, almost burnt up, were left after the funeral cortège had reached Dorchester and were handed over to the friars there along with all the partly burnt tapers on the hearse.

At Dorchester, rather than providing a special hearse, that of the parish church was hired, which suggests that while the body was carried to Dorchester on the horse litter, a hearse was only used after the arrival there and the body remained on the litter during the stations made on the way.

The hearse cloth, presumably of black material, displayed a cross of linen cloth, as well as some form of writing. Escutcheons, presumably of the Arundell arms, were used extensively in the cortège. Sixty of them were painted on cloth, another forty on paper.

After the funeral six tapers were taken to the manor of Chideock near Bridport,
part of Sir Thomas’ inheritance from his mother, which under the terms of his will were to be used to endow his wife Katherine for the term of her life. Chideock had been the seat of the family of the same name, and may have become the widowed Lady Katherine’s home. A further four tapers were sent to Lady Joan Dinham’s chapel at Nutwell on the Exe estuary.23

Five years after Sir Thomas Arundell’s death, and presumably after the execution of his will and the removal of his body, the church of Waddesdon again became the temporary resting place of a member of his extended family. Arundell’s brother-in-law Roger Dinham, who in his lifetime had begun to construct a chapel at Eythrope in Buckinghamshire, asked to be buried at Waddesdon until his chapel was complete.24

THE MANUSCRIPT
Editorial method: In the text printed below editorial additions and ambiguous extensions of abbreviations have been placed in square brackets. Otherwise abbreviations have been silently extended where possible. The spelling and capitalisation of the original have been retained.

Cornwall Record Office AR 21/8

These ben the costs and charges paide and don by Richard Wagot, for dyvers thyngs made, ordeyned, and bought by the same Richard for the ffatchyng home of the bonys of Sir Thomas Arondell, knyght, from Odysdon unto Dorchester unto whos sawle Jehesu haue mercy, as it appereth herafter particularly.

First for a pece of blak cloth bought conteynyng xxiii yeardes, prise the yeard iiiij s. iij d., summa iiiij li. xix s. viij d.
Item for a nother pece of blak conteynyng ix yeardes and a quarter, prise the yeard iij s. iiiij d., summa xxx x s. x d.
Item for ij dosyns of blak bought prise the dosyn xij s. vj d. summa xxv s.
Item for iij other dosyns of blak bought prise the dosyn x s. summa xxx x s.
Item for a nother dosyn of blak bought conteynyng xij yeardes, prise the yeard xij d. summa xij s.
Item for a nother dosyn of blak bought prise of x s
Item for ij dosyns of blak bought for the iiiij fote men, prise the dosyn x s. vj d. summa xxj s.
Item for ij yeardes and an halfe of blak cloth bought for to cover the corse, prise the yeard iiiij d. summa iiiij x s. viij d.

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Item for iiiij yeard of brode blak cloth bought to cover the horse lytter, prise the yeard xii d. summa iiiij s.
Item for iiiij yeardes of Narow blak cloth bought and sowid to the same coverynge, prise the yeard viij d., summa ij s. viij d.
Item for xxxviij yeardes of blak bought for xij pore men gownys ij yeard and an half in a gowne, prise the yeard xj d. summa xxvij s. vj d.
Item for iiij yeardes of blak bought to make xij poremen hodis, prise the yeard xj d., summa ij s. ix d.
Item for the makyng of everych of the same gownys and hodis v d. summa v s.
Item for vij yeardes of blak bought for the Trappyng of ij horse, prise the yeard xj d. summa xvj s. v d.
Item for iiij yeardes of blak bought and sowid a bowte the said horse lytter, prise the yeard xj d., summa iiiij s. viij d.
Item for an Ell of lyncloth bought to make the Crosse uppon the herse cloth x d.
Item for iiij yeardes of lyncloth bought for to lyne the said trappers with prise the yeard iiij d. ob., summa x d. [o]b.
Item for iiij yeardes of blak cloth bought to lyne ij sadels with, prise the yeard viij d., summa ij s.
Item for sheryng of certyn peces of the forsaid cloth iiij s. iiiij d.
Item for xxiiijd torches of wax, prise every torche iiiij s. iiiij d., summa ciiij s.
Item for xxixd tapers of wax, every taper weying li. of wax, prise the li. viij d., summa xix s. iiiij d.
Item for iiiij other tapers of wax, every taper weying ij li. of wax, prise the li. viij d., summa v s. iiiij d.
Item for a pece of tymber bought to make the lemys of the said horselytter xij d.
Item for sawyng of thame pece of tymber ij d.
Item for vij Bechyn bordys bought for the same horse lytter, prise every bord iiij d., summa xvij d.
Item for a pece of Aysshe bought to make berrys to the same horse lytter ij d.
Item for hopys bought to the same horse lytter xij d.
Item for threde bought and occupied in sawyng abowte the said horse lytter and other thynges iiij d.
Item for yreworke to Thomas Lokyer occupied a bowte the said horse lytter iiiij s. viij d.
Item for a small skyn of lether bought and occupied a bowte the same horse lytter ij d.
Item for iiiij bordes to make casez for torches and tapers prise the bord xij d., summa iiiij s.
Item for sawyng of the same bordes and to make theym lyght with mete and drynke xij d.
Item for ij men hired by vj days to make the said horse lytter, a man vj d. a dey,
summa vj s.
Item for staynyng of lx scugen uppon cloth, every scugyn iiiij d., summa xx s.
Item for staynygn [sic] of xl scugyngys uppon paper, every scugyn ij d., summa vj s: viij d.
Item for makyng of iiiij fotemen gowyns, every gowne v d., summa xx d.
Item for iiiij paire of boteaux bought for the same iiiij men, prise every paire xvij d., summa v s. iiiij d.
Item for ij Trussers bought and made of lether hunger to bere the saide horse lytter vj s. viij d.
Item for ij New sadels bought for ij horsez that bere the said horslytter vj s. viij d.
Item for ij New bridels for the same horsez bought, prise the bridell xiiij d., summa ij s. iiiij d.
Item for ij New crepers bought for the same ij horsez viij (1.
Item for ij New dobell gurthys bought for the said ij horsez xij d.
Item for iiiij sengell gurthys bought for the same ij horsez xij d.
Item for a breche and a paytrel bought for the same ij horsez xij d.
Item for ceriage of cloth from Exceter to Notwyll iiiij d.
Item for caryng of the said horse lytter from Exceter to Nottewyll xvij d.
Item for makyng of the chist of the bonys and casez for the said tapers xij d.
Item for wretyn uppon the herse cloth iiiij d.
Item for ceriage of torchez from Exceter to Notewyll xij d.
Item for a man and ij horsez iiij days to cary torchez and poremenn gowyns from Nutwyll to Dorchester vj s.
Item for poynites and laces occupied aboute the said horse lytter xiiij d.
[dorse:] Item in expences of horsemete Atte Nutwell dyvers tymys comyng and goyng vj d.
Item in expences atte kockes house atte Notwyll for me, my hors and iiij other men the nyght before the caryng a way of the forsaid horse lytter ix d.
Item for iiij yeardes of lyncloth bought to lappe the bonys in, prise the yeard iiij d. ob., summa xiiij d.
Item for a li. of wax to sere the same cloth viij d.
Item for ij li. of Rason bought for the same j d. ob.
Item paide in the presence of master Harry Grymston atte Dorchester for the herse of the parishe churche there xx d.
Item for expences of Richard Wagott from Dorchester to Exceter xx d.
Item for beryng of water atte Odysdon the nyght that the said bonys were take uppe ij d.
Item for wode bought there the same tyme j d.
Item for a cord bought to mayle the said bonys with j d.
Item in expences of Richard Wagottes horse mete on and owte a bow all allowance
at dyvers tymys ij s.
Item for a gowne of blak gow bought at Yevyll for Sir John Penrossez child with makyng and all ij s.

Whereof is recevyd xxvj li. And so restith dew yett unto my lady vj d. [marginal gloss:] quos sol[vent] domine Johanne Dynham per m[anus] W[illelmi] Hille

Memorandum that ther was left atte Wodysdon iiiij Tapers, atte Habyngdon iiiij Tapers, atte the Chapell atte Hungerford jj Tapers, atte Amysbury iiiij Tapers, atte Blanford iiiij Tapers, atte Dorchester v Tapers, atte Chideok vj Tapers and atte Nutwyll iiiij Tapers.

The Summa of the Tapers leu' xxxij

Memorandum that xvj xvj Torches almost spend were delyverd to the ffreres of Dorchester and all the wasted Tapers of the herse.

[bottom of membrane — upside down:] Thys is the bill of Costes and Charges don by my lady Dynham for the fachyng home of the bonys of Sir Thomas Arundell knyght from Wodysdon unto Dorchester on whos Sawle Jehesu have mercy.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES
3. Lady Joan Dinham can here only be mentioned in passing, but will be the subject of a future article. For the Dinham family in the 15th century see R. P. Chope, ‘The Last of the Dynhams’, Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, vol. 50 (1918), pp. 431-92.
4. John Pym Yeatman, *The early Genealogical History of the House of Arundel*, London 1882, has only very limited information on this member of the family.


7. Yeatman, p. 263.


10. Sir Giles Daubeny, one of Arundell's brothers-in-law, joined the rebellion, whereas four others, John Lord Dinham and his brothers, remained loyal to Richard. A possible explanation for Lord Dinham's inactivity may lie in his absence from England, as he was serving as captain of Calais at the time of the rising. Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 172; Chope, pp. 459-64.

11. This explanation is also favoured by Ian Arthursen and Nicholas Kingwell, *The Proclamation of Henry Tudor*, *Historical Research*, vol. 55 (1990), p. 103, and *ibid.*, n. 14.


17. The inquisitions post mortem give these two different dates. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII*, vol. 1, nas. 30, 55, 181-84.


20. The wording of Arundell's will is inconclusive, but may be interpreted as being made at Waddesdon. If this is the case, the predominant reason for Sir Thomas' choice of temporary resting place may have been that he died at the Dinham manor.

21. Cornwall Record Office AR21/7.

22. Cornwall Record Office AR27/2, AR27/3.

23. It seems more reasonable to assume that these tapers were taken to the named chapels after the funeral, rather than that the whole funeral cortège made detours to western Dorset and south Devon.