CHAPTER 8
COLLEGIATE CHURCHES, CHANTRIES AND POST-MORTEM PRAYERS

Although good works of the sorts discussed in the last four chapters were very important, at the heart of medieval man's strategy for a speedy journey through Purgatory was the provision of prayers for his soul. Most of this volume deals with indirect stratagems for prompting prayers, but post-mortem prayers were also purchased in a variety of forms by the beneficiary or his heirs or executors.

The word 'chantry' derives, via Old French 'chanter', from the Latin 'cantare' (to sing) and its medieval derivative, 'cantaria' (meaning 'licence to sing mass'). The Latin word 'obit' strictly means 'he is dead', from the verb 'obeo' (literally 'to go away', hence 'to die'), but can be used in English as a noun with the same meaning as a chantry. A chantry was in essence an endowed trust fund, founded for the purpose of employing one or more priests to sing or say a set number of masses during a stipulated period of time at a specified altar for the spiritual benefit of one or more deceased persons, generally the donor and his or her family. This basic concept is simple, but the many ways in which it was implemented are not. There is a huge literature on chantries, but while some scholars have focussed on those in monastic establishments, the great and the good, the 'middling sort' in society also placed considerable reliance on post-mortem prayers to be celebrated in parish churches.[1]

The practice of saying masses to benefit the soul of a deceased person is attested as early as the eighth century. The most common form was the anniversary, a mass celebrated annually on the date of the person's death, either for a set number of years or for ever. The Christian faithful believed that more numerous masses increased their efficacy, hence the development of more complex forms of soul prayers, such as the trental (a set of 30 masses). Another late medieval development found specifically in East Anglia was the 'certeyn' or 'sangrede', a set of prayers, as distinct from masses, which was read weekly. Both these operated for a limited period only but, as Christopher Harper-Bill observed, perpetual chantries, which generally involved daily prayers, 'became the common aspiration of men and women of wealth and status' in the fourteenth century.[2]

There was a variety of ways in which the services of a priest could be bought to say or sing soul masses, either for a limited period or in perpetuity, depending on the resources of the individual. Chantries established within collegiate churches or chantry chapels

1 See in particular, K. L. Wood Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965); C. Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead: the Form and Function of the Anniversary in Late Medieval Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 105 (1987), pp. 183–211; and C. Burgess, 'Chantries in the Parish, or "Through the Looking Glass"', in Luxford and Neill (eds), *The Medieval Chantry in England* (2011), pp. 100–129.

2 C. Harper-Bill, 'English Religion after the Black Death', in W. M. Ormrod and P. Lindley (eds), *The Black Death in England* (Stamford, 1996), p. 111.

normally involved daily masses, although the precise form of the mass varied widely according to the wishes of the founder and the capabilities of the supporting clergy.

At this point an ambiguity arises as to whether a 'chantry' should be regarded as a ritual or a material entity. Many parochial chantries were established in dedicated parts of the church rather than just at a common altar, and many writers have concentrated on these structures, rather than on the services that were carried out within them. The central focus of this chapter is the ritual, but it is necessary also to consider the material aspect in depth as it often had an impact on the performance of the liturgical elements. Documentary evidence demonstrates that this was certainly important to those who provided for chantries. The exclusive association with a single family enabled the collegiate church or chantry chapel to contain untrammelled displays of tomb monuments, glazing, wall paintings, heraldry and other signifiers of identity, lineage and status, reinforcing the prestige of the family in the community. Yet the displays of status cannot be entirely divorced from the central salvific purpose. These signifiers of identity would enable those entering the church or chapel to recognise for whom their prayers were sought, and thereby increase the number of prayers for the founders. Moreover, as discussed below, monuments within these churches and chapels sometimes acted as important foci for soul masses. Indeed Luxford has gone further, arguing that effigies on monuments may have been considered as 'surrogate selves', shown in the act of seeking intercession for those they represent.[3] At Tong (Shropshire), for example, the rector Arthur Vernon (d. 1517) is depicted by a murally-mounted bust holding his place in a liturgical book with his gaze directed towards the altar in the Golden chapel (Pl. 77, his brass Pl. 33).'Nonetheless, in this chapter such considerations are regarded as secondary to the direct liturgical provision.

Different types of foundation within which chantry prayers were performed are considered below but the boundaries between them can be difficult to define. At one end of elaboration and expense were collegiate churches and purpose-built chantry chapels, the latter often separated by screens from the main body of the church to provide a privatised area, or even built in the churchyard. Many were founded in the lifetime of the person to be commemorated and were endowed by royal licence with lands, rents and other assets given by donors, the income from which maintained the chantry priest. These included perpetual chantries housed in a dedicated chapel. Such chapels were always dedicated to a saint, but they were in essence devoted to the remembrance of an individual or a family. They often also acted as a mortuary chapel, in which over time there was a gradual accretion of tomb monuments to family members. Large numbers of such chapels were established. Cook recorded nearly 200 in London and its suburbs, and forty-two in York. Some churches had large numbers, including Newark (Nottinghamshire) with thirteen.[4] At the other end of the scale was the provision of a priest for a few weeks or months, normally arranged through the execution of the will of the person concerned.

3 J. Luxford, 'The Collegiate Church as Mausoleum', in C. Burgess and M. Heale (eds), *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 110–39, at pp. 115–16.

4 G. H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London, 1948), p. 38.

Some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tombs show the clerical members of collegiate or chantry foundations engaged in the duty of praying the *Dirige* and *Placebo*, the two elements of the Office for the Dead, for their founders. An example is the canons of the Burghersh Chantry in Lincoln Cathedral, seated in pairs around the tomb of Bishop Burghersh (d. 1342), sharing a large office book open on a stand between them. Similar depictions of obits or anniversaries in parish churches are unknown, although only in the grander chantries would more than one priest have officiated at the obit or daily mass. However, it is common on English tombs to find depictions of family and friends kneeling in prayer for the dead. Some examples include the wording of the prayers they are reciting. For example, in St Aldate's, Oxford, on the tomb of John Noble (d. 1522), as well as the bedesmen, there are kneeling figures of Noble's parents and siblings, holding their Books of Hours and reciting the Office for the Dead, an extract from which is conveniently inscribed on the ledge above them:

> Nunc xpe te petimus miserere quos qui venisti redimere perditos noli dampnare redemptos. [Miseremini] mei miseremini mei sal[tem] vos amici mei quia [manus domini tetigit me]
> *Now, Christ, we beseech thee, have mercy, those who camest to redeem the lost, do not condemn the redeemed* [the responsory after the ninth lesson of the Dirige] ... *Have mercy on me, have mercy on me, at least you, my friends have mercy on me, for the hand of the Lord hath touched me* [the responsory after the eighth lesson].[5]

A brass dated 1534 at Radnage (Buckinghamshire), to the Este family, shows the children of the deceased at prayer, some holding Books of Hours, others with rosaries.

Collegiate Churches

The grandest chantry foundations were chantry colleges which each had a number of priests, tasked with praying for the founder's soul.[6] Secular colleges, that is regulated communities of priests who had not taken monastic orders, played an important role in late medieval religion and society. Although the material aspects of collegiate establishments have often attracted more scholarly attention, the ritual element was the core of their being; colleges were simply an organised bodies of stipendiary priests with specific rights and duties. The priests were responsible for the entirety of the daily liturgical observance. They formed the senior element of the choir for the prescribed celebrations of the Mass, and they discharged with chant the performance of the eight canonical hours, the processions and other services. From the 1460s onwards in the larger collegiate churches the use of plainsong was supplemented or superseded by polyphony, which

5 J. Bertram, *Medieval Epigraphy in the City and University of Oxford* (privately printed and circulated, Oxford, 2005), pp. 115–56.

6 For recent work on colleges, see C. Burgess and M. Hale (eds), *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2008).

required a larger number of soloists and choristers and enhanced musical knowledge.[7] Training ensured that priests were able to provide an elaborate liturgy of a high order, as well as the accumulation of masses which reassured founders that their passage through Purgatory would be hastened.

Yet colleges also delivered additional benefits, both for the founder and the wider community. Usually supported by landed endowments, they were staffed under a master by canons supported by clerks who, not having taken strict vows, were able to interact freely with the parochial community and the wider world. Although the primary purpose of a college was to provide organised intercession on a grand scale for the founder and those others for whom he or she specified that the canons should pray, the college frequently doubled as a parish church. It normally also carried out a charitable function and fulfilled an educational role. The latter element could range from the great centres of scholarship and teaching exemplified by colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, to modest institutions providing a basic education for local children, as already explained in Chapter 4. The incorporation of almshouses and schools within the collegiate foundations established to provide a chantry function were good works which would also benefit the soul of the founder. Moreover, in providing these amenities for the parochial community the college enhanced what Clive Burgess has termed 'the liturgical premium' of their arrangements by attracting a grateful congregation of parishioners, paupers and pupils who would add to the prayers said for the founder.[8] By setting in train this cycle of inter-dependence, those financially able to make such lavish provision for their souls were ensuring a good return on their investment.

Collegiate churches in Europe have a long history, stemming originally from the Emperor Charlemagne's foundation at Aachen (Germany), built between 790 and 800.[9] From *c.* 1300 in England they were more popular foundations than were monasteries and became increasingly widespread from the mid fourteenth century when many aimed to emulate, although inevitably often on a much smaller scale, Edward III's two great foundations of St Stephen's college in the palace of Westminster and St George's college in Windsor Castle. High-ranking members of the nobility were quick to found their own collegiate churches, including St Mary in the Newarke, Leicester, by Henry, duke of Lancaster (1355), Holy Trinity, Pleshey (Essex), by Thomas, duke of Gloucester (1395), and All Saints', Fotheringhay (Northamptonshire), by Edmund, duke of York (1401) (Pl. 35). In turn the lesser nobility, gentry and clergy followed suit, each providing establishments whose size fitted their financial means, but all desirous of the organised intercession which would aid their souls.[10]

7 R. Bowers, 'Liturgy and Music in the Role of the Chantry Priest', in Burgess and Hale, *Late Medieval English College*, pp. 130–56.

8 C. Burgess, 'An Institution for All Seasons: The Late Medieval English College', in Burgess and Hale, *Late Medieval English College*, pp. 3–27, at pp. 14–15.

9 J. Bertram, 'The European Context: Collegiate Churches on the Continent', in Burgess and Hale, *Late Medieval English College*, pp. 28–43.

10 M. Heale, 'Colleges and Monasteries in Late Medieval England', in Burgess and Hale, *Late*

Many collegiate churches are well documented, as will be illustrated by several examples founded in parishes by individuals from various ranks of society. One outstanding example was the provision made for his soul by Ralph, 3rd baron Cromwell (d. 1456), whose only surviving heirs were his two nieces. A privy councillor from 1422, he served as treasurer of England (1433–43) and twice as chamberlain of the household (1425–32 and 1450–55) during the reign of Henry VI. He also commanded immense wealth; on his death his extensive estates were valued at some £2000 per annum. In part his fortune was inherited or gained through marriage, but Cromwell was also ruthless in seizing opportunities which came to him through his position as one of the great officers of state to acquire lands, wardships, reversions and other fruits of patronage and power. In 1439 royal assent was given to his collegiate foundation dedicated to the Holy Trinity at Tattershall (Lincolnshire), the crowning glory of which was to be the magnificent church in which his splendid brass was originally positioned, as directed in his will, in the place of honour, in the choir immediately in front of the high altar.[11] The establishment was to comprise a master, six priests, six clerks and six choristers, with an almshouse for thirteen paupers. The main purpose was to pray for the souls of King Henry VI, Ralph, and his parents, friends and benefactors, 'especially' his grandmother, the heiress Maud Bernack, who had brought Tattershall and other Lincolnshire manors to the Cromwell family. Sixteenth months later the foundation charter was drawn up and, in 1441, papal confirmation of the foundation was obtained and an indulgence granted to those who on the feasts of the Annunciation and Exaltation of the Holy Cross visited the church and made donations for its repair. However, work was not properly begun by the time Cromwell died in 1456 for, in a codicil to his will, he added to the endowment to enable the building work to proceed. Construction seems not to have begun in earnest until 1457. When the church was completed is unknown, but work on it continued until at least 1482, when the glazing was carried out. Maud and Joan Stanhope, Ralph's nieces, were his co-heiresses. Maud, later Lady Willoughby, evidently spent much of her widowhood supporting the completion of her uncle's collegiate foundation at Tattershall. Her testamentary bequest to the College of three lucrative manors in return for her obit and daily masses for herself, her husbands, parents, sister and uncle led to her being named as co-founder of the college. Conditional to the endowment was that the choristers should sing an antiphon at her tomb, marked by a monumental brass, every day after vespers.

An example of a collegiate church established by a wealthy knight was that founded in 1362 at Wingfield (Suffolk) in memory of Sir John de Wingfield III (d. 1361), who was descended from a family of administrators (Pl. 34). He who rose to prominence through service to the de Brewse family and had a distinguished career, both as a soldier and as a

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11 *Medieval English College*, pp. 67–88.
R. Marks, *The Stained Glass of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Tattershall (Lincs.)* (New York and London, 1984), pp. 12–29; S. Badham, 'Patterns of patronage: brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier kinship group', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 17 (2007), pp. 423–52.

leading estate administrator. He was a veteran of Crécy, Poitiers and Rheims and became steward of all the lands of Edward the Black Prince. The initial work on his chantry had been carried out in the last years of his life. In 1358 John obtained a licence from Edward III to assign in mortmain land and rents to the value of £30 per annum, and advowsons to the taxable value of £100 yearly, to establish a chantry.[12] He endowed the college with land in Wingfield, Earsham, Fressingfield and Weybread, together with rectorial income from the parish churches of Wingfield, Stradbroke and Syleham, and the chapel of Earsham. Sir John further provided in his will for the building of the large collegiate church near the site of the old church.[13] This was all presumably motivated at least in part by the fact that he was the last male of his line; he and his wife Eleanor Glanville had only a daughter Katherine, who married Michael de la Pole, later 1st earl of Suffolk. The foundation may also have been a form of thanksgiving for having survived the Black Death in 1349, although, as fate would have it, it was probably the 1361 outbreak which caused his death. It was stated in Sir John's will that in order to make the church suitable for the college, it must be 'in great part built anew ... and constructed on a larger scale than before ... with a belfry, bells, chapels, at a very great expense'.[14] Wingfield college was established with three chaplains, one of whom was the Master, with the prospect of increasing its size to nine chaplains and three choristers as and when an enhanced endowment could support it. They were to pray for the souls of Sir John, 'his parents, kinsfolk, benefactors and all those for whom he, or his parents and progenitors, were in any way bound'. His de la Pole descendants subsequently added to the endowment, enabling the college to expand to the nine chaplains and three choristers envisaged in Sir John's will, and also enlarging the chancel and south aisle of the church.[15] Sir John's provision was grander than most of his rank. He funded the construction of a new collegiate building with domestic ranges and outhouses, together with an appropriate collegiate church in which to house the chantry. He also had to provide an endowment generous enough to maintain those buildings, and sustain the college brethren, in perpetuity. He was buried in his new church, on the north side of the chancel, which was to act as a mausoleum for his family and many of their de la Pole heirs until the close of the fifteenth century.

These two examples are paralleled by many more throughout the country, although not all were on such a grand scale. Shottesbrooke church (Berkshire), a pocket-sized gem in the Decorated style, was founded in 1337 as a collegiate church by Sir William Trussell (d. 1363), an ambitious younger son of a Staffordshire knight who flourished in royal service in an administrative capacity (Pl. 78).[16] The initial endowment was a modest 40s.,

12 *CPR, 1358–61*, p. 112.

13 M. Bailey, 'Sir John de Wingfield and the Foundation of Wingfield College', E. Martin and P. Bloore (eds), *Wingfield College and its Patrons: Piety and Prestige in Medieval Suffolk* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 31–48.

14 Martin and Bloore, *Wingfield College and its Patrons*, passim.

15 *Ibid.*

16 N. Saul, 'Shottesbrooke Church: a Study in Knightly Patronage', in L. Keen and E. Scarff,

but he also received licence to alienate to the college a further 100s. in rent or land. In 1338 this was augmented by permission to acquire further lands or rent to the value of £10 per annum. The founding ordinance reveals that it was to be served by a warden, five chaplains and two clerks, who were to keep the canonical hours starting at daybreak. Services were to follow the Use of Sarum, with the Mass of Our Lady to be celebrated daily. Provision was also to be made for High Mass and for particular collects for the king and founder. Trussell and his wife Ida, the sister and co-heiress of Edward, Lord Boteler of Wem, were probably buried in the fine double founder's tomb in the north transept, although no effigies or brasses remain.

Chantry Chapels and Perpetual Chantries

Purpose-built chantry chapels, like collegiate churches, were an option only for the weathier members of society. They were staffed by one or more chantry priests. The duties of these priests were not as onerous as those of canons in collegiate churches, but they nonetheless extended beyond the daily saying or singing of Mass in the chantry chapel. Chantry priests would also participate fully in the daily services of Matins, High Mass and Vespers in the parish church. This was of considerable benefit to the parish as a whole as it enriched and increased divine service, although this aspect will not be addressed further here as my main focus is on the self-interest of the founder. The chapels themselves are essentially just a physical envelope within which the vital ritual of intercessory masses would be celebrated, but the ways in which this envelope was provided are of considerable interest.

Many former chantry chapels survive in parish churches, albeit stripped of the decorative schemes, ornaments and fittings which would usually have celebrated the person or family concerned through texts, heraldry or other imagery. Far more chantry chapels, especially those once marked out by parclose screens, have since probably just been absorbed into the fabric and appear nowadays as anonymous chapels or transepts. Burford church (Oxfordshire), for example, is a complicated church which has grown over the centuries, producing a labyrinthine interior with a cluster of aisles and chapels, some of which were almost certainly former chantry chapels, although detective work is required to establish by which families many of them were established (Pl. 76). A part-closed fifteenth-century chapel with a wooden canopy and screen dedicated to St Peter was probably a former chantry chapel; it was saved at the Reformation by being converted into a private pew for the new lay occupants of Burford Priory. Chantries were established in the Trinity chapel by John Pinnock *c.* 1486 and Richard Bishop *c.* 1508.[17] The north chapel is almost entirely occupied by a post-medieval monument to Sir Lawrence Tanfield (d. 1625), a lawyer, politician and chief baron of the exchequer. Yet, on the floor are four

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17 *Windsor. Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture of the Thames Valley*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 15 (Leeds, 2002), pp. 264–81. K. Tiller and G. Darkes (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Oxfordshire*, Oxfordshire Record Society, 67 (Oxford, 2010), p. 59.

indents of lost brasses, some of which commemorated members of the Pinnock family, suggesting that it may formerly have been their chapel. The south transept chapel is associated with the Leggare family, although no record of a chantry survives. It is dominated by a large fifteenth-century tomb chest in local stone with panels containing angels holding shields; the slab retains the indent of a brass with the kneeling figures of a civilian and wife and a fragment of an inscription to William Leggare (*c.* 1465). Around the soffit of the south window of the chapel is a memorial inscription (referred to in Chapter 6), asking for prayers for the father and mother of John Leggare who adorned the window (Pl. 43).

Another example of a chantry chapel which has merged into the general fabric of a church is at Winterbourne (Gloucestershire). Thomas de Bradeston (d. 1360) was the son of a minor landowner who, through service as a retainer of the Berkeley family, rose to the status of a banneret. On 12 January 1352 he received licence for the alienation in mortmain of land at Winterbourne to a chaplain, warden of the chantry newly made by him at the altar of St Michael in St Mary's, Winterbourne, and two other chaplains to celebrate divine service daily for his good estate, for his soul when he was dead and for the souls of his ancestors.[18] There is no medieval evidence as to where St Michael's altar stood in Winterbourne church; the Bradeston chantry was once regarded as having been in what is now known as the tower room in the south aisle of the church, but is more likely to be the manorial chapel at the east end of the north aisle.[19] It was also the family's mortuary chapel. However, all but one of the monuments have been moved to other parts of the church or lost. Bradeston had previously founded a chantry at Breadstone (Gloucestershire) for his first wife, but not even the church survives now.

We are fortunate that the chantry chapel at Lavenham (Suffolk) established by Thomas Spring III (d. 1523), one of the richest merchants in England, did not suffer the same anonymising fate. He actually built two chapels: he and his wife are buried in a chapel in the north nave aisle, while his chantry was on the south side of the choir. The finely-carved parclose screens of the chapel in the north aisle could easily have ended up being burnt, but they survive complete (Pl. 79), as does the inscription running along the exterior south parapet of the chantry chapel. This reads, '[Orate pro animabus] Thome Spryng armig' et Alicie uxoris ejus qui istam capellam fieri fecerunt anno dni MCCCCC vicesimo quinto (*[Pray for the souls] of Thomas Spring and Alice his wife who caused this chapel to be made AD 1525*)'. Both the interior and exterior of the chantry chapel are decorated by further identifiers, in the form of Spring's merchant's mark and the family's newly created arms. The history of Spring's foundation of his chantry chapel is provided by documentary evidence.[20] Thomas took the first step in founding it in 1517, although

18 *CPR 1350–54*, p. 198. The dedication of the church was changed from St Mary to St Michael the Archangel at some later date.

19 Badham, 'The de la More Effigies at Northmoor', pp. 30–34.

20 C. Tracy and H. Harrison, 'Thomas Spring's Chantry and Parclose at Lavenham, Suffolk', in Luxford and McNeill (eds), *The Medieval Chantry in England*, pp. 221–59.

the original licence was modified before his death. The fabric probably cost in the region of £300. Two competent chaplains were to celebrate Mass and six poor men pray there each day in perpetuity. His widow Alice (d. 1538) enhanced this by providing in her will for 'xiii poor folk to be present at the said Diriges and Masses ... these to pray for my husband Thomas Spring, and all christen [souls], of which number I will six to be those poor men which be my late husband's bedemen and myn and the other seven to be poor women and widows, every one to have every day a penny'.[21]

Another example of a chantry chapel which retains identifiers is at Tiverton (Devon). In 1517 John Greenway, a London draper, added a chantry chapel on the south side of the church, in a position in which the exterior masonry faces those approaching the church. The lower frieze is carved with wavy lines representing the sea, on which are shown merchant vessels; between them are anchors, ropes, sacks and Greenway's merchant mark (Pl. 80). On the south porch, also built by Greenway and adjoining his chapel are shields with the initials 'JG' above the main ogee. The chantry itself may be long gone, but we are still reminded of Greenway's profession and piety.[22]

Some individuals established multiple chantries at different locations. One was William de Cheltenham (d. between 1371 and 1374), a man whose origins are shrouded in obscurity, but who ended his days as a country gentleman due to his exceptionally successful career chiefly as a retainer of more than thirty years' service to the influential Berkeley family. In 1337 he was granted a licence for the alienation in mortmain of various lands in Pucklechurch and elsewhere in order to establish a chantry in honour of the Virgin Mary. One chaplain was to celebrate divine service daily in St Andrew's church, Pucklechurch, for William's soul. His chantry chapel was undoubtedly located in the present Lady chapel, on either side of which lie carved effigies under canopies for him and his wife, Eleanor. The chapel may have been separated from the rest of the church by parclose screens but no evidence of them remains. It is uncertain how soon after the issue of the licence the work was carried out. The window in the north wall dates to *c.* 1340–60, but comparisons for the dating of the effigies suggest that they date to the beginning of the 1350s. The work may be all of one campaign or the chapel may have been built and fitted out first, with the monuments added later, but with details of the canopies above the effigies carved to match the details of the stone altar frontal, a remarkable survival which was rediscovered in the churchyard in 1888. In the 1360s, perhaps in response to the death of his heir, William made further provision for his soul. In addition to his own chantry at Pucklechurch, he, together with Thomas and Maurice de Berkeley, was already amongst those to be prayed for by the chaplain of a chantry established in 1356 at All Saints', Stone (Gloucestershire), by John Sergeaunt the younger. Yet in the following decade he established two more chantries. On 22 Oct 1360 William obtained a licence from the king to alienate twelve messuages and twelve virgates at Purton by Awre (Gloucestershire), a Berkeley property north-west of the Severn, for a chaplain to celebrate

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[22] Burgess, 'Making Mammon Serve Man', p. 203.

divine service daily in the church there, for the souls of William and his ancestors. Then in 1365, he established a further chantry for his soul, the souls of his ancestors and those of the lords of Berkeley in Hillesley, described as being 'destroyed by pestilence', by granting three messuages and other lands in Hillesley (Gloucestershire), about ten miles from Pucklechurch.[23]

This sort of expenditure is typical of men and women who lacked male heirs and thus did not need to provide for the next generation. It can be compared, for example, with the case of the childless lawyer, Thomas de Crewe (d. 1418), who built a lavishly-fitted chantry chapel at Wixford (Warwickshire) on the death of his wife, Juliana, in 1411. The centrepiece was a tomb chest with a fine brass showing the couple under a double canopy.[24] Again, in 1438 Elizabeth, the widow of Sir William Wilcote, who had outlived her two sons, received licence to establish a chantry at North Leigh (Oxfordshire), which provided for two chaplains to celebrate for the souls of herself, her husband and her sons. The beautiful, purpose-built chapel and the monument with alabaster effigies to the pair were almost certainly completed by her death in 1445 (Pl. 20).[25]

Most perpetual chantries are recorded through the licences in mortmain entered on the patent rolls at The National Archives, but references to their establishment can also be found in testamentary records and in other sources. Sir Richard Hamerton (d. 1481) of Long Preston (Yorkshire) requested burial in the 'kirke of Preston in Craven in the chappell of Our Lady and Seynt Anne in the southe syde of the said kirk, wherin a chauntery is founded for a prest imperpetuite to syng for.Laurence Hamerton esquier [his father] and me the said Richard Hamerton knight, our wyffes, our childre, and all our auncestres'.[26] This chantry was probably celebrated in a dedicated chantry chapel, but some perpetual chantries were not linked to such a chapel. In his will, James Hadley (d. 1532), esquire of Withycombe (Somerset), requested:

> To have a priest to synge for 5 yeres, I will he have out of my lands as before 8 marks by the yere and to singe where my body shall happen to be buryed. An honest prest shall from the daie of my burying singe in Withecombe aforesaid for 15 yeres praying for the soules of my father Richard, my mother Phelep, my sowle, James, ffriswide, Ellen and Elizabeth my wiffes and all

23 S. Badham, 'The de Cheltenham Chantry Chapel at Pucklechurch (Gloucestershire) and its associated effigies', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 62 (2009), pp. 125–45; *CPR 1334–38*, p. 559; *CPR 1354–58*, p. 341; *CPR 1358–61*, 477; TNA #C #143332/7.=; B. Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle*, 2 vols, Gloucester Record Series, 17–18 (2004), 1, p. 469.

24 P. B. Chatwin, 'Wixford Church, Warwickshire: Its Brass and Painted Glass', *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, 55 (1931), pp. 48–56.

25 K. Heard, 'Death and Representation in the Fifteenth Century: The Wilcote Chantry Chapel at North Leigh, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 154 (2001), pp. 134–49.

26 Falvey, Boatwright and Hammond, *English Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of York 1477–99*, p. 5.

> our chyldren, kynsfolkes and all Christian sowles and after the same 15 yeres to the end of the world, as my wife and children executors will answer before God at the dredfull daie of jugement.[27]

Monumental inscriptions are another valuable source of information on chantries. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the lost inscription on the monument of Avery Cornborough (d. 1480), who established a chantry at Romford (Essex), provided a reminder of the many good works that he had carried out in his lifetime and provided for in death. The following section gives details of his perpetual chantry. It was staffed by a Doctor, a Bachelor of Divinity, or a Master of Arts; twelve priests and six clerks. Another example of a chantry recorded on a monument is a brass of 1532 at Launton (Oxfordshire). The inscription reads:

> Of your charity pray for the soule of Thomas Cottyford, Fermour of this Towne lviii yeares, Marione and Margarett his wives, his father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, buried under and neare unto this stone: their childrens soules, and especially for the sowle of Mr. John Cottyford, son to the said Thomas and Marione, whych was Procter and Commissary of the University of Oxford, Doctor of Divinity and Rector of Lyncolne College there. The said Thomas departed the morrow after low Sunday an(no) dom(ini) M CCCCC xxxii and founded a perpetual obit to bee kept in thys Church on that day.

In neither of these cases is it likely that the chantry was celebrated in a dedicated chapel. Both refer to a chantry as within the church, but do not say that it was in a chapel provided by the person commemorated. Given the propensity of those seeking intercession to record the good works they had carried out, including improving the church fabric, such an omission is probably significant. There are other examples. William Canynges (d. 1474), one of the wealthiest private citizens of his day and five times mayor of Bristol, established two perpetual chantries in St Mary Redcliffe church, one in 1466 at St Katherine's altar and a second in 1467 at St George's altar.[28] In contrast, a dedicated chapel is referred to on an incised slab at Easton-on-the-Hill (Northamptonshire), which reads:

> ... Robertus Senkeler quondam Rector istius ecclesie Anno domini millesimo CCCC xj Registratur quod idubus marcij quibus Rector istius ecclesie servet obitum Henrici Sampson et Alienore fundatorum eiusdem cantarie et Roberti Senkeler unitoris in capella beate Marie cum ij denis pulsantibus et una die in qualibet septimana dicetur memoria videlicet *Inclina Domine* cum secretis et post communionem in perpetuum pro predictis quorum animabus propicietur deus amen

[27] Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Wills*, 3, p. 14.
[28] E. E. William, *The Chantries of William Canynges in St Mary Redcliffe Bristol* (Bristol, 1950).

... Robert Senkeler sometime rector of this church A D 1411. It is recorded that on every Ides of March the rector of this church shall keep the obit of Henry Sampson and [Queen] Eleanor founders of the same chantry and of Robert Senkeler its uniter [with the rectory] in the chapel of the blessed Mary with twice ten peals and on one day of the week there be said the memorial namely Inclina Domine *with the secret prayers and post communion for ever for the aforesaid, on whose souls may God have mercy Amen* (Pl. 44).[29]

Some documentary sources also reveal how chantry chapels were fitted out. Sir John Pilkinton (d. 1479) of Skipton (Yorkshire) asked to be buried 'in my chauntery in the kirk of Wakefeld'. In his will he provided the chantry chapel with 'j messeboke, j challis gilt, ij crowettes [cruets] of silver, ij vestimentes and ij albes'.[30] A lengthy inventory, dated 1440, of the goods given by Sir Thomas Cumberworth (d. by 1450) to the priest of his chantry chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity in Somerby-by-Bigby church (Lincolnshire) is most informative.[31] Cumberworth, a wealthy knight active in local affairs who lacked a direct heir, was given over to works of piety, of which the most notable was the foundation of his chantry. The endowment was part of a wider scheme for improving the finances of the three churches of Somerby, Argam and Stain, upon which, by royal letters patent of 1437 and 1438, he was permitted to settle revenues worth six marks a year. A chantry priest took up residence in the autumn of 1439, and five years later Sir Thomas obtained a licence enabling him to set aside another sum of six marks to support both the chantry priest and a chaplain there.

His provision, as detailed in the inventory, was nothing short of magnificent, both with regard to the number of items and their quality. It included, for example, nine vestments. Several were made of baudekin (the richest kind of fabric used in the medieval period, the web being gold, and the woof silk, with embroidery), velvet, silk and cloth of gold, as well as more workaday ones in worsted, demyt (a thin cotton fabric woven with stripes or checks) and fustian (a coarse sturdy cloth made of cotton and flax). Of considerable interest are the cloths used to decorate the chapel. They included, 'thre baners of red silk for 3 Crosses beaten with gold, one wth the trinitie another wth the pete of or ladie the therd with a crucifix', 'a stened Clothe wth byrdes of golde for the rood loft', '2 clothes of gold of read and grene wth all the honourmts for the sepulchre and for o^{r} obetes & 2 of white cloth of gold', 'all the array for Lenton for the altar both over dose and nether dose wth Curtines and fronturs all of lynnen cloth', and, among several altar frontals, '2 stened cloths for afore the autere benethe, the tone beaten wth byrde, and grehoundes of gold, & y^{e} tother withouten gold' and '2 paire of curtens ye better of lawne and ye tother stened'.

29 Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 1, p. 323.

30 Falvey, Boatwright and Hammond (eds), *English Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of York 1477–99*, p. 13.

31 Peacock (ed.), *English Church Furniture*, pp. 183–4.

Two points merit particular attention. First, in the light of all these riches, it is sobering that all that remains at Somerby to remind us of Sir Thomas Cumberworth is a bell with an inscription recording that Cumberworth had it made in 1431. The location of the chantry chapel is uncertain and all its contents, including his tomb, are long gone. Secondly, if a mere knight could furnish his chantry chapel so lavishly, what might those of men of higher status have looked like?

Short-Term Chantries in Mortuary Chapels

Family mortuary chapels did not always house perpetual chantries. In some cases prayers were said for the deceased for only a short time. One such example is set out in the will of Dame Katherine Babington (d. 1537) of Kingston-on-Soar (Nottinghamshire), 'I will that my executor do fynyshe the chapell which I have begonne, and that he cause to be made our tombe of aleblaster stone over my husbonde and me in the arche betwene the chauncell and the said chapell, and do fynde one preeste to singe for my soule and my husbonde in the church of Kyngeston by the space of one yere next after my decesse'.[32] Her monument is indeed positioned in the arch between the chancel and her former chantry chapel. Although panels from it have been re-positioned, being re-mounted on the west wall, the surviving parts are elaborately carved with secular and religious symbols. Whether it originally incorporated effigies is, however, debatable, as if recumbent they would have blocked access to the chapel. The will of Robert Bifeld (d. 1482), ironmonger of London, directed that a new chapel should be built on the south side of the church of St Dunstan's in the West, London:

> in the church yerde their called the Pardone churchyerde, which chapell shall conteigne in leinght bitwene este and west xxx^{ti} fote or ij fote more orelles ij fote lesse and in brede bitwene north and south xvj fote or oon fote more or oon fote lesse of assise and of such height as by the masons making the saide chapel it shall seme convenient, taking doun asmoch of the utter walle in the south partie of the saide church both in leinght and height as shall conveniently accord with the leinght and height of the saide chapell so of newe to be made, which chapell so made shal be dedicated and hallowed in the honnour of God, his blessud moder, of saint John Baptist and saint John the evangeliste. Also that myn executours make and sett within the saide chappell pewes and sittynges convenient and necessarie aftir their discretion for my wife, children and servantes and myn heires and assignes, inhabitantes of the place which I dwell in, sette in Watir Lane.[33]

He planned to be buried in the churchyard on the site of his chapel, so that he would in time have an intramural burial and presumably also a monument. Bifeld went on to set

[32] Clay (ed.), *North Country Wills*, p. 102.
[33] Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills 1479 to 1486*, 1, 153–64.

out the arrangements for a limited-term chantry to be established in this chapel, leaving £266 14*s.* 4*d.*:

> To the finding of a preest of good and honest converesation for to sing in the saide chapell by me or myn executours so of newe to be made by the space of xl yeres next suyng my decesse for my soule, the soules of my fader, my moder, Johanne and Johanne my wives, our children, the soules of William Rotheley goldesmyth and Christiane his wif, my frendes and benefactours and all christen soules passed to God.

He specified the prayers to be sung by the priest and other terms of employment. Finally, Bifeld arranged for other post-mortem prayers to be said in the church for the same term of forty years after his death, as well as other pious bequests. The church survived the Great Fire of 1666, but was re-built in 1829–32. Views and engravings of the medieval building show a long, low aisle on the south side, which must be Bifeld's chantry (Pl. 81). Far more common than arrangements such as these, however, were the post-mortem prayers to be said at side altars or elsewhere in churches, as dealt with below.

Immediate Post-Mortem Prayers

Prayers for the deceased began immediately after death, although the number of masses specified by some testators appears unrealistically large as to numbers. Priests were allowed by canon law to celebrate only one mass a day, except at Easter, so large numbers of masses could be provided only if huge numbers of priests were available. Alice West (d. 1395), the widow of Sir Thomas West, of Hinton Martel (Dorset) was clearly extremely anxious to ensure that prayers were said as swiftly as possible to aid the passage of her soul through Purgatory, bequeathing to Christchurch Priory £18 10*s.*, 'for to synge and seye MMMM and CCCC Masses for my lord sir Thomas West-is soule, and for myn, and for alle cristene soules, in the most hast that it may be do, withynne xiiij nyght next after my deces'.[34] To perform 4,400 masses within a fortnight must have placed a considerable burden on the brethren. Indeed, it would have been impossible, without drafting in other priests to help, and possibly beyond achieving even then. Yet this is not an isolated example, and other anxious testators also set considerable challenges to their executors in arranging large numbers of soul masses, perhaps because of their extreme fear of Purgatory.

The most exaggerated examples relate not to parochial burials of the 'middling sort', but to royalty buried in monastic establishments. In the eight days of mourning that followed the burial of Matilda, wife of Henry I, 47,000 masses were supposed to have been offered, 9,000 recitations of the Psalter and eighty trentals.[35] It is hard to credit that this could be achieved.

[34] TNA: PROB 11/1/82; Furnivall (ed.), *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, p. 6.

[35] J. McNeill, 'A Prehistory of the Chantry', in Luxford and McNeill (eds), *Medieval Chantry in England* (2011), pp. 1–38, at p. 11.

Nonetheless, Alice West was not alone in requesting thousands of masses. William Setman (d. 1433), mercer and former mayor of Norwich, requested 5,000 masses to be said immediately after his death,[36] while John Grygge (d. 1446) of Lavenham (Suffolk) left 40*s.* for 400 masses, in his case specifying that they should be carried out in the week of his death.[37] To have carried out this last instruction in full would have required 57 priests to celebrate every day. Again, Richard Weyvyle (d. 1417) of Rodmell (Sussex), but who also held lands in Somerset, asked for 3000 masses to be celebrated for his soul within 3 days of his death at a cost of £12 10*s.*, and John Cable (d. 1408) of Frome (Somerset) directed that his executors should cause a thousand masses to be said for his soul immediately after death.[38] Such examples may well have been aspirational rather than realistic, but some testators had thought out their plans more carefully. The York mercer William Vescy (d. 1407) left £4 for 400 masses on the four Fridays following his death. This works out at 100 each week at 2½*d.* each. It is unclear whether they were all to be performed in his parish church of All Saints', with twenty at each of the church's altars; but Paul Barnwell concludes from another of Vescy's bequests – to provide a year's stipend for seven chaplains – that this was indeed the case.[39]

Other testators requiring large numbers of soul masses in a short period clearly intended that their executors should find suitable priests from outside the home parish. Sir Edmund Rede (d. 1489) of Boarstall (Buckinghamshire) directed that his executors should, 'distribute with all speed after my death 1000 groats to 1000 priests, each to celebrate Dirige with a mass of requiem for my soul'.[40] The wide area over which priests would need to be found was clearly recognised by John Testwode (d. 1412) of Trent (Somerset), who left 100*s.* for celebrating 'a thousand masses for my soul within the octave [eight days] after I shall pass away from this world, together with the expenses of divers horsemen in arranging the matter'.[41] Equal realism was shown by the will of John Walle (d. 1427), rector of Sheviock (Cornwall), who asked for 100 masses to be celebrated with all haste after his death, wherever they could be said, at Exeter and elsewhere.[42] Similarly, William Conquest (d. 1522) of Southill (Bedfordshire) asked for a trental of masses [30 masses] if possible to be said on his burial day, or 'if it cannot be done conveniently of the same day to be made on end on the morrow'.[43] A significant proportion of testators asked for prayers to be said daily for a certain period, often a year upwards. This normally referred to daily masses, although Thomas Reresby (d. 1522), a gentleman of Rotherham (Yorkshire), specified for *Placebo*, *Dirige* with commendation and Mass four times a week for a year.[44]

36 NRO, NCC, Register Surflete, 124–25.
37 Northeast, *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury 1439–1471*, 1, p. 133.
38 Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills*, 1, pp. 80 and 33.
39 Barnwell, Cross and Rycraft, *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England*, pp. 66–67.
40 Weaver and Beardwood (eds), *Oxfordshire Wills*, p. 42.
41 Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills*, 1, p. 59.
42 Orme (ed.), *Cornish wills*, p. 62.
43 Bell (ed.), *Bedfordshire wills*, p. 124.
44 Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 5, p. 151.

The Anniversary

If funerals were the single event at which the greatest number of prayers might be expected, to speed the deceased's soul through Purgatory, then post-mortem masses were the supporting element relied upon by most testators. The impression created is of huge numbers of such services being carried out up and down the country, carrying a tide of intercessory prayers to Heaven. A common request in many medieval wills was for masses for the soul to be celebrated at specific intervals after the death of the person concerned. The numbers and type of these soul-masses could vary enormously. Post-mortem prayers continued to be said daily for specified periods after death, including the octave (8th day), sennight (15th day), and monthly mind, a service often replicating the main funeral liturgy. Most important of all was the especially elaborate service termed the year's mind, obit or anniversary, celebrated on the yearly anniversary of death, either for a set number of years or for ever.[45] The highest sums of money were often devoted to this occasion, underlining its importance in the minds of the late-medieval Christian faithful.

The details of one perpetual chantry involving the celebration of the anniversary were set out on a brass plate formerly at Aylesbury (Buckinghamshire); it was taken down at the Reformation and reused as the brass to Elizabeth Horne (d. 1548) at Shipton-under-Wychwood (Oxfordshire). It recorded the grant of a property to the Fraternity of St Mary the Virgin at Aylesbury in return for annual masses in perpetuity, and can be reconstructed in modern spelling as follows:

> To all true faithful and Christian people which shall see here or behold or read this present writing John Stone and Alice his wife send greeting in our Lord everlasting. Be it known by your university that we have given and confirmed by charter and seizin thereof delivered to the wardens or masters of the guild or brotherhood otherwise called the Fraternity of the Glorious Virgin, Saint Mary Our Lady of Aylesbury, a messuage with the appurtenances lying in the parson's [fee] in Aylesbury in manner form and condition here following, that is to say that if the said masters themselves or by their attorneys whatsoever they be in the prebendal church of the blessed Mary, Our Lady of Aylesbury, after the manner and usage of the church of Salisbury solemnly to be kept sing for the souls of the said John and Alice his wife diriges yearly the 23 day of April in time to come and always to endure and on the morrow the masses in like wise, then they to enjoy the said messuage. With this also that [they] give unto the vicar of the said church yearly for the time being 8*d.* and distribute to other priests and clerks singing the masses 2*d.* yearly at the place and days aforesaid. And moreover if the said masters and attorneys which for the time shall be to supervise or oversee the promises take for the labours 2*d.* that then the foresaid messuage with the appurtenances wholly remain to the said masters and their successors

45 The best study of the anniversary remains Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead'.

> for evermore. And if default be made in the premises or in any of them at any day or on the morrow after any of these days or of any of the morrows aforesaid in which as it is premised or thought to be done and kept, that then the foresaid John and Alice my wife aforesaid will and grant that the wardens or the masters of the said parish church of Aylesbury which for the time shall be take into their hands all the foresaid messuage with the appurtenances, and that they receive seizin in the same to find the diriges and masses in manner and form within written [and that] they and their successors in the office of the said church do continually the same by times evermore to endure.[46]

William Frith (d. 1386), a fishmonger of London, set out the necessary arrangements for a perpetual anniversary in his will.[47] Two chaplains were to say masses in perpetuity for his soul, those of his parents, kinsmen and the faithful departed, according to the Use of Sarum. On his anniversary they were to say the *Placebo* and *Dirige* and to celebrate a Requiem Mass. Furthermore two candles were to burn at his tomb, a brass in the chancel of the collegiate church of Shottesbrooke (Berkshire), one at the head and one at the foot. As these examples indicate, the anniversary was often conducted in many ways like the funeral, although there appear to have been considerable variations in details. The *Placebo* would be celebrated on the afternoon of the day before the main services. On the second day – exactly one year after the funeral – there would be a solemn Requiem Mass in the morning and the Dirige would take place in the afternoon. This arrangement is exemplified by the will of Sir John Yong (d. 1481), alderman and mayor of London and mayor of the Staple of Calais, who specified that his anniversary should consist of 'placebo and dirige ovir nyght and masse of requiem on the morowe folowyng', both of which he expected the master and fellowship of the London grocers to attend.[48] The same pattern of services was required by Thomas Hoye (d. 1482), joiner of London, although he also specified that the mass of the Office of the Dead should be with music and that there should be 'bell ringing and other things necessary for that anniversary and also [spending annually] on alms'.[49] The anniversary of Thomas Halleway (d. 1453), a former mayor of Bristol, and his wife Joan, which was to be celebrated on the Tuesday after the Feast of St Lucy [13 December], took a broadly similar form, but was clearly a lavish affair.[50] On the eve Placebo and Dirige were said 'by note [chanted or sung]', with twenty priests and two

46 M. Stephenson, 'A List of Palimpsest Brasses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 4 (1900–03), pp. 258–60. The brass is now mounted in a hinged oak frame so that both sides can be read.

47 Saul, 'Shottesbrooke Church', p. 274.

48 Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills 1479 to 1486*, 1, p. 125.

49 *Ibid.*, 1, p.138.

50 Burgess (ed.), *All Saints', Bristol*, 3, pp. 71–356, at pp. 96–97. C. Burgess, 'A service for the dead', p. 185.

clerks in attendance; they were also to attend the Requiem on the second day when they each would receive 4*d*. Friars were also to attend, Franciscans receiving 6*s*. 8*d*. each and those of the other three orders 3*s*. 4*d*. Four peals of bells were rung at *Dirige* 'from the hours of one to seven', and on the second day a peal from nine to eleven. Civic dignitaries were also to attend, again receiving a payment for their pains. The bedesman received 4*d*. for proclaiming the anniversary throughout the town. The bell-ringing and proclamations were clearly intended to stimulate intercessory prayers for the dead by a wider community than just those who attended the services. Finally, on each occasion 50*s*. was to be devoted to a penny dole for worthy paupers, aimed at prompting more prayers from them. Like many a funeral for the town's élite, it must have been a magnificent display, highly visible to many of the Christian faithful.

Yet, many anniversaries were much simpler, that of John Palmer (d. 1403) of Bristol costing only 2*s*. annually.[51] William Gere the elder (d. 1519) of Sharnbrook (Bedfordshire) specified that his obit should consist of *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and Requiem Mass with a 'solempne pele rong' for his soul and all Christians.[52]

Anniversaries were not necessarily either a one-off occasion or perpetual, but could be celebrated for a set number of years after death. Burgess's analysis of the anniversary in Bristol reveals obits of fixed durations ranging from one year to ninety years.[53] Most were to be celebrated yearly, but that of Nicholas Pittes (d. 1494) was celebrated every three years. John Somerwell (d. 1401) asked for an anniversary for the souls of himself and his wife to be kept for twenty years, with 40*s*. to be spent on each occasion.[54] Again, John Laynell (d. 1474), a draper, requested that, 'my executors should annually and with solemnity hold my anniversary in the said church of All Hallows' for 10 years'.[55] A similar pattern of fixed-term anniversaries is found elsewhere in England. For example John Slade (d. 1528) of Blunham (Bedfordshire), directed his wife Agnes to keep a yearly obit with *Mass* and *Dirige* for him in the parish church, and have the Ave bell tolled 'morow noone and evyn' as long as she lived.[56]

The funerary re-enactments at the anniversary took place with an empty bier, but complete with hearse and candles, and with the same prayers and ceremonies as for the actual funeral, as explained in Chapter 10. Most would have used the parish hearse and other related equipment. An element of this is shown by the will of Richard Brawdrib (d. 1533), rector of High Halstow (Kent), who left to the church at Frindsbury, 'a cross to stand vppon the herse at buryings and obetts'.[57] The hearse would have been draped with the funeral pall to resemble the draped coffin, taperers [men holding candles] stood round, the liturgical procession entered with cross, incense and candles, and the Mass was sung.

51 Burgess, 'A service for the dead', p. 186.
52 Bell (ed.), *Bedfordshire Wills*, p. 102.
53 Burgess, 'A service for the dead', table 1, pp. 192–93.
54 *Ibid.*, p. 184.
55 Burgess (ed), *All Saints', Bristol*, 3, p. 24.
56 Bell (ed.), *Bedfordshire wills*, p. 134.
57 Duncan (ed.), *Testamenta Cantiana*, 1, p. 27.

As in some of the examples already quoted, sometimes other elements of the funeral were replicated, including bell-ringing, candle-burning and refreshments for the poor. William Pownam (d. 1454) of Bristol made detailed provisions for his perpetual anniversary, including for the parish clerk to ring the church bells for a payment of 2*s*. yearly, for the bedesman to proclaim the anniversary in the town for 4*d*., for two wax candles costing 18*d*. to burn at the service, and 10*s*. to be spent on halfpenny loaves to distribute to the poor.[58]

One interesting question is where within the church anniversary and other post-mortem masses were celebrated. Conventional wisdom is that the majority were celebrated in front of the rood screen, where the body would have been at the funeral itself. For example, the will of William Geffreys, merchant of Bristol (d. 1516), provided for obits to be said at the Austin friars, Bristol, before the Holy Rood.[59] An inscription slab at Corfe (Dorset) to Robert and Johanna Ryky, referred to in Chapter 6, mentions that the couple 'caused to be made this window here above' and 'desired to be celebrated annually one mass on the Vigil of St John the Baptist and this at the higher step before the great cross [before the Rood]' (Pl. 88).

Yet there is a body of evidence that post-mortem masses could be celebrated at or near the tomb monument of the deceased. A French illumination of *c*.1414 shows a gowned and cowled religious figure with a book, seated on top of a gravestone in a churchyard; the stone bears a marginal inscription in Gothic minuscule script.[60] Some probate evidence is straightforward in its interpretation. Adam Inhyne (d. 1418) asked to be buried in his parish church of St Mary le Port, Bristol, before the altar of St Katherine; he also left £20 for daily masses to be celebrated for four years at that altar.[61] William Castell (d. 1524), a merchant from King's Lynn (Norfolk), requested prayers to be said for himself, his wife and their parents at the altar of St William, in the church of St Margaret at King's Lynn. He requested burial, 'before the pictur of saint Savyour at the north ende of seynt Williams awter'.[62] He also directed that, 'I will that my said wife yerely shall cawse the wardeyn of the gray freres in Lenn or his deputie in his absence to be warned to be at the forsaid dirige and masse to sitt there at thende of my Tombe praying for my soule all my frendes soules and all christen soules'. Again, John Davy (d. 1487), merchant of Dursley (Gloucestershire) chose burial before the altar in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Dursley church and provided for obits there for his parents and himself.[63] Effectively, therefore, the soul masses for all three were to be celebrated in the vicinity of their grave. Yet does this evidence really mean that the services were actually celebrated at the monument involving the use of a consecrated mensa? Surely this cannot

58 Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', p. 184.
59 TNA: PROB 11/20/8.
60 Châteauroux (Indre, France), Bibliothèque Municipale MS 2 fo. 270v: [www.culture.gouv.fr/Wave/savimage/enlumine/irht2/IRHT_054257-p.jpg accessed 7 April 2014].
61 C. Burgess, 'Chantries in the Parish', p. 111.
62 TNA: PROB11/21/318.
63 TNA: PROB 11/8/23.

have been the case unless a portable altar was erected on or in front of the monument? More likely the correct interpretation of these examples is that the family and friends gathered round the monument or tomb while the priest officiated at the nearest altar.

Most anniversaries were celebrated in the home parish, but merchants in particular asked for obits also to be said in other localities, as a study of the wills of Bristol merchants shows. Some may have been born elsewhere and moved to Bristol as a suitable trading centre; they might then have wished to be remembered in their native town or village. Robert Senving (d. 1458) asked for obits at Ludlow and 'Woodhouse-by-Clee' (Shropshire), perhaps suggesting that he was by origin a Shropshire man.[64] Richard Vaughan (d. 1507) asked for services to be held at Aberystwyth (Wales), again perhaps his birthplace.[65] Yet this cannot explain all cases where far-flung locations are specified. Roger Leveden (d. 1448) wanted post-mortem prayers to be celebrated at St Andrew's, Wells, and Potterne (Wiltshire).[66] William Coder (d. 1474) requested obits at Westbury (Wiltshire) and Ludlow (Shropshire).[67] Others wanted post-mortem prayers to be celebrated even further afield. Walter Rye (d. 1508) provided for an obit at 'our blissed lady off Denbigh in Wallys w^{t}in the chapell of seynt Antony there'; and Walter Lyncoln (d. 1484) made provision for soul masses at Christchurch of Waterford (Ireland).[68] Merchants had contacts in many places where they traded, so the motivation for providing for masses in these locations would presumably be to increase the number of prayers said and thus speed their passage through Purgatory. A significant minority of other testators asked for post-mortem prayers at a variety of churches and religious houses. The Cornish knight, Sir Ranulph Blanchminster (d. 1348), for example, left 30 marks to six priests to direct prayers to the Trinity daily on behalf of his soul in the year after his death; two were to say prayers at Stratton, where he chose burial but four were appointed to other parishes.[69]

Other Post-Mortem Prayers

Other post-mortem prayers appear to have been celebrated in a variety of ways, albeit sometimes in a simpler style than the anniversary. Dame Jane Barre (d. 1485), the widow of Sir John Barre, directed that daily masses for her soul for three years should consist of 'vij psalmys and xv psalmys with the latany, *placebo* and *dirige* with ix lessons and commendations'.[70] Similarly, John Johnson (d. 1535) of Great Staughton (Huntingdonshire) specified that 'my seventh day and xxxti day be kepte honestly wt laude dirige and messe of requiem after the laudable use of oure mothere holie church'.[71]

64 TNA: PROB 11/4/292.
65 TNA: PROB 11/15/613.
66 TNA: PROB 11//3/576.
67 TNA: PROB 11/6/208.
68 TNA: PROB 11/16/150; Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills 1479 to 1486*, 1, pp. 287–88.
69 Orme (ed.), *Cornish Wills*, pp. 27–29.
70 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 31.
71 HA, *Huntingdon wills* 5 (AH15/1/5), p. 15.

This was not the case, however, for Sir John Yong (d. 1481), the mayor of London whose will has been quoted above. His specifications show his desire to be remembered post mortem with a prominent display of his heraldry, but also to avoid the customary feast for City dignitaries, substituting a substantial dole for the poor. Evidently, like many other testators whose examples I have cited, he believed that the prayers of the poor would serve his spiritual welfare better than the gratitude of the men after a good meal:

> Ferthermore I woll that at my monethes mynde their be sette for me in the saide churche of saint Mighell (St Michael Paternoster Royal) that herce which was by me late ordeigned to serve att the anniversaries of my cousin William Venour squier, late warden of the Flete, which herce is now in the parrish church of saint Jame of Garlykhithe of London. And I woll that no more wexe be added therto thanne hath been accustumed to be putt therto at the anniveresaries of the saide William Venour nor that it be chaunged except the armes thereof for the which I woll their be ordeigned by myn executours ij newe pynyons of myn armes to be sett upon the same herce with my proverb *A domino factum est istud (This was done by the Lord)*. And I woll not that at my monethes mynde be made any grete feest for the maire and aldermenne and other thrusty comyners of this cite as oft tymes it is accustumed to be doon in such caas but I woll that such money as shuld be expended in that wise be yoven to pour people aftre the discretion of myn executours.[72]

Greater precision as to what was required is demonstrated in the will of Joan Devyn (d. 1484), widow of Henley (Oxfordshire), who requested that thirty Gregorian Masses should be celebrated in the choir for herself, her husband and others, between her burial and her month's mind.[73] She asked that 'all the chaplains then serving in that church ... shall perform my exequies daily in the choir after the Hail Mary, solemnly and with the singing of prayers, and privately shall recite the prayers for souls two by two round my burial place'.[74] On the next day there was to be a solemn requiem mass, immediately after which 'they shall say the *De profundis* round my burial place'. After the thirty masses had been completed the exequies were to be repeated every thirty days for a year. Another detail regarding the conduct of soul-masses is shown by the provision in the will of her will that at her month's mind six poor people should stand around her tomb holding candles.[75] Refreshments would have been served after these services. For example, Thomas

[72] Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills 1479 to 1486*, 1, pp. 122–23.

[73] Gregorian Masses were also known as the trental of St Gregory, which involved the saying of special masses during the octave of each of ten major festivals in the liturgical year, and required the celebrating priest to fast and undertake other works of mortification of the flesh.

[74] Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills 1479 to 1486*, 1, p. 271.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

Ostrich (d. after 1483), a haberdasher of London, specified that at his month's mind there should be 'brede, ale, spice wyne after my degre'.[76]

Most testators made only limited conditions regarding the priest to be employed for these soul prayers. The vast majority just asked for 'an honest priest', that is a competent one, although Maurice Bironf (d. 1510), an organ maker of York, specified a priest 'that canne synge both plane song and prik song'.[77] These services were often supplementary to other soul prayers. Hence, the will of Margaret Sporle (d. 1536) of Fritton (Norfolk) directed:

> I gyve and bequeath vs yerely to kepe an obytte for my sowle and all criste [i.e. christen] sowles unto the ende and terme of x yerys and longer if it maybe borne by the disposicion of myn executors. Itm I gyve and bequeath to an honest preste xs to synge a trentall of masses for my sowle and all christen sowles. Itm I gyve and bequeath iiis iiijd to bye an altare cloth to hang before the heigh altare in the churche of ffreton. ... Also I bequeath to the parson of ffreton for my certen [for certains see Chapter 8] ii yerely by the space of x yere to pray for my sowle and all christen sowles and longer if my goods woll [i.e. will] extende by the disposicon of myn executors.[78]

The will of John Alvard (d. 1506), also of Fritton, having asked for *Placebo*, *Dirige* and Mass of Requiem for his souls and his friends' souls, requests a 'certen' in the said church and leaves a bequest to his servant, John Smith, if Smith finds a priest to 'sing and pray for me and Jane my wife' in Fritton church for a year after his wife's death.[79] Again, Robert Rouse (d. 1525) of Laxfield (Suffolk) asks to be prayed for 'by iij massys iiij diriges and prayers song and saide in the holie tyme of lent and also by the said priest onys in eny weke in lent ... and prayed for by a special memorie and collect in the masse'.[80]

Quite a few testators specified that favoured prayers or services dedicated to a specific saint or aspect of religious faith should be said or sung. Robert Gibson (d. 1486), a tailor of Southwark (Surrey), chose five Masses of the Five Wounds of Christ at both his month's mind and at his anniversary.[81] The Mass of the Five Wounds was a popular requiem. Margaret Pygott (d. 1509) of Snape (Suffolk) left five groats for a priest to 'syng v masses in the worship of the v principal woundys of our Lord Ihu Crist and other v masses in the worship of the lementacon of our lady'.[82] Augustine Marler (d. 1525) of Erwarton (Suffolk) requested 'v masses off the v woundes of our lorde be sung for my soule'.[83] Agnes Cok (d. 1516) of Barton Turf (Norfolk) stated where the Mass should be

[76] *Ibid.*, pp. 219.
[77] Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 5, p. 22.
[78] NRO, NCC, Register Hyll, 32–33.
[79] NRO, MS 15370, 37A.
[80] SROI, Ipswich Wills 9, fo. 134.
[81] Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), *Surrey Wills*, p. 37.
[82] SROI, Ipswich Wills 5, fo. 96.
[83] SROI, Ipswich Wills 9, fo. 120.

celebrated. She left money for a Mass of the Five Wounds with five candles on the high altar before the sacrament.[84] Again, John Foxe (d. 1510) of Little Walsingham (Norfolk) wanted a Mass of the Five Wounds 'of Our Lord Ihu Christe' said for his soul in the parish church.[85] From the same parish, Richard Collard (d. 1510) asked for the same mass, but to be said at Scala Coeli in London, an indulgenced altar in St Paul's cathedral.[86] He also requested the Jesus Mass, a votive Mass of the Holy Name popular in the late medieval period.

There are many other examples of specific masses being requested, which reflected the individual piety of the testators or their devotion to a specific saint. John Don (d. 1480), mercer of London, left funds for 'C vertuous prestes religious and secular withinne London and aboute London' all to sing 15 Masses, 'every masse of the annunciation of oure blissid lady *Rorate celi desuper* [*Drop down, ye dews, from heaven*] and a memorie bifore or aftir alle the masses off *Requiem eternam* [*Rest eternal*]'.[87] Some spread their hopes by asking for prayers to be directed to several saintly intercessors. William Felawe (d. 1411), rector of Portishead (Somerset), requested 105 Masses of the Trinity, 105 Masses of the Virgin Mary, 105 masses of the Holy Ghost and 105 Masses for the souls of all the faithful deceased as soon as it could be done.[88] Geoffrey Procter (d. 1524) of Nether Bordley in Craven (Yorkshire) funded a priest to say Masses as follows: the Trinity Mass on Sundays, Requiem on Mondays, *De Vulneribus Christi* [the Mass of the Five Wounds of Christ] on Wednesdays, the Jesus Mass on Fridays, Our Lady's Mass on Saturdays and a Mass of the priest's choice on Tuesdays and Thursdays.[89] Again, William Penbrygge (d. *c.* 1479), skinner of London, asked for 1000 Masses of priests of specified, mainly mendicant, orders, with 100 masses each of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Ghost, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Michael and all archangels, St Peter and the blessed apostles, St Thomas of Canterbury and other blessed martyrs, St Nicholas and other holy confessors, St Katherine and all other holy virgins and 200 masses of requiem.[90] He seems to have shown an almost grim determination to ensure that prayers were addressed to every possible powerful intercessor.

Even more exceptional is the highly specific form of Masses requested in the will of Agnes Hilton (d. 1535) of Northampton:

> Item I will thatt there be xiij masses said for me thatt weare shewd to busshoppe Innocente [Pope Innocent] be revelation by an aungell from

84 NRO, NCC, Register Batman, 97.
85 NRO, NCC, Register Sparhawk, 111.
86 NRO, NCC, Register Spyltymber, 315.
87 Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills 1479 to 1486*, 1, p. 38.
88 Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills*, 1, pp. 46–48.
89 Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eborencensia*, 5, p. 183.
90 Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills 1479 to 1486*, 1, p. 47.

allmytie Godd. The first masse of the Advent *Ad te levavi*; the second on Christenmasse day *Puer natus*; the thirde of the Epiphanye *Ecce advenit*; the iiijth masse of *Septuagesima Circumdederunt*; the vth on Palme Sunday *Domine*. Ad evangelium *Cum appropinquasset*, & rede the passion after masse; the vjth of the resurrecton; the vijth of the assencon; the viijth of Penthecoste; the ixth of the Crosse; the xth of our Lady *Vultum tuum*. Oratio *Concede*. Epistola *Ego quasi*. Gradale *Propter veritatem*. Alleluia *Virga Jesse*. Sequentia *Ducis (?dulcis) ave*; the xjth of the trynytie; the xijth of the apostells; the xiijth of the angels.[91]

Some other votive masses were particularly popular, including, especially in the fifteenth century, the elaborate rites of the St Gregory trental explained above. Typical of testamentary references to this mass is the will of Thomas Cormyng (d. 1481) of Weston Longville (Norfolk), who left 10s for a trental of St Gregory.[92] Similarly, John Waren (d. 1486), a fuller of London, requested 'a trentall of masses of St Gregory for my soule' immediately after his death.[93] The devotion to St Gregory first appeared in thirteenth-century English and French liturgical books, its institution being originally attributed to Pope Gregory, commonly known as Saint Gregory the Great, who was Pope from 3 September 590 to his death in 604. Gregory is also known through the late-medieval subject in art of the Mass of St Gregory, based on an early story that was elaborated in later hagiography. Gregory is shown saying Mass when Christ as the Man of Sorrows appears on the altar. The subject was hardly seen in art until the Jubilee Year of 1350, when a Papal indulgence of 14,000 years was granted for prayers said in its presence. In became popular in woodcuts and other media. In the Savage Chapel at Macclesfield church (Cheshire) is a brass in memory of Roger Legh (d. 1506) and his wife Elizabeth. The part depicting Elizabeth and their seven daughters is missing, but the rest remains; Roger is shown kneeling with his six sons, before an image of the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, with the image of Christ rising behind the kneeling Pope (Pl. 82). An inscription tells that 'the pardon for saying 5 Pater Nosters and 5 Aves and a Cred is 25 thousand years and 26 days of pardon'.

The St Gregory trental, as well as the Jesus Mass and the Mass of the Five Wounds referred to above, were superseded in desirability in the sixteenth century by the *Scala Coeli* (Ladder of Heaven) Mass. As explained in Chapter 3, the original *Scala Coeli* indulgence was attached to an altar at the abbey of Tre Fontane in Rome, named because of a reputed vision of St Bernard there, in which he saw souls ascending on a ladder to heaven.[94] To visit the chapel and have a mass celebrated on behalf of an individual after

[91] Serjeantson and Isham Longden, 'The Parish Churches and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire', p. 250.

[92] NRO, NCC, Register Caston, 88.

[93] Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills 1479 to 1486*, 1; p. 457.

[94] Morgan, 'The Scala Coeli indulgence'.

death gave great benefits, variously described as freeing the soul from the pains of Purgatory at once or swiftly. In the course of the early sixteenth century many churches gained the indulgence and references to it in wills nationally grew exponentially until Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1534, when the gathering of membership funds based on papal indulgences became illegal and the *Scala Coeli* indulgence was outlawed altogether under the 'Ten Articles' of 1536.

Mnemonics

It is clear from the evidence that soul masses would have been a frequent occurrence in churches, especially busy city ones. Burgess has found evidence of some fifty anniversaries in fifteenth-century Bristol parishes. This was derived from a small and much depleted sample of evidence, and undoubtedly understates the true total.[95] To this must be added a large number of other post-mortem prayers. In consequence, it would have been difficult for some priests to remember all those who were due to be commemorated, although parish lists of 'good doers' and the bede roll (dealt with in Chapter 9) were intended to ensure this did not happen. Nonetheless, the possibility of being overlooked must have been a concern to those who had made costly provision for post-mortem prayers. Hence some resorted to various stratagems to act as *aides-memoire*.

There were various means by which parish priests could be reminded of specific soul masses. Many parishes and guilds also had obit lists. For example the Guild of Kalendars at Exeter had one drawn up in the 1310s or 1320s. The names were arranged by month, so that the names of those who should be remembered could easily be checked.[96] A list also survives for the Exeter parish church of St Martin, with names going back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[97] This again was essentially a calendar with the names of those who had paid for anniversary masses written in at the appropriate date. In Stoke Gurney (Somerset) they evidently also kept such a book; in 1534 William Wytherton, vicar of the parish, left 13*s*. 4*d*. 'to be regystred uppon the kalendre booke and prayed for'.[98] None of these should be confused with bede-rolls proper, dealt with in Chapter 9, which had a more modest purpose but were a much-valued means by which the middling kind could expect prayers to be said regularly for their souls at relatively little expense.

Some, particularly anniversaries, are recorded on brasses, perhaps to ensure that the parish did not lose sight of the commitment. Mention has already been made in Chapter 2 of the brass at Morley (Derbyshire) listing the prayers to be said for various members of his family. Three other examples merit attention. First, a lost inscription on a brass at Woodham Mortimer (Essex) read:

> Prey for the sowlys of Ion Cokar and Christian his wyf, which Ion dyed the viii. of Octobre, on thowsand fowr hundryd seuenty and eight: and the seyd

[95] Burgess, 'A service for the dead', Table I, pp. 193–94.
[96] D. Lepine and N. Orme, *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 47 (Exeter, 2003), pp. 263–71.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 262.
[98] Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills*, p. 23.

> lon for the helth of his sowl gaue by his testament and last Will to God and to his Church, a yeerley rent of xx. pens and iii schillyngs iiii. pens for kepying his obit in this Chirch, to bee takyn out of his croft callyd Windets yerly foreuer.[99]

Secondly, that of John Ball (d.1515) of St Albans (Hertfordshire) records:

> Here lyeth John Ball brickmakere which gave to the p[a]rson & wardens of this Chirch Xs yerely for a ppetuall obite to be kepte for the soulys of Hym & Elizabeth hys wyf and John Ball his fader & Crystyan his moder & the said John decessed the XIII day of Octobre the yere of O[u]r Lord M Vc XV on whose soues Ihu Have Mercy Amen.[100]

Finally, at Stanford Rivers (Essex) the inscription brass of Thomas Grene (d. 1535) 'bayle of this town' preserves the memory of his post-mortem prayers. He 'wylled a prest to syng in this church for the space of XX yeres for hym, his wyves, his children and all xpen soules', and 'an obyte to be kept ye viii day of July for the terme of XX yeres for the soules above sayd'.

Sometimes the tomb-chest of a monument is populated by 'weepers', i.e. figures, often depicted praying, which represent relatives or associates of the deceased. Anne McGee Morganstern has argued that, particularly where the effigy is found in a chantry chapel, these figures may have acted as an *aide-memoire* for the priest, reminding him who should be named in the masses held daily for the commemorated and other named beneficiaries.[101] Many of the earliest English examples she cites are of royalty and the nobility, few of which were located in parish churches. However, by the fourteenth century the fashion for what she terms 'kinship tombs' had spread to the lesser gentry with a corresponding change from an extended family programme being represented on the tomb-chest to one confined to members of the nuclear family. Examples she cites in parish churches include the monuments to Oliver de Ingham (d. 1344) at Ingham (Norfolk) (Pl. 83); Sir William de Kerdeston (d. 1361) at Reepham (Norfolk) (Pl. 84); Thomas Beauchamp (d. 1369), earl of Warwick, at Warwick; Sir Edward Foulsham (d. 1404) at Barthomley (Cheshire); and Richard Beauchamp (d. 1439), earl of Warwick, at Warwick. Many other examples can be found elsewhere. Morganstern's thesis is especially persuasive when the 'weeper' figures are identifiable through inscriptions and heraldry.

Inscriptions naming the 'weepers' depicted on the tomb-chest for whom prayers were also sought were one way of ensuring that identities were not forgotten. The high tomb

99 Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments*, p. 608.

100 J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests – the Backs of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols (London, 1980), 1, p. 76.

101 A. McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (Pennsylvania, 2000), *passim*.

at Wingfield (Suffolk) to Michael de la Pole, 2nd earl of Suffolk, who died at Harfleur in 1415, and his wife Katherine, daughter of the earl of Stafford (d. 1419), has a tomb-chest with a series of thirteen empty canopied niches which would originally have held carved figures. Some of the iron cramps which acted as fixing points for the effigies can still be seen. Antiquarian notes record the names painted above the niches, although now faint traces of only two of the names can be deciphered above two of the niches of the southern side.[102] On the monument to Sir Humphrey Salway (d. 1493) at Stanford-on-Teme (Worcestershire) the two exposed sides of the tomb have cinquefoiled ogee-headed panels with crocketed labels, divided by panelled and pinnacled pilasters. Each of the six panels on the south side contains a kneeling male figure, perhaps intended for his sons. Each wears a tabard, and has a plain shield in front of him. In one of the two panels on the west side is a seventh male figure and in the other a group of three female figures, probably intended for his daughters. In this case, the specific identities would have been indicated by lost polychromy on the shields.

Evidence of another device for prompting priests is provided in a memorandum attached to the will of William Donyngton (d. 1485), who was buried in the London Charterhouse. This provided that 'billis [notices] according to this be sett at every auter where masse shall be said for the seid soules', with the words 'Orate pro animabus Rogeri, Elene, Willelmi et Ricardi ac eorum vivorum et defunctorum quibus ipsi Rogerus, Elena, Willelmus et Ricardus tenentur orare seu aliquam satisfactionem seu beneficium facere ac pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum' (*Pray for the souls of Roger, Ellen, William and Richard and of those living and dead for whom Roger, Ellen, William and Richard themselves are bound to pray or make some atonement or benefit and also for the souls of all the faithful departed*).[103] Again, Richard Bruton (d. 1417), canon of Wells, willed that 'One small *tabula* at the time of mass be placed before the priest's eyes, whereon shall be written, 'Orate pro anima Ricardi Bruton parentumque eius et omnium animarum pro quibus tenetur (*Pray for the soul of Richard Bruton and his parents and all the souls for whom he is bound*)'.[104]

There is evidence that monuments too had hung up near them wooden or parchment *tabulae* or tables recording the names of the commemorated and something of their lives.[105] In the medieval period, text *tabulae* were also used for other purposes in churches, including the display of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Virtues, prayers displayed by devotional images, extracts from the liturgy and indulgences. Their portable nature as well as their content made them the object of

[102] Badham, S., 'Medieval Monuments to the de la Pole and Wingfield Families', in E. Martin and P. Blore (eds), *Wingfield College and its Patrons: Piety and Prestige in Medieval Suffolk* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 135–76.

[103] Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills II 1479 to 1486*, 2, p. 57.

[104] Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills*, 1, p. 92.

[105] Marks, 'Picturing Word and Image', pp. 123–62.

wholesale destruction at the Reformation. Lost examples associated with monuments including fourteenth-century *tabulae* at Aldworth (Berkshire) for an important series of mid-fourteenth century-tombs to the de la Beche family; and at Old St Paul's, London, for the lost tomb of John of Gaunt.[106]

In Shakespeare's play *Much Ado About Nothing* there are several references to such hanging epitaphs. In IV, i, 206–8, Friar Francis advices Leonato, 'And on your family's old monument / Hang mournful epitaphs, and do all rites / That appertain unto a burial', and Leonato himself suggests in V, i, 278, 'Hang her an epitaph upon her tomb', while in V, iii Claudio reads aloud from a scroll the epitaph of Hero. This example suggests that such supplementary inscriptions in ephemeral media still survived in Shakespeare's day. The impulse to remember remained, even if the theology had changed.

[106] For the parchment tablet at Aldworth see BL, Harleian MS 965, pp. 253–59, quoted by C. E. Keyser, 'Notes on the Churches of Frilsham, Yattendon, Ashhampstead, Hampstead Norreys and Aldworth', *Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Archaeological Journal* 21 (1916), pp. 33–107, at p. 97. For that for John of Gaunt's tomb, see W. Dugdale, *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1658), pp. 37, and 91.