

Les compréhensions cisterciennes des corps âgés et du processus du vieillissement, vers 1150-1300

Quand quelqu'un devient-il « vieux » et que veut dire ce mot ? Bien que le vieillissement soit un processus universel, il est compris et interprété de façon variable suivant les contextes historiques, religieux et culturels. Cet article discute des représentations de la vieillesse dans les textes monastiques des XII^e et XIII^e siècles, issus surtout des collections de miracles et de *vitae* cisterciennes. Il esquisse en premier lieu quelques-uns des critères employés par les auteurs médiévaux pour définir l'âge avancé et accorde une attention spéciale aux descriptions physiques du corps âgé. Ces descriptions soulignent souvent les signes de faiblesse comme l'amaigrissement ou les éruptions de cloques, tout en signalant aussi l'aspect angélique et la remarquable force morale de la vieille personne. En fin de compte les textes monastiques situent la vieillesse et le corps âgé comme une source d'identité commune, d'apaisement et d'appartenance à la communauté.

Cistercian Understandings of Older Bodies and the Aging Process, c. 1150-1300

When does someone become "old," and what does the term signify? Although aging is a universal process, it is understood and interpreted variably in specific historical, religious, and cultural contexts. This article discusses depictions of old age in twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic texts, primarily drawn from Cistercian miracle collections and *vitae*. It first outlines some of the criteria that medieval authors used to define old age, and then gives particular attention to physical descriptions of the older body. These depictions often highlight signs of infirmity such as emaciation or blistering rashes, while also noting the older person's angelic appearance and remarkable resilience. Ultimately, monastic texts position old age and the aged body as a source of common identity, consolation, and belonging within the community.

Das zisterziensische Verständnis alter Körper und des Alterungsprozesses, ca. 1150-1300

Wann ist jemand „alt“, und was bezeichnet dieser Begriff? Obwohl Altern ein universeller Prozess ist, wird es in bestimmten historischen, religiösen und kulturellen Kontexten unterschiedlich verstanden und interpretiert. Dieser Artikel behandelt Darstellungen des Alters in Klosterlichen Texten des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, vornehmlich in zisterziensischen Wundersammlungen und *Vitae*. Er stellt zunächst einige Kriterien, die mittelalterliche Autoren verwendeten, um Alter zu definieren, kurz dar und legt dann besonderes Augenmerk auf physische Beschreibungen des alten Körpers. Diese Darstellungen heben oft Anzeichen von Hinfälligkeit, wie Auszehrung oder blasenwerfende Hautausschläge hervor, während sie zugleich das engelhafte Aussehen und die bemerkenswerten Widerstandsfähigkeit einer älteren Person besonders erwähnen. Im Grunde genommen stellen klösterliche Texte das Altern und den gealterten Körper als Quelle gemeinsamer Identität, gemeinsamen Trostes und gemeinsamer Zugehörigkeit in der Gemeinschaft dar.

BEST FRIENDS FOREVER? TESTAMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR FRIENDSHIP NETWORKS AMONG CISTERCIANS IN BRITAIN AFTER THE DISSOLUTION

David E. THORNTON

During late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Christian monastic writers frequently identified an apparent contradiction between, on the one hand, regular communal life bounded by discipline and obedience and, on the other, the personal impulses arising from ties of friendship and affection within the cloister.¹ St Basil, for example, argued that brethren should “share a common and equal love towards all”, and not form separate pacts of friendship that may harm the peace of the whole community.² In his Rule, St Benedict echoed this concern over the divisive effects of cliques when he stated: “Care must be taken that no monk presume on any ground to defend another monk in the monastery, or as it were to take him under his protection, even though they be united by some tie of blood-relationship. Let not the monks dare to do this in any way whatsoever, because it may give rise to most serious scandals. But if anyone breaks this rule, let him be severely punished.” (chap. 69)³ However, some authors did allow room for friendship within a monastic context, such as John Cassian who spoke of a rightful ordering of love that “rates no one, but loves certain people more because of their merits”.⁴ Among the Cistercians, it was Aelred of Rievaulx more than any other writer who sought to reconcile – both in theory and in practice – the demands of the cloister with the

ABBREVIATIONS

- CROSS and VICKERS** Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Thirteenth Century Yorkshire*, Leeds 1995
- EMDEN** A. B. EMDEN, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501-1540*, Oxford 1974
- CCED** *Clergy of the Church of England Database*
- SMITH** David M. SMITH, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, III: 1377-1540*, Cambridge 2008
- TNA** The National Archives, London, Kew
- WILLIAMS** David H. WILLIAMS, *The Tudor Cistercians*, Leominster 2014

¹ Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community. The Monastic Experience, 350-1250*, Ithaca NY 2010², and his “Monastic Friendship and Toleration in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Life,” *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), p. 147-160.

² MCGUIRE, *Friendship and Community*, p. 30.

³ St. Benedict's *Rule for Monasteries*, trans. Leonard J. Doyle, Collegeville MN 1948; MCGUIRE, “Monastic Friendship and Toleration”, p. 148.

⁴ MCGUIRE, *Friendship and Community*, p. 81.

benefits of spiritual friendship between monks.⁵ That members of monastic and canonical orders did form ties of friendship with particular brothers, or sisters, in religion is perhaps not surprising, and there is plenty of evidence to support this conclusion. The current paper is concerned, however, with the effects upon such monastic friendships when the individuals in question left their cloisters and established new lives in the secular world, as occurred in many parts of Europe during the sixteenth century when the Reformation led to the often forcible closure of monastic and other religious institutions. Did the now *former* monks and nuns, canons and canonesses, continue to be in close and frequent contact with members of their old communities, or did they revive ties of kinship and establish new friendships without reference to their previous monastic lives? Specifically, this paper examines the last wills and testaments made by White Monks and Nuns in England and Wales after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and attempts to determine whether these ex-religious testators bequeathed to, or in other ways mentioned, their former brethren in these wills and, if so, what this may mean for their personal relationship prior to the Dissolution.

Between 1536 and early 1540, the government of Henry VIII dissolved and then encouraged the "voluntary" surrender of all the monasteries and houses of mendicant orders in England and Wales, and pursued a similar policy in those parts of Ireland under English royal control.⁶ Those monks, regular canons and nuns whose houses were closed during the final phase of the Dissolution were awarded pensions, based partly on the wealth of their respective monasteries, and all religious – including the friars – could be dispensed with *capacities* that permitted the women to "leave the religious life" and allowed the men to wear a secular habit over their religious one and/or to hold secular benefices within the Church. Thus, former religious, who had previously taken vows of stability and poverty, were expected to live in the "secular" world, and now had the means of accumulating personal wealth and property that could in turn be bequeathed to others via a last will and testament. The story of the dissolution of the religious orders, and the Reformation in general, is somewhat different for the kingdom of Scotland, and early modern Scottish testaments are rather different in both their composition and form when compared to English wills. Consequently, this paper will focus on the testamentary sources from England and Wales only, and offer a brief survey of Scottish material in Appendix I.

For the most part, the majority of former religious in England and Wales seem to have accepted their fate, perhaps reluctantly at first in many cases, and got on with building their new, post-monastic lives. With the notable exception of some

⁵ Brian Patrick McGuire, *Brother and Lover: Aelred of Rievaulx*, New York 1994, and his *Friendship and Community*, p. 296-338.

⁶ For the Dissolution in England and Wales, see most recently James G. Clark, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries: A New History*, Yale 2021; for earlier studies, David N. Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, 3 vol., Cambridge 1948-1959, III; Woodward, and Joyce A. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, London 1971.

individual Carthusian monks, the observant friars, and many Augustine brothers and nuns, relatively few had openly opposed the succession of religious measures undertaken by Henry VIII and Cromwell during the second half of the 1530s or attempted actively to continue their regular vocation by joining monasteries abroad.⁷ On the other hand, there are hints, here and there, that some ex-monks and nuns did seek to retain a sense of communal solidarity with their former brethren. Indeed in a few cases, small groups of former brothers and sisters in religion even arranged to live in the same household, where they perhaps sought to maintain a semblance of their previous cloistered lives together.⁸ Yet these seem to have been the exceptions. Did the majority, who after 1549 were permitted to marry, stay in contact with fellow ex-religious and, if so, do such continued connections reflect simple personal friendships or a broader "nostalgia for their former way of life"?⁹

I. METHODOLOGY

The current study forms part of a larger planned project to examine the wills and testaments of former members of religious orders in Britain made during and after the period of the dissolution of the monasteries which occurred from c. 1537 onwards in England and Wales, and from 1560 in Scotland. To-date, comparable testamentary material has not been consulted for Ireland.¹⁰ The wider project will examine the testamentary evidence to analyse various aspects of the personal and religious perspectives of the relevant testators. This article therefore forms a preliminary investigative foray into the specific question of friendship among religious and ex-religious, with particular reference to members of the Cistercian Order. To date, about 710 wills and other testamentary documents of ex-religious in England and Wales have been identified, plus 50 testaments from Scotland, and the will and inventory of one regular canon from Ireland who spent time studying in Oxford.¹¹ Many wills of former religious in England and Wales been identified

⁷ Clark, *Dissolution of the Monasteries*, p. 209-220, 450-451, 508-510.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 454-455; Claire Cross, "Community Solidarity among Yorkshire Religious after the Dissolution," in *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, 1, ed. Judith Loades, Bangor 1990, p. 245-254.

⁹ Cross and Vickers, p. 9.

¹⁰ While the process of dissolving religious houses – in the English-controlled parts of Ireland at least – was certainly comparable to what happened in England and Wales, the destruction of countless medieval and early modern documents as a result of the bombardment of the Four Courts, Dublin, in 1922 means that thousands of wills and other testamentary sources have been lost (see Clodagh Tarr, "Writing the Social and Cultural History of Ireland, 1550-1660: Wills as Example and Inspiration," in *Early Modern Ireland. New Sources, Methods, and Perspectives*, ed. Sarah Covington, Valerie McGowan-Doyne, and Vincent Carey, London 2018, p. 27-48). For a recent project hoping to redress the balance, see <https://beyond2022.ie/>. For the Dissolution in Ireland, see Brendan Bradshaw, *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII*, Cambridge and New York 1974.

¹¹ James Biston, Augustinian canon of St John the Evangelist, Kilkenny, and later dean of Kilkenny (Henry Cotton, *Faith Ecclesiae Hibernicae. The Succession of the Prelates and Members of the Cathedral Bodies of Ireland*, Dublin 1848, p. 407-416).

and catalogued previously by historians, notably by Geoffrey Baskerville, Hugh Aveling and A. B. Emden, and more recently by Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers (for Yorkshire monasteries), David Smith and Martin Heale (former superiors), and David Williams (for the Cistercians specifically).¹² However, a large number of testamentary documents remain unidentified and unpublished, and may be located by consulting earlier printed calendars of wills as well as searching the online catalogues of local archives. Of these 760 testamentary sources, 120 can be associated with former (and possibly former) White Monks and Nuns in England and Wales, and a further nine with members of Cistercian houses in Scotland. The current paper will examine the wills and inventories of 88 of ex-Cistercian testators in England and Wales, and will briefly discuss the relevant Scottish testaments in Appendix I. All the testamentary sources used, and cited, in this paper are listed in Appendix II, arranged according to the testators' surnames, with additional biographical data supplied.

One problem when studying the wills of ex-religious is that it is not always certain whether a particular testator had in fact formerly been a member of a religious order. Just under a quarter of the 88 wills analysed for this paper contain some sort of explicit reference to the monastery or former monastic status of their testators. In 14 cases, the testator refers his/her former religious status, and most had been heads of their respective houses; thus, Thomas Wynthney states he was *some time* abbot of Dieulaeres, and Nicholas Penant calls himself *late* abbot of Basingwerk. A handful of non-superiors also give their former monastic status: in his will, Thomas Metcalf is styled 'late member of the late dissolved monastery of Byland'. Furthermore, William *Alynger*, last abbot of Waverley, was provisor of St Bernard's College, Oxford, when he made his will on 26 September 1539, and describes himself thus. There are sometimes other clues. Thomas Moke, originally a monk of Rufford but later of Kirkstall, as clerk at Farnon, Notts., made his will in March 1586, and included among his bequests "one pension which is five pounds to be paid out of the monastery of Kirkstall [*Christall*]. In addition, as well as referring to herself as *late* prioress of Wykeham, Katherine Nandike also made a blanket bequest to "each of my sisters professed" there. Two other testators bequeathed to their former brethren collectively, without giving any names. In addition, during the brief period of monastic revival in England during the reign of Mary I, a few ex-religious in England made reference in their wills to the possible refoundation of their monasteries. Thus, in his will of 1558, former Abbot Wynthney (above) wished to bequeath a silver and gilt chalice to Dieulaeres, if the monastery were "re-edified and founded". Similarly and in the same year, the priest Edward

¹² Geoffrey BASKERVILLE, "Some Ecclesiastical Wills," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 52 (1930), p. 281-293; EMDEN, Hugh AVELING, "The Rievank Community after the Dissolution," *Ampleforth Journal* 57 (1952), p. 101-113; Hugh AVELING, "The Monks of Byland Abbey after the Dissolution (1540)," *Ampleforth Journal* 60 (1955), p. 3-15; Cross and VICKERS; SMITH; Martin HEALE, *The Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England*, Oxford 2016, p. 360-373; WILLIAMS.

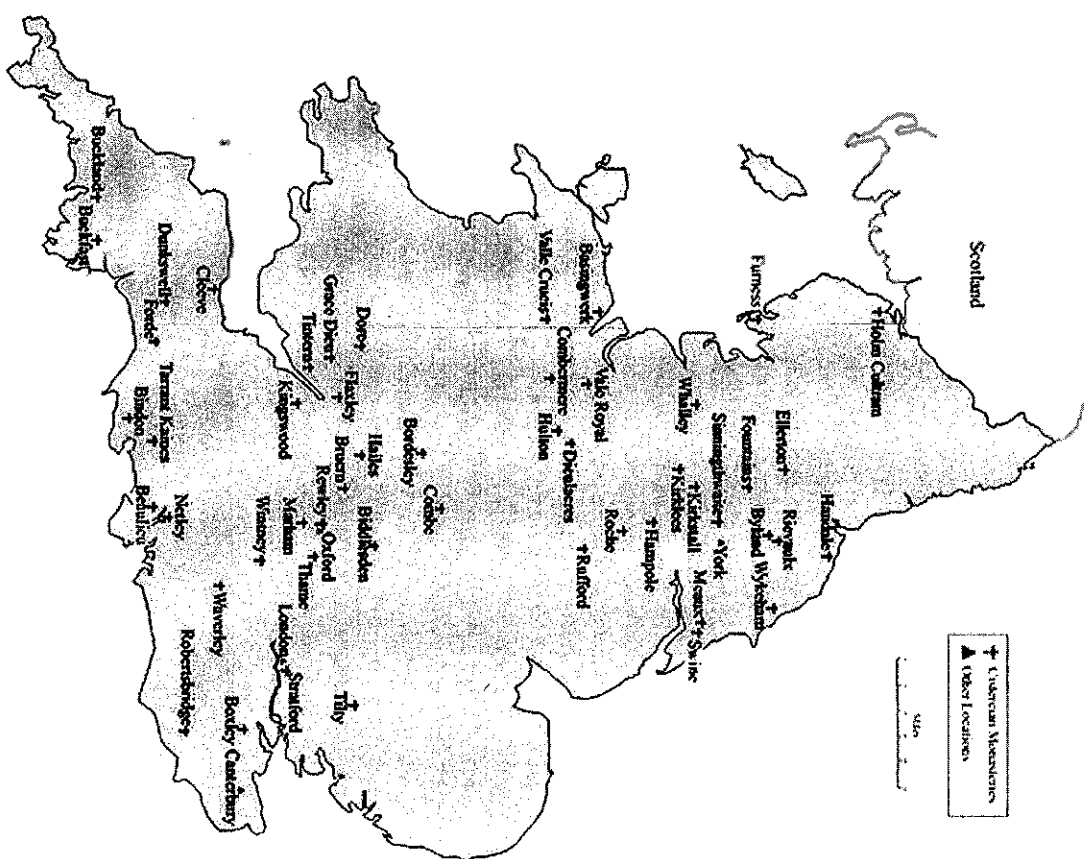


Fig. 1. Cistercian monasteries in England and Wales mentioned in this article.
(prepared by Jamie Thornton)

Heponstall alias Pomfret, of Leeds, mentions books which formerly belonged to Kirkstall Abbey that were in his custody, and requests that they be redelivered to the abbey by his executors "if it go up in their times". Finally, in his will dated 8 August 1553, John Norman, vicar of Kingsclere, Hampshire, can be identified with John Norman, last abbot of Bindon, Dorset, as he made an interesting series of bequests to "the poor" of a number of villages said to have "sometime belonged to the house of Bindon", as well as bequeathing to the parish church at Bindon.¹³ Similarly, Gabriel Donne, former abbot of Buckfast, bequeathed to "the late" St Bernard's College, Oxford, presumably therefore a reference to his former Cistercian status.

The remaining 73 wills contain no explicit indication that the testator or testatrix had been a white monk or nun prior to the Dissolution. In these cases, identifying them as a former Cistercian is largely a matter of coordinating their names along with other internal evidence. Here, of course, mere correspondence of forename and surname is not always sufficient to warrant identifying a post-Dissolution testator with a former monastic namesake, especially if the two names are relatively common. For the male testators, the fact that they generally refer to their clerical status ("clerk" or "priest"), and often state their current office or benefice, strengthens the case for an identification. Even here, however, there may be uncertainty; for example, Cross and Vickers identified a number of possible Yorkshire clerical testators called Thomas Browne who could have been the ex-monk of Fountains Abbey of that name, but they were unable to conclude whether any of these men were in fact the monk in question.¹⁴ For the women, no such status or occupational help is available, and the common title "dame" need not indicate that a testatrix had previously been a nun or canoness. A further onomastic complication is the fact that during the late Middle Ages and early Tudor period, most male members of monastic and, to a lesser extent, regular canonical orders in England stopped using their family surnames, either on admission or profession, and adopted instead what I have termed elsewhere a "monastic byname".¹⁵ However, at the dissolution of their respective monasteries, many monks and canons resumed their surnames, and appear as such in the deeds of surrender, pension lists, and the entries in the Faculty Register (dispensations). This can make it difficult to identify the now former religious listed at the Dissolution with the monks and canons named in earlier documents. For example, of the 20 former monks of Bordesley Abbey, Worcs., recorded in documents in 1538 and later, only four (or *maybe* five)

can be found earlier as monks with the same names in the ordination lists.¹⁶ While these name changes do not create a problem for identification of former monks as testators, because most ex-monastic testators tended to refer to themselves using the same name – either surname or byname – that had been used in the Dissolution documents, they do make it more difficult to identify the same monks earlier, before the dissolution, and thereby analyze their relationships with one another (see below).

Another criterion for identifying possible ex-monastic testators is the distance between their current place of residence or employment and their former monastery. A testator or testatrix who was living or, in the case of the men, held a benefice relatively close to the suppressed religious house of a namesake may more likely be identified as that ex-monk or nun in question. For example, it seems probable that the testators Robert Bate, curate of Church Lawford in Warwickshire, and Oliver Adams, clerk, who requested burial at Church Lawford, were both former monks of Combe Abbey, which was located less than 5 miles – as the crow flies – from Church Lawford. Indeed, both Bate and Adams named other possible ex-monks of Combe in their respective wills. Similarly, the testator Roger Sadsper (Shadsper), rector of Flyford Flavel in Worcestershire (1549-60), was probably the former monk of Bordesley Abbey variously called Roger *Shadsper* and *Shakesper* in Dissolution documents, and Flyford Flavel is only 12 miles from the site of the abbey.¹⁷ Another probable former Bordesley monk is Thomas Yardley, priest, who had been vicar of Tardebigge, Worcs., and accordingly in his will made bequests to the poor of Tardebigge and of Studley, Warw., and to his godchildren in Tardebigge. Bordesley Abbey had appropriated the church of Tardebigge, only 4 miles distant, and held the manor there, and had received rent from property in Studley which was a similar short distance from the abbey.¹⁸ However, neither *Sadsper* nor Yardley mention any former Cistercians in their wills.

¹⁶ David E. Thornton, "Stability or Mobility? Movement between Cistercian Houses in Late Medieval England and Wales," *Cîteaux – Commentarii cistercienses* 70(1-2) (2019), p. 87-113 (p. 111-112).

¹⁷ This man was probably the monk Roger *Hanley* ordained in 1532, as no other Roger is recorded as member of the Bordesley community in the early sixteenth-century (Thornton, "Stability or Mobility?" p. 112). His toponymic byname probably derived from the place name Henley in Arden, Warw., and he was presumably a relative of the Warwickshire "bard" William Shakespeare (C. C. Stokes, *Shakespeare's Family being A Record of the Ancestors and Descendants of William Shakespeare with Some Account of the Ardens* (London 1901), p. 14, 21); E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vol., Oxford 1930, II, p. 364, 372.

¹⁸ Maureen Jurkowski and Nigel Ramsay, *English Monastic Estates, 1066-1540: A List of Manors, Churches and Chapels*, 3 vol., Kew 2007, III, p. 548-549; William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with Their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, ed. John Calley et al., 6 vol., London 1817-30, V, p. 411, 413; TNA SC6/HENVIII/744, m. 22. Thomas Yardley makes bequests to various relatives surnamed Yardley, but also to his brother called Richard *Stodley*, priest; the latter may be the monk of Evesham at the Dissolution called Richard *Studley*, *Stodley*, and the Richard "Studley alias Yardley", who was instituted vicar of Offenham in 1552 (CEED Person ID: 85365). This would in turn allow us to identify the Thomas Yardley with the Bordesley monk Thomas *Stodley* (ord. 1506-1507).

¹³ For John Norman, Peter A. Cunich, "Norman, John (c. 1489-1553/4), abbot of Bindon," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 2004; also Smith, p. 269; Williams, p. 498, 513. At least three other testators made bequests to places associated with their former monasteries but, unlike Norman, do not explicitly refer to the abbey: Abbot Wynmery of Dieulares mentioned above; Robert King, bishop of Oxford, and Thomas Yardley, monk of Bordesley Abbey (see below).

¹⁴ Cross and Vickers, p. 118-119.

¹⁵ David E. Thornton, "Locus, Sanctus et Virtus: Monastic Summing in Late Medieval and Early Tudor England Revisited," *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 10 (2021), p. 211-246.

On the other hand, some former monks ended their days at great distances from the site of their monasteries. Christopher Nevinson, monk of Holm Cultram, Cumberland, was resident in Adisham, Kent, when he made his will in 1551 (360 miles from the abbey) and held the office of commissary general in the diocese of Canterbury. That he was the monk in question is likely, as the testator also informs us that he had been born at Briggend in Wetheral, Cumberland, which was just over 20 miles from the abbey.¹⁹ Another ex-monk of Holm Cultram who ended his days in the south of England was Richard Robinson, clerk, whose will was also proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, in October 1549, and who appointed residents of London as his executors and overseers but made numerous bequests to beneficiaries in Cumberland.²⁰ In some cases, monks had been promoted to another monastery as abbot, or transferred to a second house as a result of the closure of their first one during the suppressions of 1536-37 but, after the Dissolution, seem to have gravitated towards their original locality. Thus, the testator Thomas Caprone, curate of Epperstone, Notts., was probably the monk of Rievaulx called Thomas *Capron alias Skegbye* at the dissolution of that house but who, as Thomas Skegbye, *Capron alias Skegbye* at the dissolution of that house but who, as Thomas Skegbye, had been one of the last monks of Rufford Abbey to be ordained and had no doubt moved to Rievaulx after the suppression of Rufford in 1536; Epperstone is only 11 miles from Rufford but 104 miles from Rievaulx.²¹ In contrast, Richard *Myche*, the last abbot of Tintern in Wales, remained locally after the Dissolution and was priest at Woolaston, Glouce. (6 miles from Tintern), when he drew up his will – perhaps understandably as he had started his monastic career over 180 miles away at Whalley Abbey, Lancs. Thus, a secular clerk who was based relatively close to the location of a dissolved monastery where a namesake had been a monk was more likely to have been the ex-monk in question, but this was not always certain and, as we have seen, there were exceptions who had moved quite far in the years after the Dissolution.

II. TESTAMENTARY DATA

As stated above, employing the methodology outlined above, the wills, inventories and other testamentary documents of over 710 former members of religious houses in England and Wales have so far been identified, and of these 120 can be associated with former (and possibly former) Cistercian monks and nuns. In some instances, an ex-monk is known to have died *inestate*, that is without having made a will, and we have instead the letters of administration (admons) which are

relatively uninformative.²² Furthermore, not all the identified wills that were made now survive; for example, it seems possible that the John *Leye*, instituted vicar of Payhembury, Devon, in 1557,²³ was the last Abbot of Dunkswell of that name, but his will, dated 1567, was among those documents destroyed as a result of the “Baedeker” bombing raids on Exeter in April–May 1942.²⁴ Similarly, the will of the last abbot of Fountains Abbey, Marmaduke Bradley, has also not survived though he is known to have made one and to have appointed as his executor Christopher Jenkinson, who was probably the former Fountains monk Christopher Dunwell.²⁵ In a few cases, such as that of Alexander Seddon (Seddown), priest of Bunbury, Cheshire, and former prior of Vale Royal, we have an inventory of goods but no will. Conversely, for a couple of individuals, we have *two* copies or versions of their wills.²⁶ Furthermore, as discussed above, the process of identifying a testator as a former Cistercian is not always certain, and a number of the wills counted among these 120 may in fact not be of ex-Cistercian monks or nuns. Accordingly, this article will present evidence based on the wills and inventories of 88 men and women who – to varying degrees of certainty – can be identified as former Cistercian monks or nuns in England and Wales, and of which I have been able to access the full-text of the relevant documents.

It should be borne in mind that this “sample” of 88 post-Dissolution wills and testaments does not necessarily mirror exactly the demographics of English and Welsh Cistercians in the 1550s. Thus, of the regions where the testator’s former monastery was located, most of the 88 were in England, with only five were Welsh.²⁷ The vast majority of the 88 former Cistercian testators identified were men, and only 11.5% of the wills were of former nuns. Given that – according to Knowles and Hadcock’s estimates – women made up possibly over 20% of Cistercians in England and Wales during the years leading up to the Dissolution,²⁸ women are underrepresented. This is partly due to the fact that fewer women

²² For example, we have the admon for Richard Lawrence, clerk of Hounslow, dated 1553, who was possibly a former monk of St Mary Graces (Marc Ficca, *Index to Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court of London (London Division) Now Preserved in the Guildhall Library, Volume II 1489-1570*, London 1974, p. 162).

²³ CCEd Person ID: 99016.

²⁴ Edward Alexander Fry, *Calendar of Wills and Administrations relating to the Counties of Devon and Cornwall proved in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Exeter, 1532-1800 now Preserved in the Probate Registry at Exeter*, London 1914, p. 122.

²⁵ Cross and Vickers, p. 116, 123-124.

²⁶ Gabriel Dunne, abbot of Buckfast, and Christopher Nevinson, monk of Holm Cultram.

²⁷ The English house Abbey Dore in Herefordshire has been counted as Welsh here: David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, Leominster 2001, p. 160. Except for those proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (TNA PROB 11), few wills survive from Wales for the period immediately after the Dissolution. For most Welsh probate jurisdictions, wills are preserved at the earliest from the mid-1550s onwards, and in some cases even later. See <https://www.library.wales/discover/library-resources/wills>

²⁸ David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, London 1971, p. 490, 493.

¹⁹ Duncan HARRINGTON, “Nevinson [Nevynson], Christopher (d. 1551), Civil Lawyer and Benedictine Monk,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

²⁰ He was probably rector of St Alphege London Wall.

²¹ Another Rufford monk who had transferred to Yorkshire (Kirkstall Abbey) but seems to have returned to Nottinghamshire at some point after the dissolution was Thomas Moke, who requested burial at Farnold, Notts. (see above).

made wills in this period, and also because of the uncertainty in identifying former White Nuns, as outlined above. Furthermore, of the status of the testators, heads of houses (abbots, abbesses and prioresses) are over-represented (32%), perhaps not surprisingly given their higher socio-economic position. Lastly, if the 88 ex-Cistercian wills are plotted over time by the date when they were made, not of probate (though the two are usually close), a steady increase in the number (per five-years) can be seen until *circa* 1560, with a sharp decline over the following three decades. A significant number of the wills (42%) were drawn up during the decade 1551-1560 (Fig. 2).

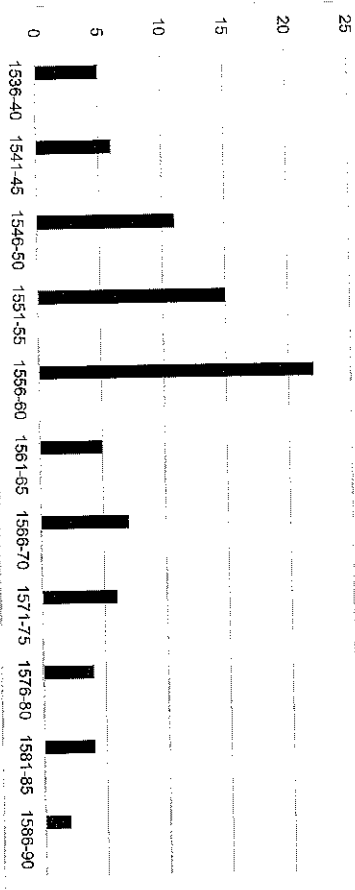


Fig. 2. Chronological Distribution of Wills, 1536-1590.

Wills in late medieval and early sixteenth-century England and Wales contain references to a variety of individuals associated with the testator. A large percentage of beneficiaries were relatives of the testator, both blood-relations who had the same surname, and other more distant family members, as well in-laws and godchildren, whose relationship to the testator is often stated. Another category of beneficiary, for whom the testator may have felt a degree of obligation, were servants and other employees. However, there is invariably a further group of beneficiaries whose precise connection – formal or personal – to the testator or testatrix is often less clear, and among whom many individuals may well have been friends and neighbours.²⁹ Occasionally, the testator may explicitly describe

²⁹ On friends and associates in wills, see Michael L. Zell, "Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wills as Historical Sources," *Archives* 14/62 (1979), p. 67-74 (p. 67-68); Jacqueline Murray, "Kinship and Friendship: The Perception of Family by Clergy and Lay in Late Medieval London," *Albion* 20/3 (1988), p. 369-385; Philippa Maddern, "Best Trusted Friends: Concepts and Practices of Friendship among Fifteenth-Century Norfolk Gentry," in *The Harlaxton Symposium, 1992*, Stamford 1994, p. 100-117, and her "Friends of the Dead: Executors, Wills and Family Strategy in Fifteenth-century Norfolk," in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England. Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss*, ed. R. E. Archer and S. Walker, London 1995, p. 155-174.

a beneficiary as his/her friend. Thus, Thomas Wymtney, former abbot of Dieulacres, Staffs., in his will of 1558, named among his executors Master Richard Eden, then prior of the reformed monastic community at Westminster Abbey, whom he refers to as "my good and special friend". Before the Dissolution, Prior Eden, as Richard *Hailes*, had been a Cistercian at Hailes Abbey and a student at St Bernard's College.³⁰ In the vast majority of cases however, such friendships remain unstated. In addition, men (and very occasionally women)³¹ could also be named as executors or overseers (supervisors) of the will: given the often extensive responsibilities that these appointments would entail, we may assume that the testator would choose family members or close friends whom he/she trusted and expected would be willing to undertake the task. In addition, friends and neighbours might also appear at the end of a will among the witnesses: these would be people who were physically present when the testament was drawn up, and so were presumably in close contact with the testator. Finally, both wills and inventories sometimes refer to debts owed either by, or to, the testator: again, we might assume that the act of lending money and other items, such as books, would only be undertaken with individuals that one knew personally and trusted, including friends.

Figure 3 summarizes the evidence from the 88 wills of ex-Cistercians in England and Wales, according to the identification of the beneficiaries, executors, witnesses and debtors as former brothers or sisters in religion of the testators.

Reference to former Cistercian(s)	No. of wills
Bequests to Cistercians of own house	18
Bequests to Cistercians of other house(s)	7
Cistercians as executor, witness, etc.	18
Cistercians with debt/loan	6
Total number of wills	29

Fig. 3. References to Cistercians in Wills

One third of the wills and inventories from England and Wales (29 out of 88) include references to other Cistercians. This means that two-thirds of the testators did *not* choose to remember or use fellow former Cistercians when making their wills. On the face of it therefore, a significant majority do not appear to have maintained friendship ties and contact with their former brethren, at least as far as their wills can inform us. However, as we shall see, there are a variety of factors that may have influenced the decisions of these ex-White Monks and Nuns which are based upon how humans tend to form and maintain friendships.

³⁰ WILLIAMS, p. 465; EMDEN, p. 277.

³¹ Katherine Foster, prioress of Sinninghwaite, appointed two women as her executors, including the nun Alice Sheffield who, after the dissolution of Sinninghwaite, had transferred to Nun Appleton: CROSS and VICKERS, *Monks, Nuns and Friars*, p. 580, 586, 588.

III. FRIENDSHIP

Friendship – or non-kinship-based non-reciprocal altruistic personal bonds – is recognised as a universal of human social interaction and, indeed, parallels to many human friendship behavioural patterns can also be detected among other primates. In medieval Europe, the idea of friendship (Latin *amicitia*) came, on the one hand, to be regarded by authors – clerical and mostly monastic in their background, but drawing on earlier Greek and Roman philosophers – to be a product of the divine moral order in the world.³² On the other hand, such spiritual theories of *amicitia* may be distinguished, partly at least, from literary professions of friendship, expressed largely by means of epistolary communication. Much scholarly discussion of medieval friendships has therefore been based on either the theoretical treatises, such as Aelred's *De Spirituali Amicitia*, or an examination of letters and letter collections. Julian Haseldine has argued however that one should be wary of how we interpret the word *amicitia* in medieval letters in particular, because it does not necessarily indicate the sort of intimate personal affection associated with friendship today.³³ In the case of the letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, Haseldine has shown that St Bernard did not generally address or refer to former monks of his abbey and other Cistercians as his "friends" (*amicus*): rather, he largely used the word when dealing pragmatically with non-Cistercian abbots and priors and with other senior clergy on matters relating to monastic reform, and not as a way of expressing personal affection. And of course, by definition, letters are a medium of communicating with people with whom we are not, at the point of writing, in close and regular contact. Furthermore, recent discussion of friendship in the Middle Ages has extended our understanding of the concept of *amicitia* to incorporate other political, social and economic bonds, not merely personal affection.³⁴

Beyond the finer distinctions of theological argumentation or the subtleties of epistolary expression, it is safe to assume that, in their daily lives, most people in medieval Europe – both lay and clergy – had friends on whom they could rely for companionship as well as physical and emotional support. In this respect, they

³² For recent studies on medieval friendship, see MCGUIRE, *Friendship and Community*; WATER YSEBAERT, "Friendship and Networks," in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms – Methods – Trends*, ed. Albrecht CLASSEN, 3 vol., Berlin/New York 2010, p. 580-593; *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse*, ed. Albrecht CLASSEN and Marilyn SANDIDGE, Berlin/New York 2011; *Ancient and Medieval Concepts of Friendship*, ed. Suzanne STERN-GILLER and Gary M. GURTLER, Albany NY 2014; *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian HASELDINE, Stroud 1999.

³³ Julian HASELDINE, "Friendship and Networks in the Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux," *Cîteaux – Commentarii cistercienses* 57 (2006), p. 243-280.

³⁴ YSEBAERT, "Friendship and Networks"; Julian HASELDINE, "Friendship Networks in Medieval Europe: New Models of a Political Relationship," *Amicitia: The Journal of Friendship Studies* 1 (2013), p. 69-88.

would not have been radically different from people of more recent times.³⁵ Studies of friendship and friendship networks today by social scientists have identified a variety of factors that can affect the formation, continuation, and nature of friendships.³⁶ These factors may equally apply to personal relationships in the past, though whether these may be manifest in a monastic context in particular is worth considering. A monastery is hardly a mere microcosm or mirror of wider society, but deliberately distorts many aspects of "secular" social interaction, so we cannot necessarily expect the same patterns of friendship to pertain within a monastery, a relatively small, enclosed, single-gender community, where personal freedom of action and expression are restricted and certain forms of human interaction, notably sexual relations, are forbidden.

Thus, among the patterns identified by social scientists, it is apparently not uncommon for people to have what are effectively concentric circles or layers of friends, with a small, inner group (maximum 5 friends) on whom we might rely in particular for emotional, social and even economic support.³⁷ In addition, physical closeness (proximity) and frequent contact play an important part in the formation and continuation of friendship networks: friends tend to be those with whom we are in close and regular contact (for example, due to residence, education, or occupation). Thus, if the frequency of contact decreases over time, then the friendship relationship can also decay (especially for "best" friends), and new friendships will be formed.³⁸ In a monastic setting, membership of the cloistered community would of course provide the perfect context for close and frequent interaction. Furthermore, friendships are often described as *homophilous*: the tendency to form friendships, and other social bonds, with people who are in some way *similar* to ourselves (in age, gender, belief, occupation, etc.) and these friendships tend to last longer than those formed with people who are dissimilar to ourselves.³⁹ Monastic communities, especially larger conventual ones, would have a range of ages, from the new (and in most cases, younger) recruits to the older and even aged and infirm brethren. In particular, the formal process of initiation into monastic life –

³⁵ HASELDINE, "Friendship Networks in Medieval Europe".

³⁶ Robin I. M. DUNBAR, "The Anatomy of Friendship," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 22/1 (2018), p. 32-51; Sandra M. BEIL and Simon COLMAN, "The Anthropology of Friendship: Enduring Themes and Future Possibilities," in *The Anthropology of Friendship*, ed. Beil and Colman, London 1999, p. 1-19; Daniel J. HRUSCHKA, *Friendship: Development, Ecology, and Evolution of a Relationship*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 2010; S. W. DUCK and C. SPENCER, "Personal Constructs and Friendship Formation," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 23/1 (1972), p. 40-45; Sam G. B. ROBERTS, Robin I. M. DUNBAR, Thomas V. POLLER, and Toon KUPPERS, "Exploring Variation in Active Network Size: Constraints and Ego Characteristics," *Social Networks* 31/2 (2009), p. 138-146.

³⁷ DUNBAR, "The Anatomy of Friendship".

³⁸ DUNBAR, "The Anatomy of Friendship"; J. T. GUTLAHORST, "Distance and Friendship as Factors in the Gross Interaction Matrix," *Sociometry* 15 (1952), p. 123-134.

³⁹ Miller McNERSON, Lynn SMITH-LOVIN, and James M. COOK, "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks," *Annual Review of Sociology* 27/1 (2001), p. 415-444; D. BYRNE and W. GRIFFIT, "Similarity and Awareness of Similarity of Personality Characteristics as Determinants of Attraction," *Journal of Experimental Research in Personality* 3 (1969), p. 178-186.

admission, probation, profession and novitiate – would serve to bring together those who are entering the monastic vocation and who are, in most cases, of a similar age. Age can also affect friendship patterns in other ways: younger people usually have more friends, and friendship networks often decrease in size as we grow older – especially for those who get married and focus on starting a family – and may be reduced even further during old age.⁴⁰ But in a monastic context, where romantic and sexual relations are not supposed to occur, and certainly raising a family will not happen, then the individual's propensity to form and maintain friendships may be able to continue. Finally, friendship and kinship social networks tend to be separate, with only limited interaction,⁴¹ so that in societies or contexts where we have larger kinship networks, then the number of friends tends to be smaller, and vice versa. Again, in a monastic context, where an individual has entered a religious order, and vowed to remain at specific monastery, for the rest of his/her life, then family ties have in theory been broken, and consequently we might expect the formation of non-kin ties, including friendships, to develop and be stronger.

IV. FRIENDSHIP IN THE WILLS OF FORMER CISTERCIANS

As stated above, people often have widening concentric circles, or layers, of friends, at the centre of which is a small group of close friends, usually no more than five people, with whom we are particularly intimate and dependent on. The monastic testamentary evidence would seem to conform to this pattern. Thus, of the 29 ex-Cistercian testators who did mention former brethren in their wills, most name only one or two individuals. In a few, exceptional cases, there may be as many as three or four former monks or nuns mentioned. Otherwise, as we have seen, a few testators bequeathed collectively to their previous brothers, or sisters, in religion, without giving any names, but extended roll-calls of the names of former members of a suppressed convent do not exist in the wills examined here. It is possible therefore that those individuals who are specified in the wills had been particular close friends or special associates of the testator, rather than just former brethren who randomly happened to still be alive. Thus, as we shall see below, with the passage of time and the progressive death of former monks and nuns, the number of *close* friends still alive – already limited – would have become even smaller.

As Figure 3 above shows, the vast majority of ex-monks and nuns who named other former Cistercians in their wills refer to men and women who had been members of their *own* monastery, and only a handful mention, either alternatively or in addition, members of other Cistercian houses, and a few, we might note,

seem to refer to former members of *other* religious orders. Therefore, it is presumably safe to assume that the contact between the testator/testatrix and these other former Cistercians had been established at their monastery, before the Dissolution, and maintained thereafter. Close proximity and frequent contact within the enclosed community would have played an important role in the formation of these monastic friendships therefore. But what about after the Dissolution, when these men and women – both the testators and also their beneficiaries, executors and witnesses – had departed from the confines of their respective cloisters and were compelled to live in the secular world? Were they then able to maintain the level of proximity and frequent contact that would be necessary for the continuation of monastic friendships after the Dissolution. Figure 4 shows the percentage of wills that contain references to other former Cistercians displayed over time, for successive five-year periods from 1536 until 1590. Thus, for the first period, 1536–40, there were five wills made, and of these 4 (or 80%) contain references to others.

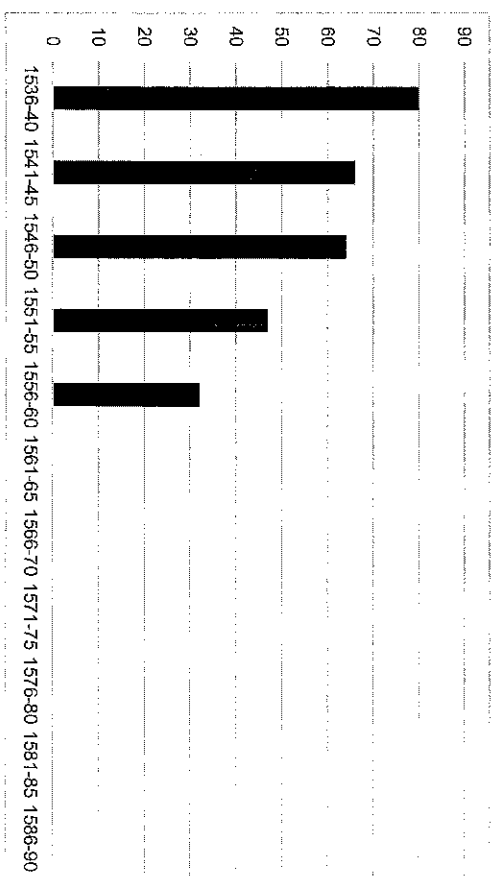


Fig. 4. Cistercians mentioned in wills over time (%).

We see, firstly, a steady *decrease* over time in the percentage of wills of ex-White Monks and Nuns that contain references to other former Cistercians, and also no wills after 1560 (in fact, after 1558) would seem to contain any such reference. This is perhaps not surprising, because over time, as more former Cistercians passed away, there would have been fewer of them left alive to bequeath to or appoint as executor. Figure 2 shows that there were a large number of wills made (and proved) during the 1550s in particular, and therefore far fewer former Cistercians would have been still alive after that decade. Indeed, a rough comparison of the number of

⁴⁰ DUNBAR, "The Anatomy of Friendship", ROBERTS *et al.* (see n. 36), "Exploring Variation".

⁴¹ DUNBAR, "The Anatomy of Friendship".

Cistercians assigned pensions in 1538-40 with those no longer claiming their pensions by Mary's reign (and therefore presumably dead) suggests that by the mid-1550s over 40% of them had passed away.⁴² This estimate corresponds almost exactly with the percentage of the 88 testators who had made their wills by 1555.

Simply put therefore, with the passage of time, ex-White Monks and Nuns had increasingly fewer former brothers or sisters in religion left alive to remember when making their wills. However, the consistent decrease in references to former confrères, even during the 1540s, would perhaps suggest that other factors were also at play. Is it possible that those monks and nuns who had been admitted to their respective monasteries only shortly before the Dissolution, and so had had less time to form long-term friendships with fellow inmates and also, as younger, recent recruits, were more able to re-adapt to living in the secular world than the older monks or nuns? The graph in Figure 5 estimates the possible dates of admission of monks, based upon recorded dates of ordination (when known), and presents as a percentage those who, as later testators, name former confrères in their wills.

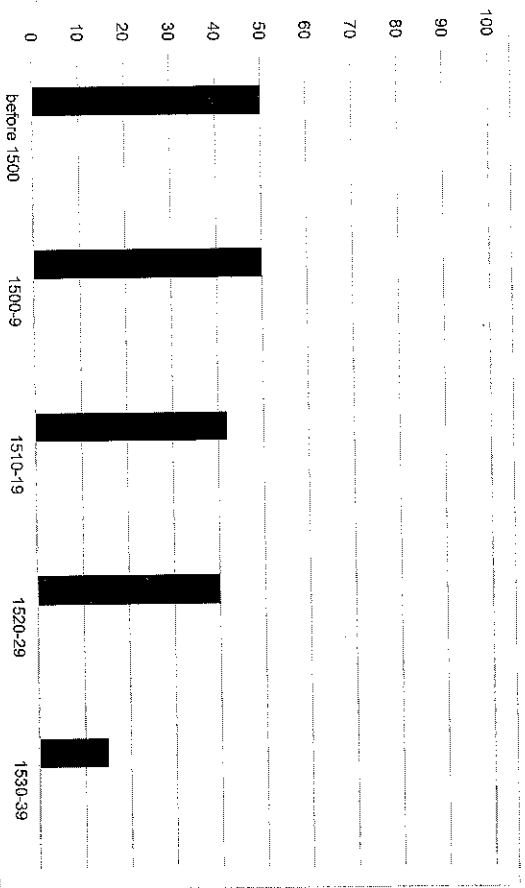


Fig. 5. Wills that mention other Cistercians according to date of admission (ordination) of their testators (%).

⁴² These estimates are based upon the pension lists in TNA E315/232-234 and E315/245 and published in J. S. BREWER *et al.*, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 36 vol., London 1862-1932, XIV and XV, along with the later lists in TNA E164/31 and London, British Library, MS. 8102, published in Browne Willis, *An History of the Mined Parliamentary Abbies, and Conventual Cathedral Churches*, 2 vol., London 1718-1719, II, *passim*.

Where it is possible to determine roughly the date of admission of a testator, using the surviving ordination records, we see a slow decline in the number of wills that contain references to other former Cistercians. Thus, for the oldest testators, who were ordained and so also admitted before 1500 or during the following decade, about half of the wills mention other ex-monks, which is significantly higher than the percentage for the whole samples of wills (Figure 5: 34%). This drops slightly to about 40% for the wills of those monks admitted in the 1510s and 1520s, and decreases markedly to 15% for the 1530s (when many of the testators had been ordained). To some extent, this graph supports the evidence of the previous one, because it was the younger men, admitted in the late 1520s and '30s, who would have more likely lived after 1560. On the other hand, it was these same, younger monks, who had spent fewer years in their cloisters and also would live longer as secular clerks, after the Dissolution, establishing careers and in some cases having their own families. Furthermore, younger monks would have received smaller pensions and therefore may have been more inclined to seek actively a benefice or other paid position in the Church.⁴³ The quest for suitable preferment may have taken them farther from their former religious houses, so they would have lost contact with the old monastic friends.

During the decade or so after the Dissolution, many former monks accepted positions not too far from their dissolved houses, frequently at parishes which had previously been appropriated to the relevant monastery or where the monastery had held temporal property.⁴⁴ Thus, of the 88 monks and nuns whose wills are studied here, about two-thirds (64%) were resident in parishes, or requested burial at churches, less than 25 miles from their old monasteries. Where a number of such former brothers or sisters in religion lived locally therefore, they may have maintained contact with each other. As we have seen above, a few notable exceptions found preferment that took them far away from their old monastic stomping grounds, and a number of monks who had transferred from another house – notably after the closure of their first house during the first phase of suppressions in 1536-1537 – decided to return to their original localities. Of the 29 testators who refer to other ex-Cistercians in their wills, almost all ended their days less than 25 miles from their former houses, and indeed most of these (20) lived no more than 10 miles away. Proximity therefore would seem to have been an important factor in determining whether former monks and nuns decided to remember their former brothers and sisters in religion when making their wills: those who stayed locally were more likely to remain in relatively regular contact with their old monastic friends, also living locally, and thus mention them in their wills.⁴⁵ It is perhaps not surprising that the women, with no career options

⁴³ CLARK, *Dissolution of the Monasteries*, p. 503.

⁴⁴ See *ibid.*, ch. 10; KNOWLES, *Religious Orders*, III, ch. 23.

⁴⁵ A notable exception was Thomas Spratt, former monk of Robertsbriidge, who ended his days as a vicar choral at Chichester Cathedral, 60 miles away, but remembered his former brethren William

and, until 1549, no chance to marry either, remained locally; many presumably relying on the support of their families: of the ten former English nuns whose wills are analyzed here, the average distance between their nunnery and the parish where they resided when making their wills was about 18.5 miles, with Anne Luton, prioress of Handale, Yorks., having travelled the furthest (about 35 miles to New Malton).

Indeed, it is possible to identify small, local friendship networks of former confreres from the testamentary evidence. For example, in his will of 1552, the former monk of Hailes, Thomas Farre (*alias* Malvern), rector of Pinnock, Gloucs. (2.5 miles from Hailes),⁴⁶ made a monetary bequest to Sir Thomas Rede, along with the works of Denis the Carthusian; and he also bequeathed money (owed to him) to one "Mr Dawson" of Snowshill, and arranged to return books to the same Dawson, permitting the latter take any other volumes, in Latin or English, that he desired. He also bequeathed clothing and money to Sir Richard Parker "of Winchcombe". Finally, the witnesses to the will included a John Silvester. Of these men, *Mr Dawson* could be the former prior of Hailes, John Dawson, B.Theol., who was living only 5 miles from Pinnock at Stanton (close to Snowshill),⁴⁷ and the witness would seem to be John Silvester, kitchener at Hailes Abbey, who at the time was living at Longborough, about 8 miles from Pinnock and 10 miles from Hailes.⁴⁸ Thomas Rede may also have been another ex-monk of Hailes, who in the early 1550s was based in Oxford, not exactly local but only about 36 miles from Hailes and Pinnock.⁴⁹ Finally, Richard Parker of Winchcombe was perhaps Richard Angell, *alias* Parker, former Benedictine monk of Winchcombe who in 1551 was perpetual curate of Charlton Abbots, less than 5 miles from Pinnock. Far's network of ex-religious friends would seem to have included three former confreres, two of whom were living very locally and less than 10 miles from Hailes itself, another who may have been in Oxford at the time, plus an ex-monk of a different order who also served in the locality.

A similar, and slightly more complicated, network of ex-religious friends may be reconstructed from the wills of three former monks of Fountains Abbey, Yorks. Thus, in 1557, Christopher Jenkinson, alias Dunwell, who was chantry

Senden and Geoffrey Iden in his will (1551): L. F. SAUZKAN, "Sussex Religious at the Dissolution," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 92 (1954), p. 24-37 (p. 34). Of these two, however, Iden at least had found employment at the cathedral, among his various benefices (WILLIAMS, p. 475).

⁴⁶ Farre had been dispensed to serve as rector of Pinnock in 1530: Geoffrey BASKERVILLE, "The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 49 (1927), p. 63-122 (p. 89); Geoffrey BASKERVILLE, "Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester under Bishop Hooper," *English Historical Review* 44/173 (1929), p. 1-32 (p. 21).

⁴⁷ BASKERVILLE, "The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire," p. 89; EMDEN, p. 674. The place-name form *Stantone* could equally derive from the nearby Stanton, or Stanton which was further afield.

⁴⁸ BASKERVILLE, "The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire," p. 89, 113.

⁴⁹ IBD., p. 113; Martha Clayton SKETTERS, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation, c.1530-c.1570*, Oxford 1993, p. 188-189.

priest the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Ripon (less than 4 miles from Fountains), made bequests to four former Fountains brethren: William Dunwell alias White, Marmaduke Jenkinson alias Aldfield (*Aldfield*), Thomas Greenwood alias Denton, and Richard Norris. In addition, he also bequeathed to another former Cistercian, John Snaw, ex-Kirkstall Abbey. Of these, Marmaduke Jenkinson, presumably a relative, was priest at nearby Skelton, and Marmaduke's own will (1558) was in turn witnessed by Greenwood, himself possibly a resident at Ripon.⁵⁰ Furthermore, in 1553 Christopher Jenkinson had been made executor of the (lost) will of Marmaduke Bradley, then Master of St Mary's Hospital, who had been the last abbot of Fountains.⁵¹ Finally, and somewhat further away, the inventory of Roger Peel, parson of Dalton in Furness and the last abbot of Furness, includes: money owed to Peel by Marmaduke Bradley "of Ripon", presumably the abbot of Fountains, and also money owed by Peel to one *Ewane Barwyke* who may be the Fountains monk *Gavin Barwick*, if the forename has been mistread in the printed edition.⁵² As with the Hailes network, we see a handful of former brethren, named in wills, living both close to their old abbey and to one another, with the inclusion of an ex-monk of another house.

In addition to friendships traditionally being formed, and maintained, with those with whom we are in close proximity and regular contact, the literature survey above outlined that friendships often exhibit homophily: we become close friends with people who are similar to ourselves, for instance in age, gender, shared experience (occupation and interests), and that these homophilous friendships tend to last longer. Obviously, all members of a given monastic convent would have been of the same gender with, in theory, no regular contact with members of the opposite sex, though experiences to the contrary are recorded. Furthermore, we might also presume that they also shared a similar, religious perspective on life (their regular vocation), though again recent research would suggest that individual reasons for entering a monastery during the late Middle Ages could vary.⁵³ However, other factors may have brought certain members of a monastic community in particular together. It seems reasonable to assume, for example, that those who entered a religious house at, or around, the same time, would presumably have been of a similar age, and subsequently experienced the periods of probation and novitiate together: they would perhaps have been more likely to have formed friendships with each other than with their older brethren. Indeed, it was more efficient and

⁵⁰ CROSS and VICKERS, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 212.

⁵¹ IBD., p. 116.

⁵² RAINE, p. 23. In addition, a few other debtors named in the inventory may have been former Cistercians, but there is no way of being certain. Thomas Jackson of Millton, near Furness, was probably not the Thomas Jackson formerly of Rievaulx Abbey; also Thomas Kendall, name of monk of Kirkstead at dissolution.

⁵³ But see James CLARK, "Why Men Became Monks in Late Medieval England," in *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. H. COLLIM and Katherine J. Lewis, Woodbridge 2013, p. 160-183.

therefore not uncommon in the late medieval England for larger monasteries in particular to admit and educate small groups of recruits together, rather than do so one by one every few years.⁵⁴ Such cohorts of recruits, numbering between 3 and 5, would provide an obvious context for friendship formation, and there is evidence to suggest that such friendships could be maintained later in their monastic careers and even played a role in disputes within the monastic community. Thus, I have discussed briefly elsewhere how the opposition of ten or eleven monks of Worcester Cathedral Priory, O.S.B., to prior William More during the 1530s seems to have comprised two such cohorts of contemporaneous recruits: one group of five monks who were ordained together, around 1504, and so presumably had been recruited at more or less the same time, a few years earlier; and another, significantly younger cohort who had all been ordained in 1525-27.⁵⁵ I suggested that these two groups had formed personal friendships, perhaps during their respective novitiates, which played out subsequently when divisions within the convent emerged. Similar, earlier examples may be found where monks who had been admitted at, or around, the same time are later recorded on the same side in disputes at their monastery. Thus, in 1365-66, a group of monks of Whalley Abbey attempted, unsuccessfully, to remove abbot John Lindley, and install brother William Banaster in his place.⁵⁶ Banaster's supporters included: two monks, John de Bolling and John de Baghill, whose names occur consecutively in the Whalley admission lists and who had both been ordained during the mid-late 1340s though not necessarily at the same ceremonies; and another two, John de Burton and Thomas de Halton, whose names also occur one after the other in the admission lists and were ordained subdeacon and priest together as part of a larger cohort in 1357 and 1360.⁵⁷ Other comparable Cistercian cases may also be offered to support the suggestion that friendship bonds formed during the early years of monastic careers could establish the basis of common action later on.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ J. G. GREATREX, *The English Benedictine Cathedral Priories: Rule and Practice, c. 1270-1420*, Oxford 2011, p. 37-38; Barbara F. HARVEY, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540. The Monastic Experience*, Oxford 1993, p. 73-74.

⁵⁵ David E. THORNTON, "The Last Monks of Worcester," *Midland History* 43 (2018), p. 3-21 (p. 8-9).

⁵⁶ F. DONALD LOGAN, *Runaway Religions in Medieval England c. 1240-1540*, Cambridge 1996, p. 209, SMITH, p. 349.

⁵⁷ Thomas DUNHAM WHITAKER, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley, and Honor of Clitheroe, in the Countees of Lancaster and York*, third edition, London 1818, p. 84; Manchester, Central Library, MS. GB127.L.1/47/21, p. 108; Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Abp Reg 10A, fol. 8r, 11v, 16v, 18v, 21r, 25v, and Abp Reg 11, fol. 329v, 341v. A further two rebels, the future abbot Nicholas de York and John de Pontefract, had probably been admitted to the abbey not long after Burton and Halton, judging from their proximity in the admission list, though I have not found record of their ordination to support this suggestion.

⁵⁸ In October 1455, two monks of Stratford Langthorne, Thomas Shelford and Hugh Watford were signified for arrest together (as apostates) and it seems likely that they had been admitted to the abbey at around the same time for they were ordained acolyte in September 1447 and May 1448 respectively. London Metropolitan Archive, DL/A/A/005/MISO9531/006 (Reg. Gilbert); LOGAN, *Runaway Religions*, p. 213. Similarly, as part of an election dispute at Buckland Abbey, Thomas Oliver, *quondam*, was signified for arrest on 2 December 1472, along with two other monks, one of whom, Thomas Ley, had

A comparable case may be found from Rievaulx Abbey, from the same period as the dispute at Worcester, that was in turn reflected in later testamentary sources. On 19 September 1517, four monks of Rievaulx were ordained subdeacon together: Richard Allerton, John Malton, Thomas Richmond and Roger Whitby. The same four were ordained deacon on 9 April 1519; and, Allerton and Whitby had to wait till the following September.⁵⁹ We may assume that these young men had been admitted around or shortly before 1515 and had probably undergone the period of probation at the same time. In 1533, as part of a Star Chamber enquiry into the case of former, deposed abbot Edward Kirkby, a minority of the Rievaulx monks examined – 8 out of 23 – stated that Kirkby had been rightfully removed from office and a new abbot should be elected: among these eight were John Malton, Thomas Richmond and Roger Whitby, whereas Richard Allerton voted with the majority.⁶⁰ Furthermore, there is testamentary evidence that these three monks remained in contact with one another after they had left the abbey. Thus, in his will, made on 2 January 1539, John Pinder, curate at Thornton-le-Dale, bequeathed 12d. "to eche one of my brether late of the monastery of Revallle". Pinder was evidently a former monk of Rievaulx, and can be identified in the pension lists as John Malton, above.⁶¹ In addition to this collective bequest to his former brethren, Pinder also bequeathed specifically to, among others, a Sir Roger Watson (10 d. to sing a trentall of masses) and Sir Thomas Jackson (a hat of "wittfelr") who can be identified as Pinder's ex-monastic contemporaries Roger Whitby and Thomas Richmond respectively. It is perhaps significant that the fourth ordinand, Richard Allerton, now *alias* "Lyngge", who had not voted with the others in 1533, received no bequest from Pinder, even though he was to live until at least 1556.⁶² Here therefore, we may see the development of a personal friendship, between at least three monks of Rievaulx, formed during their early years at the monastery, reflected in their common action during the election dispute of 1533, and continued after the surrender of their abbey (though in this case only a short while thereafter).

A handful of similar cases can be found in the wills of former White Monks, where ordination records for the testators and the beneficiaries survive. For example, Robert Bate, alias Kinver, Combe, made a bequest to one Sir William Freman, chaplain, who may be identified as the William Alyson, monk of Combe, ordained subdeacon and priest at the same ceremonies as Kinver in 1520 and 1522.⁶³ In contrast however, their confrère Richard Wastell, alias Binley, ordained as monk of

been ordained in 1453-54 like Oliver: G. R. DUNSTAN, *The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 1420-1455*, Torquay 1963-1972, IV, p. 244, 248, 253; LOGAN, *Runaway Religions*, p. 120, 214.

⁵⁹ Cross and Vickers, p. 269.

⁶⁰ William BROWN, *Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings*, (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 41), Leeds 1909, p. 48-51.

⁶¹ Cross and Vickers, p. 170-171.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁶³ WILLIAMS, p. 418, 458, 482.

Combe in 1517, bequeathed to Sir Geoffrey Daniel who, with the monastic dynamic Sneed, was ordained two decades later in March 1537.⁶⁴ These two men had presumably entered Combe Abbey at least 20 years apart, but Wastell still wished to make a special bequest to the younger man. Similarly, the beneficiaries of former Kirkstall monk, Thomas Pepper alias Kirkstall, included William Lupton (alias Kirkby), who had been ordained as monk of Kirkstall only a few years before Pepper and so was probably a close contemporary, but also another, Leonard Windress (alias York), who had apparently joined the Kirkstall convent over three decades earlier.⁶⁵ Thus, while some ex-Cistercian monks do appear to have remembered and stayed in close contact with certain former brethren who had joined the convent around the same time, and may be considered their contemporaries, others bequeathed to those whose age and monastic careers mark them as very unhomophilous.

At least ten ex-Cistercian monks who do not refer to former brethren in their wills seem to have either been married or at least had children. It was outlined above how, generally, people who have started a family of their own, will often have smaller networks of friends, partly due to new priorities and demands on their time. In pre-Reformation England and Wales, it was of course illegal for clerks – secular and regular – to marry, and even after Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1534, the King continued to oppose clerical marriage, though a small number – most notably Archbishop Crammer – did get married.⁶⁶ On the other hand, if they are to be believed, the reports in the *Compendium Comperitorum* of 1535-1536 record many cases of monks and regular canons having sexual relations ("incontinnence") with single and married women, and of nuns who had become pregnant.⁶⁷ Only after the Edwardian acts of 1549 and 1552 did the royal government permit clergy to marry, though they were still discouraged from doing so; clerical marriage was deemed a lesser evil than incontinence. This proved to be short-lived, for in 1553 Queen Mary moved swiftly to repeal most religious laws passed under her brother, including those relating to clerical marriage; now again, clerks could not get married, those who had done so were to be deprived of their benefices, and former *regular* clergy who had married could face additional punishment.

Four relatively early wills of former Cistercians refer to wives and/or children. In his will of 20 March 1548, the vicar of Hawkesbury, Gloucs., William French *alias* Bewdley, former monk of Bordesley and abbot successively at Flaxley and

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

⁶⁵ Cross and Vickers, p. 140, 142, 152.

⁶⁶ Richard M. Spelmann, "The Beginning of Clerical Marriage in the English Reformation: The Reigns of Edward and Mary," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 56/3 (1987), p. 251-263; Helen Parisi, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation*, Aldershot 2000.

⁶⁷ Among the Cistercian testators whose wills are used for the current paper, we may note that Christopher Nevynson, monk of Holm Cultram, was accused to having relations with an unmarried woman, and Roger Pele, abbot of Furness, with two single women (TNA, SP 1/102, fol. 92v, 93r).

Kingswood, begins his bequests by giving the hefty sum of £45 to "Anne, my daughter, wife of John Roules of Malmesbury... to her marriage" along with various household items.⁶⁸ Understandably perhaps, there is no mention of her mother and, given her own married status, it seems likely that Anne must have been born when her father was still abbot. The same may apply to Nicholas Pennant, last abbot of Basingwerk, Flint., whose will – made just over two weeks after Bewdley's – is almost entirely concerned with securing the land property rights of four male beneficiaries identified using the Welsh patronymic *ap* *Nicolas Pennant* and a woman called *Annes verch Nicolas Pennant*,⁶⁹ although not stated explicitly, these were evidently his children. Two of the "sons", Edward and Thomas, were in turn appointed as executors, though they seem to have been too young (*in minori etate existentes*) and the administration of the will was assigned to the testator's kinsmen Henry Pennant and Thomas Bulton. Whether all these children had been born before the dissolution of Basingwerk Abbey in 1537 is impossible to determine, though it is perhaps significant that Nicholas himself seems to have been born when his own father was abbot.⁷⁰ Since the inheritance laws would not have applied to illegitimate children, both Bewdley and Pennant clearly used their wills as means of providing for these "base-begotten" offspring. Two other early ex-Cistercian testators refer to their spouses, though their wills date to 1551, by when clerical marriage was permitted. Thomas Walle, vicar of Dudley and possibly previously monk of Bordesley, refers to his wife Margaret; and the aforementioned Christopher Nevynson, former monk of Holm Cultram, names his wife Anne, a son Thomas, and daughter Jane.⁷¹ None of these four testators refer to any former confrères in their wills, even though three of them (not Nevynson, above) were living relatively close to their former monasteries. A further six ex-Cistercian monks refer to wives or children, but in these cases, all made their wills after the "watershed" year 1560 and so do not mention other ex-monks.

V. UNIVERSITY STUDY AND EXTRACLAUSTRAL FRIENDSHIPS

Another context in which monks (but not nuns) might find themselves in close proximity and frequent contact with like-minded members of their Order and, in this case, from different monasteries, was at university. While most White Monks and Nuns were required to obey their vow of stability and remain in the monastery

⁶⁸ Baskerville's statement (followed by Williams) that French was himself married would, however, seem to be incorrect: the will only mentions the daughter (Baskerville, "Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire," p. 88; Williams, p. 426).

⁶⁹ David E. Thornton, "A *Mynach* By Any Other Name...: The Anonymity of the Welsh Cistercians, c.1300-1540," *Welsh History Review* 30/4 (2021), p. 429-468 (p. 462, n. 93).

⁷⁰ Nicholas Pennant is said to have been 50 years old in 1545, so probably born around 1495, but his father Thomas Pennant occurs as Abbot of Basingwerk as early as 1481 (Smith, p. 264-265).

⁷¹ It was perhaps Nevynson's close association with Crammer that encouraged him to marry (HARRINGTON, "Nevynson [Nevynson], Christopher (d. 1551)?").

where they had been professed, for the more intellectually promising monks there was always the chance of being sent as a student at Oxford or Cambridge, especially after the foundation of St Bernard's College, Oxford, in 1437. From 1482 onwards, abbeys were formally required to send at least one monk to study at the college, two for the larger communities.⁷² Thus, monks from different monasteries would come into the regular contact with brethren from other Cistercian houses, as well as members of other orders and secular clergymen. Furthermore, a number of sources indicate that members of monastic communities who had been sent up to Oxford or Cambridge could, on returning to their monastery, often stand aloof from their less educated brethren and form cliques.⁷³

Of the White Monks whose wills and inventories are surveyed here, at least ten can be associated with Oxford, four with Cambridge, and two with both universities, but the testamentary evidence for references to fellow ex-monk students is inconclusive. Thus, as noted above, in 1558, the last abbot of Buckfast, Gabriel Dunne, then canon of St Paul's, made a bequest of books to the "late" St Bernard's College, which had in fact been refounded as St John's College three years earlier, but he makes no reference to any former Cistercians even though his codicil does contain bequests to a few secular Oxford men.⁷⁴ A further possible Oxford association is the will of Oliver Adams, alias Symmyngge, former abbot of Combe, as mentioned above, he bequeathed to his successor as abbot, Robert Bate (alias Kinver), who was also the will's overseer and acted as witness. Like Adams, Bate had been at Oxford, and he may even have been the Robert "Cunbde" who was provisor of St Bernard's in 1533.⁷⁵ However, as we have seen, the fact that both men were of the same abbey and were later associated with the parish of Church Lawford (above) may explain their testamentary association, rather than their common Oxford connection. In 1539, before the last Cistercian abbey in England and Wales (Hailes) had been surrendered, William *Alynger* (or *Alyng*),⁷⁶ as provisor of St Bernard's, made a number of bequests to Cistercians. These included notably three monks of Hailes: Philip Acton alias Brode,⁷⁷ who succeeded *Alynger* as provisor; Roger Whalley alias Rede; and Richard Hailes alias Eden. He also bequeathed to a Master Nicholas Austen, who was presumably the former abbot of Rewley of that name, and his executors included a "Master King", who may be the Cistercian Robert King, last abbot of Thame (and also of Osney, O.S.A.) and

⁷² WILLIAMS, p. 65-70

⁷³ P. A. CUNICH, "Benedictine Monks at the University of Oxford and the Dissolution of the Monasteries," in *Benedictines in Oxford*, ed. Henry WANSBROUGH and Anthony MARETT-CROSBY, London 1997, p. 155-182.

⁷⁴ EMDEN, p. 179; SMITH, p. 274.

⁷⁵ It was not uncommon for Cistercians at Oxford to be known by the names of their abbeys and also many provisors went on to become abbots (SMITH, p. 318-319; WILLIAMS, p. 66, 86; Williams also has Adams as provisor).

⁷⁶ EMDEN, p. 7; SMITH, p. 319, 348; WILLIAMS, p. 418.

⁷⁷ CCEd Person ID: 114952.

soon to be Bishop of Oxford.⁷⁸ Of these various men, the three monks of Hailes were probably still resident at the college when *Alynger* made his will, and Robert King had not yet surrendered his two monasteries. Only Austen seems to have been based outside Oxford in 1539, for he had moved to Cambridge after the surrender of Rewley Abbey. Most of the university-educated testators do not mention other Cistercians who had been at university with them. For example, it has been suggested that Edward Cowper alias Kirkby, monk and later abbot of Rievaulx, was the "Mr Rivers" who in 1517 had shared chambers at St Bernard's with monks of Byland — probably Robert Bainton — and Buckfast, and who also in 1518 was accused by the provisor, along with a brother William of Holm Cultram, of living dissolutely.⁷⁹ However, when he made his will in 1551, Cowper did not remember any of these fellow monk-scholars from his Oxford days, though he did bequeath to one secular graduate of the university. Thus, the evidence of the wills of former Cistercians who had spent time as students would suggest that friendships and associations with fellow White Monks formed by these testators while at university did not, for the most part, continue after they had lost the proximity and frequent contact of being at Oxford or Cambridge and had returned to their respective abbeys.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

There is therefore strong testamentary evidence that Cistercian monks and nuns in early Tudor England and Wales did form friendships with their cloistered brothers and sisters in religion but that the continuation of these personal friendship ties after the Dissolution of the Monasteries depended on a number of factors that affected their ability — and inclination — to remain in close and regular contact in the following years. Firstly, it seems likely that especially close friendships were formed with a relatively small number of individuals (so-called "best friends") and, in some demonstrable cases, these were certainly made with fellow monks (or nuns) who had entered the monastery at around the same time and were most likely of a similar age. These small groups of friends could in fact constitute cliques within the monastery, and can be seen acting together in cases of disagreement within the convent. With the dissolution of their house, the individual members of these groups were compelled to find their way in the secular world. Many remained relatively locally and, in a few well-documented cases, some even lived together. We have evidence therefore, from the wills they made, of small local networks of former Cistercians maintaining personal contact with each other.

⁷⁸ EMDEN, p. 18; SMITH, p. 323-324, 339, 499; WILLIAMS, p. 420, 480. It has been suggested that Austen was later rector of Wharfedale, *Waters*.

⁷⁹ CROSS and VICKERS, p. 102, 171; AVERING, "The Rievaulx Community..." (see n. 12), p. 101-102, and AVERING, "The Monks of Byland Abbey..." (see n. 12), p. 10; WILLIAMS, p. 66-67; BREWER *et al.*, *Letters and Papers*, XIII/2, n. 403.

However, the monks who eventually found employment as secular clerks in the Church and moved further afield in order to do so, lost regular contact with their former confrères and so any friendship ties between them would have diminished. This is particularly the case for those younger ex-monks, who had been recruited to the Order less than a decade before the Dissolution and whose pensions would therefore have been lower in value: not only was it in their financial interests to establish a clerical career, but perhaps they had been also less shaped by, and were less committed to, their former monastic vocation.

Furthermore, the passage of time evidently took its toll on the continuing personal contacts between former White Monks and Nuns. The number of references in the wills to former brothers or sisters in religion decreases steadily until c. 1558-1560 after which point none of the wills examined would seem to contain such a reference. The relatively large number of wills made during the 1550s in particular means that many former Cistercians died during that decade and so there was simply fewer of them left alive to be mentioned in later wills. However, the fact that the rate of reference to other ex-Cistercians was already declining *before* the 1550s suggests that other factors, such as employment and residential relocation, also influenced the maintenance of monastic friendships even within a few years of the Dissolution. A further factor would seem to have been the formation of nuclear families by some ex-monks, including fathering illegitimate children before 1549; in such cases, the personal obligations of family appear to have overridden the older ties of monastic friendship. Lastly, there is no strong evidence, from the data summarized here, that time spent at Oxford or Cambridge necessarily led to the establishing of friendships with Cistercian students of *other* abbeys that would survive the period the Dissolution, over and beyond those connections formed with confrères of the same house.

Department of History

Bilkent University

06800 Ankara

Turkey

David E. THORNTON

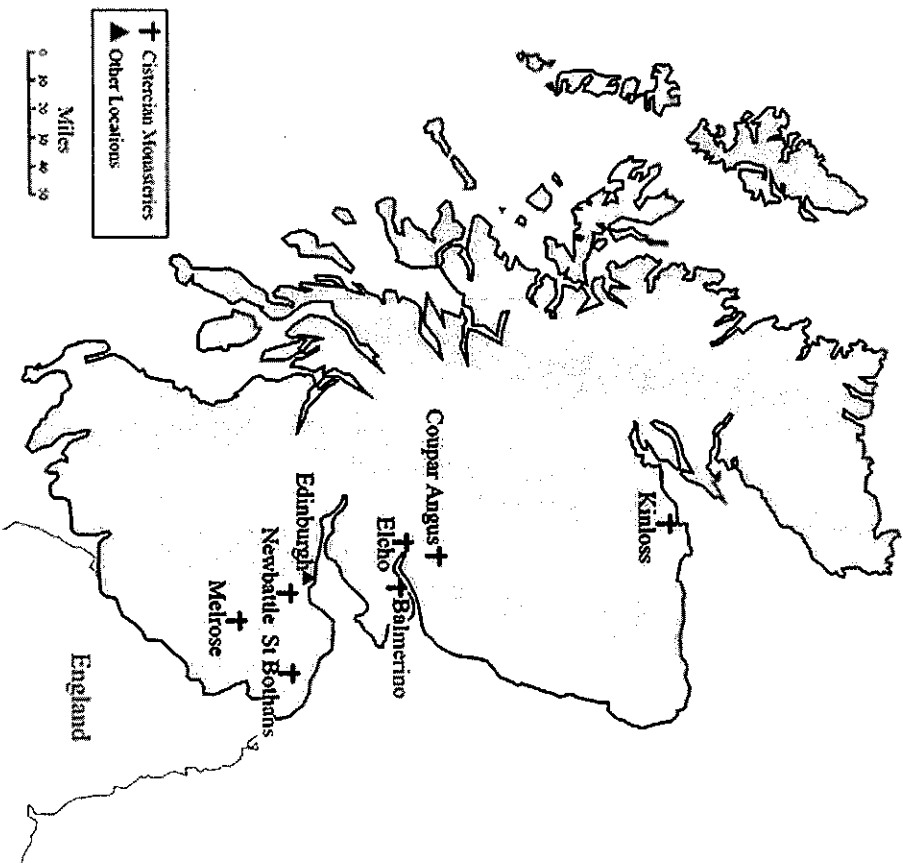


Fig. 6. Cistercian monasteries in Scotland mentioned in this article.

APPENDIX I: THE TESTAMENTS OF SCOTTISH CISTERCIANS

For various reasons, an examination of the testaments of Scottish Cistercians ought to be treated separately from the wills of their English and Welsh counterparts. Firstly, neither the Scottish Reformation nor the establishment of the Protestant Kirk in 1560 were initiated by the royal government, as Queen Mary herself remained Catholic. Consequently, in Scotland there was no comprehensive, centrally coordinated policy for the closure of monasteries and other religious houses, as there had been two decades earlier in England, Wales and parts of Ireland.⁸⁰ While many monasteries were indeed "cast down" through the spontaneous and often violent actions of local Protestants and their members forcibly expelled from cloisters by these "Reformers", other houses were allowed to continue in existence, without the admission of new recruits, and gradually disappeared during the course of the late sixteenth or very early seventeenth centuries. In the latter cases, the monks and nuns could either embrace the new religion, leave their houses voluntarily often with pensions, and, for the men, find a position as ministers in the Kirk; or they could remain at their monasteries until they died. Most of the continuing monasteries were eventually (if not already) placed under the control of a "commendator" who generally was not a member of a religious order and, after 1560 especially, may not even be a cleric but managed – and profited from – the proprietary affairs of the monastery and its dwindling convent.⁸¹ By the early seventeenth century, with the passing of the last members of the original convents, all pretense was dropped and such monasteries were generally surrendered to the king and refounded or "erected" as secular lordships. Of the fifty testaments identified to-date, mostly via the "Scotland's People" online catalogue,⁸² nineteen (38%) were those of commendators – and for the Cistercian houses specifically, five out of nine were commendators: how far these commendatory abbots would have related to, and identified with, the handful of religious with whom they signed charters and other documents is a question worth considering.

An additional factor, that renders it difficult to compare the Scottish testaments with the wills from England and Wales, is the rather different nature of these two sets of testamentary sources. In sixteenth-century Scotland, there were two types of testament. On the one hand, a "testament dative" was drawn up when the deceased had died intestate; the relevant commissary court would appoint an executor and the testament usually contained lists of debts owed by, and to, the deceased as well as an inventory of possessions. In such cases, the wishes of the deceased are accordingly lacking. On the other hand, a "testament testamentar" was closer

to the English will in that the deceased had already appointed an executor and the testament itself would include, as well as lists of debts, a "latter will and legacy" section in which individual bequests were recorded.

The relatively small number of the testaments of former "Cistercians" (including the commendators), and the fact that many were relatively late in date,⁸³ means that an analysis of these documents is more difficult and less informative than that offered above for their English and Welsh counterparts. In Scotland after 1560, even *continuing* members of monasteries might have testaments, perhaps partly due to the late medieval system of "portions" whereby individual monks or regular canons had the right to an allowance which included food and clothing but also money to buy food.⁸⁴ Thus, in his testament dative of 1578, James Ramsey is described as *dene* in Melrose, which I take to be the Scots monastic title (=English *dean*) and not the office of "dean". Ramsey is recorded as monk of Melrose from 1557 and signed charters until at least 1574.⁸⁵ The Melrose community continued after 1594, when the commendator and *dene* James Watson signed a *trak* together: Watson is referred to here and elsewhere as the "only convent", and he survived until at least 1600.⁸⁶ In contrast to Ramsey and Watson, a monk of Coupar Angus, James Anderson, seems to have eventually left his convent, though not necessarily until two decades after 1560; he was still associated with the abbey in 1584, despite having been presented earlier to the nearby vicarage of Collace, but by the late 1580s he was married and served as minister of Kettins, which is how he is styled in his testament dative of 1606.⁸⁷ It is possible that the monastic community at Coupar had more or less ceased to exist by 1588 when a number of the monks are said to be dead or their portions described as vacant.⁸⁸ Anderson's testament does, however, make reference to his monastic pension, but to no former brethren. While there are no direct Scottish equivalents of the surrender and pension lists that provide the names of former religious in England, Wales and parts of Ireland, the growing practice of members of a monastic convent signing documents during the sixteenth century, notably feu charters and tacks, does provide consistent prosopographical data for many, if not all, monasteries, before and after 1560.⁸⁹

⁸⁰ The latest of the "Cistercian" testaments is the testament testamenter of Elizabeth Home, called prioress of St Botolph, which was drawn up in 1628: she was prioress from 1566 until 1617, when the priory was refounded as a secular lordship, but she evidently continued to be known by her former monastic title. See D. E. R. WATT and N. F. SHEAR, *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from the Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*, Edinburgh 2001, p. 192.

⁸¹ DUNWORTH, *Scottish Monasteries*, p. 29.

⁸² MARK DUNWORTH, "Monks and Ministers after 1560," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 18 (1974), p. 201-221 (p. 203).

⁸³ MATTHEW LIVINGSTONE, "A Calendar of Charters and other Writs relating to Lands or Benefices in Scotland in possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 41 (1906-1907), p. 303-392 (p. 344); DUNWORTH, "Monks and Ministers," p. 203.

⁸⁴ DUNWORTH, "Monks and Ministers," p. 207-208.

⁸⁵ D. E. EASSON, *Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*, 2 vol., Edinburgh 1947, II, p. 246-247.

⁸⁶ DUNWORTH, *Scottish Monasteries*, p. 46.

⁸⁰ MARK DUNWORTH, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages*, Edinburgh 1995, p. 75-88.

⁸¹ On commendation at late medieval and Reformation Scottish monasteries, see MARK DUNWORTH, "The Commendator System in Scotland," *Times Review* 37 (1986), p. 51-72, and *Scottish Monasteries*, p. 14-23.

⁸² <https://www.scotlandsppeople.gov.uk/>

These documents may be used therefore to help identify brethren mentioned in testaments. The latter wills and legacy sections of two testaments may contain references to monks associated with the relevant houses. Thus, the 1571 testament of Michael Balfour, commendator of Melrose, mentions one George Weir, who may be the Melrose monk of that name who was still alive in 1568.⁹⁰ Similarly, John Hay, commendator of Balmerino, mentions a John Bestir in his testament (1574),⁹¹ who may have been one of the two brethren of the abbey left by that time.⁹² In addition, the testament of Eufame Leslie, the last prioress of Elcho, dated 1571, states that she owed debts, in the form of their pensions, to a number of former nuns of Elcho, but no "sister" is named in the latter will and legacy.

Despite the relatively small number of sixteenth-century testaments associated with members of Scottish monasteries, and especially the very small Cistercian sample examined here, it does seem that these documents may provide an additional glimpse into the lives of religious and former religious in Scotland after 1560. Indeed, the fact that at least a third (three out of nine) of the "Cistercian" testaments contain possible references to former/continuing White Monks and Nuns may be compared to the similar proportion of English and Welsh wills (29 out of 88) that mention other Cistercians, and suggests further testamentary research may prove fruitful.

⁹⁰ Charles S. ROMANES, *Selections from the Records of the Regality of Melrose*, 3 vol., Edinburgh 1914-1917, III, p. 367.

⁹¹ For Hay, see WATT and SHEAD, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 15.

⁹² James CAMPBELL, *Balmerino and its Abbey: A Parochial History*, Edinburgh 1867, p. 274; William B. TURNBULL, *The Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores*, Edinburgh 1841, p. 70, 72.

APPENDIX II: WILLS OF ENGLISH, WELSH AND SCOTTISH CISTERCIANS

This appendix lists the wills, testaments and inventories of former Cistercian monks and nuns and – for Scotland – commendators that have been used in writing the present article. It is doubtful whether the list is exhaustive, and the author welcomes further information concerning any additions, as well as corrections to the current content. The list is arranged alphabetically by the surname of the testators; thus, in cases where a monk in England had been known by a monastic byname prior to the Dissolution, that byname is supplied as an "alias" (al.). A number of the identifications are, at best, uncertain, and in such cases, the testator's surname is preceded by *. For those English male testators who can be identified in the *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, the appropriate PersonID has been supplied. For reasons of brevity, the names of archives and record offices, as well as the titles of published sources, have been abbreviated in this appendix; full details are provided in the list located after the table.

Name	Abbey and status	Parish and status	Will and Probate	Source
Adams al. Symminge, Oliver	Combe 1507-9, 1539, abb. 1513-38	Church Lawford (bur.); clerk	1548.6.28	StaffsRO, B/C/11/1548/Oliver Addams [will and inv.]
Alanbridge al. Leeds, John	Byland 1503-22, abb. 1525-38	Calverley, Leeds, clerk	1563.11.3-4 (prob. 1563.1.28)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 17A, fol. 310v-311r; AVELING 1955, p. 6-7 [will and codicil]
Alynger [<i>Alyng</i> ?, <i>Alingens</i>], William	Waverley 1531, abb. 1533-36	St Bernard's College, Oxford, provisor	1539.9.26 (prob. 1540.1.5)	TNA, PROB 11/28/3
Anderson, James	Coupar Angus 1558-74	Kettins, minister	1606.6.21	NRS, CC8/8/42
Ashenhurst, William	Hilton 1538	Stoke-on-Trent (bur.)	1544.11.25	StaffsRO, B/C/11/1544/William Asshenhurst [will and inv.]
Austen al. Harpham, James	Meaux 1509-39	Harpham	1554.12.2 (prob. 1555.3.29)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 14, fol. 188r-v [will and inv.]
Austen, Nicholas [CCEd Person ID: 66478]	Rewley abb. 1533-36	Wharfedale, rector	15[71].12. – (prob. 1572.6.21)	WAAS, 008:7 BA3585/51b(76)
Badger, Richard [CCEd Person ID: 9007; also CCEd Person ID: 24623]	Bordesley 1538	Drayton, rector	1576.4.13 (prob. 1576.09.20)	TNA, PROB 11/58/345

Name	Abbey and status	Parish and status	Will and Probate	Source
Bainton, Robert	Byland 1512-38	Hutton on the Hill, priest	1578.1.15 (prob. 1578.4.9)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 21, fol. 107v; AVELING 1955, p. 10
Balfour, Michael	Melrose comm. 1564-68		1570=1.2.9	NRS, CC8/8/2
Bartlott, Thomas	Kirkstall 1490-1539	Leeds, priest	1542.5.26 (prob. 1542.6.20)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 11/2, fol. 607v; LUMB 1913, p. 59-60
Bate al. Kinver, Robert [CCEd Person ID: 24736]	Combe 1520-34, abb. 1538-39	Church Lawford, parson	1558.1.31	StaffsRO, B/C/11/1558/Robert Bate [will and inv.]
*Bloxham al. Inglis, William	[Bruern 1535-6]	Aston Somerville, Gloucs.	1562=3.2.9 (prob. 1563.6.29)	GloucsA, GDR/R8/1563/165
Bristow, Richard [CCEd Person ID: 9752]	Thame 1539	Crowmarsh Giffard, rector	1557.4.29 (prob. 1557.5.29)	OxonRO, MS Wills Oxon. 181.108
Broke, Agnes	Kirklees 1539	Woodhouse; Huddersfield (bur.)	1558.8.6 (prob. 1559.5.6)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/3, fol. 382r
Bromley [Bromfield], Richard	Valle Crucis 1504, prior 1528-38		1566.3.28 (prob. 1576=7.1.28)	TNA, PROB 11/59/126
*Butler, Richard	Meaux 1517-39	[North Frodingham], priest	1558.3.23	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/2, fol. 288r
Caprone al. Skegby, Thomas [CCEd Person ID: 134916]	Rufford 1534-35; Rievaulx 1538	Epperstone, Notts. (bur.), [curate]	1556.12.1	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/1, fol. 226r
Cowper al. Kirkby, Edward [CCEd Person ID: 116120]	Rievaulx 1504-25, abb. 1530-33	Kirby Misperton, Yorks., St Nicholas Olave, London, parson	1551.8.12 (no prob.)	BIA, Abp Reg. 29, fol. 139v-140r; AVELING 1952, p. 102-103
Cundall/Crundall, Henry	Roche 1497-8, abb. 1531-38	Tickhill, vicar	1554.10.18 (prob. 1555.5.4)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 14, fol. 78v-79r
Cutler al. Dodgeson, Agnes/Ann	Hampole 1536	York, St Cuthberts (bur.)	1557.10.9 (prob. 1557=8.1.14)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/2, fol. 81r-v
Didbrook, John	Abbey Dore 1528-36	Llanfair Cilgoed, Monm., chaplain	1569=70.2.4 (prob. 1569=70.3.4)	TNA, PROB 11/52/96
Dixon, Thomas [CCEd Person ID: 61860]	Fountains 1514-39	Hampsthwaite, vicar	1587.12.22 (prob. 1587=8.1.11)	BIA, Abp Reg. 31, fol. 105r-v

Dobbs [al. Bird], John	Boxley abb. [1523-35] 1538	London, All Hallows Barking, priest	1546.7.[7] (prob. 1546.9.3)	TNA, PROB 11/31/260
Dodsworth, John [CCEd Person ID: 116582]	Roche 1522-38	Armthorpe, rector	1574.5.16 (prob. 1574.7.28)	BIA, Abp Reg. 30, fol. 153r
Dugdale, Elizeus [CCEd Person ID: 40681]	Hailes 1540	Stow on the Wold, parson	1574.3.14 (prob. 1575.2.25)	GloucsA, GDR/R8/1574/36
Dunne, Gabriel [CCEd Person ID: 80098]	Stratford Langthorne 1510-35; Buckfast abb. 1535-39	London, St Paul's Cathedral, canon	1558.2.1 (prob. 1558.12.14, 1560.12.7)	TNA, PROB 11/43/629, PROB 11/42A/114; STÉPHAN
Ellis al. Birstall, Richard	Kirkstall 1522-39	Leeds, priest	1550.12.10 (prob. 1551.6.19)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 13/2, fol. 744r-v; LUMB 1913, p. 271-722
Farre [al. Malvern], Thomas [CCEd Person ID: 150106]	Hailes 1540	Pinnock, Gloucs., rector	1552.7.19 (prob. 1552=3.2.18)	WAAS, Orig Wills [008:7 BA3585] [will and inv.]
Foster [Forster], Katherine	Sinningthwaite prs. 1534-06	Tadcaster (bur.)	1543.9.11 (prob. 1543.11.15)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 11/2, fol. 715v
French al. Bewdley, William	Bordesley 1507-08; Flaxley abb. 1526-33; Kingswood abb. 1533-38	Hawkesbury, Gloucs., clerk	1548.3.20 (prob. 1548.4.24)	TNA, PROB 11/32/95; BASKERVILLE [1], p. 289-90
Fryar al. Arlingham, Edward [CCEd Person ID: 150784]	Flaxley 1524-36; Kingswood 1538	Newnham, parson	1572.12.16 (prob. 1573.4.18)	GloucsA, GDR/R8/1573/31
Furbur, Robert	Combermere 1538	Holy Trinity, Coventry (bur.)	1545.5.4	StaffsRO, B/C/11/1545/Robert Furbur
Hall al. Gilling, Richard	Rievaulx 1495-1538	Laytham, curate	1566.3.1 (prob. 1566.5.18)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 17/2, fol. 538v-9
Harkey, Joan	Ellerton in Swaledale prs. 1534-36	Richmond	1550.4.8 (prob. 1551.3.22)	WYAS, RD/AP1/43/19; RAINÉ, p. 69-70
Hay, John	Balmerino comm. 1561-73		1573=4.1.6	NRS, CC8/8/2-3
Hemsworth al. Preston, Robert	Kirkstall 1527-39	Preston, clerk	1553.3.23 (prob. 1553.5.15)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 13/2, fol. 974v
Heptonstall al. Pomfret, Edward	Kirkstall 1505-39	Leeds, priest	1558.8.3 (prob. 1558.10.4)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/3, fol. 59v
Hume, Elizabeth	St Bothans prs. 1566-1617	"prioress"	1628.9.2	NRS, CC8/8/54

Name	Abbey and status	Parish and status	Will and Probate	Source
Jenkinson al. Dunwell, Christopher [CCEd Person ID: 119035]	Fountains 1521-39	Ripon, chantry pr.	1557.5.10	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/3, fol. 55v
Jenkinson al. Aldfield, Marmaduke	Fountains 1521-39	Skelton, priest; Ripon (bur.)	1558.8.29 (prob. 1558.9.30)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/3, fol. 56v
Ker, Mark [I]	Newbattle comm. 1547-84		1586.8.18	NRS, CC8/8/16
Ker, Mark [II]	Newbattle comm. 1567-87		1610	NRS, CC8/8/46
King al. Hamney, Richard	Bruern 1532, abb. 1533-36	Wigginton, rector	1557.5.19	BASKERVILLE [2] p. 346-347
King, Robert [CCEd Person ID: 147700]	Forde 1502; Bruern abb. 1515-27; Thame abb. 1527-39; Osney O.S.A. abb. 1538-39	Oxford, bishop	1557.6.9 (prob. 1559.5.28)	TNA, PROB 11/42B/216
Kirkby, William	Kirkstall 1531-34	St John's Ousebridge, York (bur.)	1558.10.4 (prob. 1558.10.17)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/3, fol. 93r-v
Leslie, Ewfame	Elcho prs. 1526-1559×1570		1570.12.20	NRS, CC8/8/2; STAVERT & PERRY, p. 31-33
Lister [Litsler], John	Kirkstall 1533-39	Hollym, Holderness, clerk	1562.7.7 (prob. 1563.4.28)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 17/1, fol. 238r-v
Lofthouse, Gabriel	Kirkstall 1515-39	[Richmond], chaplain	1552.8.4	RAINE, p. 144n
Lutton, Anne	Handale prs. 1532-39	New Malton	1551.1.5 (prob. 1551.2.17)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 13/2, fol. 702v
Marbury [Merbury], William [CCEd Person ID: 65156]	Dore 1532-37	Peterchurch, vicar	1584.11.1	HARC, MS 28/4/45
Martyn, Elizabeth	Wintney prs. 1534-36	Okingham; Hartley Wintney (bur.)	1584.7.24 (prob. 1587.8.30)	WiltsHC, P5/4Reg/147B
Mason, Barbara	Marham abs. 1507-37	Bury St Edmunds	1538.9.4 (prob. 1538.9.14)	TYMMS, p. 133-135
Mason, Paul [CCEd Person ID: 119733]	Kirkstall 1531-39	Bishopthorpe, Yorks., vicar	1571.12.20 (prob. 1573.2.22)	BIA, Abp Reg 30, fol. 146r; CROSS, II, p. 95
Massy [Massie], John	Combermere 1512-24, abb. 1536-38		1565.2.5 (prob. 1566.2.4)	ChesRO, WS/1564/Massie; PIXTON, p. 13-14

Metcalf al. York, Thomas	Byland 1515-38	Kilburn, priest	1558.4.14 (prob. 1558.6.16)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/2, f. 334v; AVELING 1955, p. 9-10
Moke [Mooke], Thomas [CCEd Person ID: 119626]	Rufford 1534; Kirkstall 1539	Farndon, Notts., clerk	1585=6.3.10 (prob. 1586=7.3.1)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 23/1, fol. 386r-v
Nandike [Nendyke], Katherine	Wykeham prs. 1502-39	Kirkby Moreshead	1541.5.7 (prob. 1541.7.20)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 11/2, fol. 559v-560r
Nevinson, Christopher [CCEd Person ID: 90548]	Holm Cultram 1533-38	Adisham, Kent, [Commissary General, Diocese of Canterbury]	1550=1.3.17 (prob. 1551=2.1.25)	TNA, PROB 11/35/25; KHLC, PRC/32/24/62
Newman, John [CCEd Person ID: 66719]	Forde 1539	Netherbury, Dors., vicar	1571.7.2 (prob. 1575.5.14)	TNA, PROB 11/57/238
Norman al. Sarisbury, John [CCEd Person ID: 94723]	Bindon 1512, abb. 1534-39	Kingsclere, vicar	1553.8.8 (prob. 1554.9.15)	TNA, PROB 11/37/129
Palmer, John	Tilty 1521-9, abb. 1533-36	Great Easton, clerk	1539.1.9 (prob. 1539.2.22)	EssexRO, MS D/ABW 28/46
Parker [Perken], William [CCEd Person ID: 120869]	Meaux 1539	Great Edstone, Yorks., vicar	1558.12.20 (prob. 1560)	BIA, Chancery Wills 1558
Peel [Pele], Roger	Furness 1508-9, abb. 1531-37	Dalton in Furness, parson	1541.5.24	LancsA, WRW/F/R346B/14; RAINE, p. 21-23 [=inv.]
Pennant, Nicholas	Basingwerk abb. 1520-36	Holywell, Flints. (bur.)	1548.4.8	FlintsRO, D/NA/723
Pepper al. Kirkstall, Thomas [CCEd Person ID: 121028]	Kirkstall 1533-39	Adel, Leeds, clerk [rector]	1553.3.27 (prob. 1553.6.9)	BIA, Abp Reg. 29, fol. 107v; WOODWARD, p. 157-161
Perpin [Perepyn], Thomas [CCEd Person ID: 160020]	Grace Dieu abb. 1534-36; Flaxley 1536	Cirencester, curate	1563=4.1.29 (prob. 1567=8.3.8)	GloucsA, GDR/R8/1563/152
Pinder al. Malton, John	Rievaulx 1517-38	Thornton le Dale, curate	1539.1.2 (prob. 1539.3.14)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 11, fol. 347v; AVELING 1952, p. 107-108
*Preston, John [CCEd Person ID: 121512]	Rievaulx 1531; Meaux 1533	South Kilvington, parson	1572.8.23 (prob. 1572.11.11)	BIA, Abp Reg. 30, fol. 145r
Ramsey, James	Melrose 1557-74	Melrose <i>dene</i>	1578.11.15	NRS, CC8/8/6
Reid, Walter	Kinloss comm. 1553-87	"Abbot of Kinloss"	1591.8.27	NRS, CC8/8/23
*Robinson [al. Auckland], John [CCEd Person ID: 102463]	<i>Biddlesden</i> 1531-39	Dauntsey, rector	1581.8.29 (prob. 1601.11.16)	TNA, PROB 11/98/389

Name	Abbey and status	Parish and status	Will and Probate	Source
Robinson [al. Jervaulx], John [CCEd Person ID: 122890]	Roche [1532], 1536-38	Gisburne, vicar	1581.7.28 (prob. 1581.8.7)	BIA, Abp Reg. 31, fol. 92r
Robinson, Richard [CCEd Person ID: 90784]	Holm Cultram 1536-38	Clerk [St Alphege London Wall, rector]	1549.10.21 (prob. 1549.10.29)	TNA, PROB 11/32/557
Russell, Margaret	Tarrant Kaines abs. 1539	Bere Regis (bur.)	1568.1.20 (prob. 1568.7.3)	TNA, PROB 11/50/216
Sadspere al. Hanley, Roger [CCEd Person ID: 81706]	Bordesley 1532-38	Priest [Flyford Flavell, Wores., rector]	1559=60.2.17 (prob. 1559=60.3.12)	WAAS, Wills Reg. VI, fol. 185
Seddon [Seddown] [al. Eccles?], Alexander	Vale Royal [1506], 1538	Bunbury, Chesh., priest	1541.8.28	ChesRO, WC/1540/Alexander Seddon [=inv.]
Sedgwick [al. Watless], Christopher	Thame [1505-6], 1539	Kirtlington, priest	1549.5.29 (prob. 1549.6.1)	OxonRO, MS Wills Oxon. 179.332
Simpson al. Skerne, Richard [CCEd Person ID: 125995]	Meaux 1525-39	Sproatley, Yorks., rector	1570.6.28 (prob. 1570.10.5)	BIA, Abp Reg. 30, fol. 136r-137r
Smith al. Stainthorpe, Robert	Rievaulx 1501-38	Helmsley (bur.), priest	1549.8.5 (prob. 1550.2.26)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 13/2, fol. 578v-79r; AVELING 1952, p. 105-106
Spratt, Thomas [? CCEd Person ID: 79004]	Robertsbridge 1523-38	Chichester, vicar choral	1551.7.12 (prob. 1551.12.3)	WSussRO, Ep/1/27/STC 1/7/190b
Stevens, Thomas [CCEd Person ID: 108237]	Nefley 1509-18, abb. 1529-36; Beaulieu abb. 1536-38	Bentworth, parson	1550.8.9 (prob. 1550.9.6)	TNA, PROB 11/33/327
Stopes [Scrope], Richard	Meaux 1500-21, abb. 1523-39	Skerne (bur.)	1546.2.16 (prob. 1546.5.29)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 13/1, fol. 152r-v
Thorne, Elizabeth	Swine 1540	Kingston on Hull	1557.9.17 (prob. 1562.12.14)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/1, fol. 357v
Tort al. Ampleforth, Matthew [CCEd Person ID: 127798]	Rievaulx 1531-38	Hockerton, parson	1576.6.6 (prob. 1576.7.8)	BIA, Abp Reg. 31, fol. 10r-v; AVELING 1952, p. 112-113
Twell [Towell], Thomas	Roche 1522-38	Blyth, Notts., priest	1558.11.16	BIA, Prob.Reg. 15/3, fol. 18v
Walle, Thomas [CCEd Person ID: 83264]	Bordesley 1538	Dudley, vicar	1551.7.21 (prob. 1551=2.2.9)	WAAS, Orig. Wills [008:7 BA3585]

Ware [Were], Thomas	[Dunkeswell 1504]; Kingswood abb. 1525-29; Flaxley abb. 1533-36	Aston Rowant (bur.)	1546.9.8 (no prob.)	OxonRO, MS Wills Oxon. 179.190; BASKERVILLE [1], p. 288-289
Wastell [Wasdale] al. Binley, Richard	Combe 1517-38	Binley (bur.)	1540.8.28 (prob. 1541.2.4)	StaffsRO, B/C/11/1540/Richard Wastell
Watson al. Whitby, Roger	Rievaulx 1517-39	Farlington, Yorks., clerk	1555.10.8 (prob. 1555.10.30)	BIA, Prob.Reg. 14, fol. 179v-180v; AVELING 1952, p. 109
Webbe, John [CCEd Person ID: 60097]	Cleeve 1489; [Dunkeswell 1539]	Old Cleeve, vicar	1560.4.6	WEAVER, p. 341
*Wetherall al. Gilling, William [CCEd Person ID: 127578]	Byland 1537-39	Lancham, Notts., vicar	1566.5.7 (prob. 1567.3.24)	BIA, Chancery Wills 1566-68 [will and inv.]
Wimshurst [Wymsherste], Alexander [CCEd Person ID: 77247]	Boxley 1538	[London, All Hallows Bread Street, rector], clerk	1568.7.27 (prob. 1569.1.23)	TNA, PROB 11/51/8
Woodward, Richard [CCEd Person ID: 77159]	Hailes 1540	Chedworth, Gloucs., vicar	1580.12.10 (prob. 1580.12.23/28)	GloucsA, GDR/R8/1580/130
Wyche, Richard	Whalley 1521; Tintern abb. 1521/2-36	Wollaston, priest	1552=3.1.5	GloucsA, GDR/R8/1553/63; WILLIAMS 2007, p. 72-3 [will and inv.]
Wyntney [Whitney], Thomas	Dieulacres 1514-15, abb. 1524-38	[Westminster Abbey (bur.)]	1558.8.3 (prob. 1558.8.13)	TNA, PROB 11/40/398
Yardley al. Studley, Thomas [CCEd Person ID: 81258]	Bordesley 1507-38	[Tardebidge, vicar], priest	1557=8.3.18 (prob. 1558.4.23)	WAAS, Orig. Wills [008:7 BA3585]

ABBREVIATIONS

- AVEILING 1952 Hugh AVEILING, "The Rievaulx Community after the Dissolution," *Ampleforth Journal* 57 (1952), p. 101-113.
- AVEILING 1955 Hugh AVEILING, "The Monks of Byland Abbey after the Dissolution (1540)," *Ampleforth Journal* 60 (1955), p. 3-15.
- BASKERVILLE [1] Geoffrey BASKERVILLE, "Some Ecclesiastical Wills," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 52 (1930), p. 281-293.
- BASKERVILLE [2] Geoffrey BASKERVILLE, "The Dispossessed Religious of Oxfordshire," *Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Report* 75 (1930), p. 327-347.
- BIA Borthwick Institute for Archives, York.
- BIA Cheshire Record Office, Chester.
- CROSS Claire Cross, *York Clergy Wills 1520-1600*, 2 vol., York 1984-1989.
- ESSEXRO Essex Record Office, Chelmsford.
- FLINTSRO Flintshire Record Office, Hawarden.
- GLouceSA Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester.
- HARC Herefordshire Archive and Record Centre, Hereford.
- KHLIC Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone.
- LancSA Lancashire Archives, Lancaster.
- LUMB George Demson LUMB, *Testamenta Leodiensia. Wills of Leeds, Pontefract, Wakefield, Otley and District*, Leeds 1913-1930.
- NRS National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- OxonRO Oxfordshire Record Office, Oxford.
- PIXTON Paul B. PIXTON, *Wrenbury Wills and Inventories 1542-1661*, Bolton 2009.
- RAINE James RAINE, *Wills and Inventories from the Registry of the Archdeaconry of Richmond*, Durham 1853.
- StaffsRO Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford.
- STAVERT & PERRY Marion L. STAVERT & David R. PERRY, "Pimiddle Village and Eloho Nunery Five Testaments," *Journal of the Perthshire Society of Natural Science* 16 (1991), p. 30-37.
- STEPHAN John STEPHAN, "The Last Will and Testament of Gabriel Dunne, Abbot of Buckfast," *Buckfast Abbey Chronicle* 27 (1951), p. 173-182.
- TNA The National Archives, London, Kew.
- TYMMS Samuel TYMMS, *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*, London 1850.
- WAAS Worcestershire Archive & Archaeology Service, The Hive, Worcester.
- WEAVER F. W. WEAVER, "The Fate of the Dispossessed Monks and Nuns," *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 38 (1892), p. 327-346.
- WILLIAMS 2007 David H. WILLIAMS, "The Last Abbot of Tintern: Richard Wyche, B.Th. (Oxon.)," *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 23 (2007), p. 67-74.
- WILSHC Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham.
- WOODWARD G. W. O. WOODWARD, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, New York 1966.
- WSusSRO West Sussex Record Office, Chichester.
- WYAS West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds.

Les meilleurs amis pour toujours ? Preuves testamentaires de réseaux d'amitié parmi les cisterciens de Grande-Bretagne après la Dissolution

Cet article examine les derniers testaments d'anciens cisterciens en Angleterre et au Pays de Galles après la Dissolution des monastères (1536-1540) et une poignée de testaments écossais après 1560, et expose ce que ces documents peuvent révéler sur les liens d'amitié entre ces frères et sœurs en religion, avant et après la Dissolution. Ces anciens moines et moniales blancs ont-ils gardé le contact avec leurs anciens frères ou se sont-ils désormais concentrés sur la création de nouvelles vies en nouant de nouvelles amitiés ? Alors qu'environ un tiers seulement des testateurs anglais et gallois semblaient nommer d'autres ex-cisterciens dans leur testament, il est montré que ce chiffre est le résultat d'un certain nombre de facteurs, y compris le décès de nombreux ex-moines et moniales au fil du temps, les lieux de résidence, l'âge des testateurs au moment de la Dissolution, et l'état civil. Pour les anciens religieux qui sont restés relativement proches de leur monastère, il est possible de se servir des testaments pour reconstruire de petits réseaux d'amitié locaux.

Best friends forever? Testamentary evidence for friendship networks among Cistercians in Britain after the Dissolution

This paper examines the last wills of former Cistercians in England and Wales after the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536-1540) and a handful of Scottish testaments after 1560, and determines what these documents can reveal about the friendship ties between these brothers and sisters in religion both before and after the Dissolution. Did these ex-White Monks and Nuns maintain contact with their old brethren, or did they now focus on building new lives by establishing new friendships? While only about one third of the English and Welsh testators appear to name other ex-Cistercians in their wills, it is argued that this figure was the result of a number of factors, including the death of many ex-monks and nuns over time, places of residence, ages of the testators at the Dissolution, and marital status. For those former religious who stayed relatively close to their monasteries, it is possible to use the wills to reconstruct small, local friendship networks.

Beste Freunde für immer? Testamentarische Hinweise für Freundschaftsnetzwerke unter Zisterziensern in Großbritannien nach der Auflösung (der Klöster)

Dieser Artikel untersucht die Testamente ehemaliger Zisterzienser in England und Wales nach der Auflösung der Klöster (1536-1540) und einige wenige schottische Testamente aus der Zeit nach 1560. Er eruiert, was diese Dokumente über die freundschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen den Brüdern und Schwestern im Glauben sowohl vor wie auch nach der Auflösung verraten können. Hielten die ehemaligen weißen Mönche und Nonnen den Kontakt zu ihren früheren Mitbrüdern und Mitschwestern aufrecht? Oder konzentrierten sie sich darauf, ein neues Leben aufzubauen, indem sie neue Freundschaften schlossen? Nur etwa ein Drittel der englischen und walisischen Erblasser erwähnt andere ehemalige Zisterzienser in den Testamenten; dennoch wird hier argumentiert, dass diese Zahl das Ergebnis einer Reihe von Einflussfaktoren war, darunter der Tod vieler ehemaliger Mönche und Nonnen, der Wohnsitz, das Alter der Erblasser zum Zeitpunkt der Auflösung sowie die Familienverhältnisse. Bei denjenigen ehemaligen Ordensleuten, die relativ nah bei ihren Klöstern blieben, können die Testamente dazu herangezogen werden, kleine, lokale Freundschaftsnetzwerke zu rekonstruieren.