

## Out of sight, out of mind? The wills of monastic and mendicant bishops in Britain and Ireland, 1350–1535

David E. Thornton

**To cite this article:** David E. Thornton (23 Nov 2023): Out of sight, out of mind? The wills of monastic and mendicant bishops in Britain and Ireland, 1350–1535, Journal of Medieval History, DOI: [10.1080/03044181.2023.2284932](https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2023.2284932)

**To link to this article:** <https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2023.2284932>



Published online: 23 Nov 2023.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

---



## Out of sight, out of mind? The wills of monastic and mendicant bishops in Britain and Ireland, 1350–1535

David E. Thornton 

Department of History, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

### ABSTRACT

This article examines the wills of bishops in late medieval Britain and Ireland who were members of religious orders, and attempts to answer two questions: to what extent can these wills be distinguished from those made by their secular counterparts; and did these monks, canons and friars refer or allude to their status as regular clergy in the wills? The wills of 47 regular bishops have been identified, dating between 1350 and 1535, from England, Wales and Ireland, and are compared with those of 111 secular prelates for the same period. While only a handful of the monastic and mendicant bishops explicitly mention their status as regulars, the vast majority – and friars in particular – do appear to have made decisions when drawing up their wills that were a result of their religious vocations. Only seven wills make no allusion to their testators' regular status at all.


### ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 25 October 2022  
Accepted 12 November 2022

### KEYWORDS

Religious orders;  
monasticism; bishops; wills;  
medieval England; Wales;  
Ireland

It was not unknown in Europe during the Middle Ages for members of religious orders to be promoted to positions within the secular ecclesiastical hierarchy, notably to the episcopate, contrary to the intentions of their orders' founders, the stipulations of their rules and customs, and the periodic pronouncements of their general chapters. Furthermore, many of these 'regular' bishops made last wills and testaments, in order to dispose posthumously of the property and monies that they owned largely as a result of holding episcopal office. For the most part, historians have suggested that, in terms of their behaviour and administration, there was little to distinguish the regular bishops from their more numerous secular counterparts. For example, Roy Haines concluded that 'collectively their performance as diocesans reflected that of the episcopate as a whole – they were overall neither better nor worse', and Joel Rosenthal has pointed out that very few monastic and mendicant bishops 'seem to have done much outside the cloister'.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Robert Swanson has stated that in general regular bishops did *not* have reputations 'for holiness, or for embodying mendicant or

**CONTACT** David E. Thornton  [tdavid@bilkent.edu.tr](mailto:tdavid@bilkent.edu.tr)

<sup>1</sup>The following abbreviations are used in this article: *BRUO*: A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*. 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957–9), *ODNB*: C. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 61 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), online and with revisions at <https://www.oxforddnb.com/>; *TNA*: Kew, The National Archives.

Roy Martin Haines, 'Regular Clergy and the Episcopate in the Provinces of Canterbury and York during the Later Middle Ages', *Revue Bénédictine* 113 (2003): 407–47 (436); Joel Thomas Rosenthal, *The Training of an Elite Group: English Bishops in the Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1970), 34.

monastic principles'.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this article is to examine the extant testaments of 47 monastic and mendicant bishops (both diocesan and titular) in Britain and Ireland between the mid fourteenth century and dissolution of religious orders during the late 1530s, and determine to what extent these monks, canons regular and friars behaved differently from their secular counterparts when making their wills and also how far they revealed, or even referred to, their regular status in these documents. Did these men remember their religious orders and houses when drawing up their wills, or were they so preoccupied with the secular demands and personal pomp of prelacy that they spared little thought for their former brethren and religious professions?

## Monastic and mendicant bishops

During the late Middle Ages, members of religious orders in England and Wales, Ireland and Scotland became one of either two types of bishop.<sup>3</sup> On the one hand, monks, regular canons and friars became 'ordinary' bishops, associated with an episcopal see located in Britain or Ireland, whether through capitular election, royal appointment, papal provision or transfer. During the late medieval period, just under a quarter (23%) of individual men appointed to English and Welsh sees – some to more than one – were members of the regular clergy: that is a not insignificant minority. Alternatively, regulars in particular could also be provided as 'titular' bishops, associated with bishoprics elsewhere, notably *in partibus infidelium* – that is located in territories then under the rule of Islamic states or in other inaccessible places – and were certainly not expected to take possession of and reside in their sees. A number bore the title 'Bishop in the Universal Church' (*in universali ecclesia episcopus*). The vast majority of titular bishops in England were drawn from the ranks of the religious orders. Furthermore, and with a handful of exceptions,<sup>4</sup> the men – whether secular clergy or regulars – promoted as diocesan bishops and those who became bishops *in partibus* constituted two distinct and mutually exclusive groups. Titular bishops were probably created primarily to serve as suffragans – what Robert Swanson has termed 'itinerant jobbing bishops'<sup>5</sup> – employed by diocesan bishops, especially when the latter were absent from the diocese or incapacitated by illness or age, to undertake sacramental duties, such as ordaining clergy and

<sup>2</sup> R.N. Swanson, in his forthcoming paper, 'Regulars as Bishops in Late Medieval England and Wales' (I am extremely grateful to Prof. Swanson for sending me a draft of this chapter). See also his comments in 'Mendicant Bishops in the British Isles in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Dal pulpito alla cattedra. I vescovi degli ordini mendicanti nel '200 e nel primo '300: Atti del XXVII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 14–16 ottobre 1999* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2000), 305–47.

<sup>3</sup> For discussions of regular bishops in medieval England, see David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*. 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948–59), 1: 321; 2: 153–5, 369–75; 3: 52, 492–6; and idem, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 697–701, 709–10; R.B. Dobson, 'English and Welsh Monastic Bishops: The Final Century, 1433–1533', in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Benjamin Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1999), 348–67; Haines, 'Regular Clergy and the Episcopate'; Swanson, 'Regulars as Bishops', and 'Mendicant Bishops'; Rosenthal, *Training of an Elite Group*, 33–4; Martin Heale, *The Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 197–203, 377–8; also Michael Robson, 'Franciscan Bishops *in partibus infidelium*: Ministering in Medieval England', *Antonianum* 78 (2003): 547–74; idem, 'Franciscan Bishops of Irish Dioceses Active in Medieval England: A Guide to Material in English Libraries and Archives', *Collectanea Hibernica* 38 (1996): 7–39.

<sup>4</sup> William Bottlesham, O.P., bishop *Navatensis*/Bethlehem, later Llandaff and Rochester; Robert Kite (secular), bishop of Thebes, later Armagh, and Canterbury; John Paschal, O.Carm., bishop *Scutarensis*, later Llandaff (but see below); and Richard Wilson, O.S.A., bishop of Negropont, and later Meath.

<sup>5</sup> Swanson, 'Regulars as Bishops'.

consecrating churches, that the vicar general was not able to perform.<sup>6</sup> In addition to bishops *in partibus*, medieval suffragans in England and Wales also included many bishops of Irish sees, especially non-resident English nominees such as Florence Wooley, bishop of Clogher, whose will is considered in this paper and who served as suffragan in the diocese of Norwich during the late fifteenth century.

It is likely that many regulars who became diocesan bishops were generally not inexperienced ascetics plucked abruptly and unwillingly from their cloisters, but were already men of the world with prior exposure to wider ecclesiastical and secular affairs. Of the 28 regular bishops of ordinary sees in England and Wales whose wills form part of this study, all had received a university education and/or had previous experience in administration, either at their religious houses or in royal or papal service. Thus, over 70% (23) of these diocesans had studied at Oxford or Cambridge, or occasionally abroad, gaining degrees in theology or canon law.<sup>7</sup> In addition, at least 20 of these regulars had been important administrators within their respective orders, both as heads of religious houses and as provincials,<sup>8</sup> and 19 also found prominence in either royal service or at the papal curia, for instance as king's confessors<sup>9</sup> or as papal penitentiaries.<sup>10</sup> Thus, like their secular counterparts, regular bishops, and especially diocesans, were often promoted to the episcopacy as a reward for, or in recognition of, their previous services and existing reputations outside the cloister.<sup>11</sup> While the background and careers of the monks, canons and friars who became titular and suffragan bishops are less well documented than those of the more prominent diocesans, some comments may be ventured. For example, it is evident that at least some of those who later were provided as bishops *in partibus* had previously been granted papal dispensations to hold a secular benefice and therefore, should such a position become available, to live outside their monasteries, free from the authority of their superiors.<sup>12</sup> For some, therefore, provision as a titular bishop may have been what Donald Logan has termed one of the 'legal alternatives' to apostasy

<sup>6</sup> On suffragan bishops, see John A.F. Thomson, *The Early Tudor Church and Society 1485–1529* (London: Longman, 1993), 111–14; A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 48–50, 200–6, 299–300; Swanson 'Regulars as Bishops'; R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993), 8–10, 86–8; D.M. Smith, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of Lincoln', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 17 (1982): 17–27; R. Foskett, 'Suffragan Bishops in England', *Theology* 66 (1963): 104–11; Michael J.P. Robson, *A Biographical Register of the Franciscans in the Custody of York, c.1229–1539* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019), 64–9; R.L. Storey, *Diocesan Administration in Fifteenth-Century England* (York: Borthwick Publications, 1972), 6–7; Heale, *Abbots and Priors*, 198–202.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, of those bishops whose wills are examined here: John Langdon was D.Theol. at Oxford and later warden of the Benedictine Gloucester College; John Walton was B.C.L. from Oxford; and John Gilbert studied at Oxford and Paris (D.Theol.), and was later briefly chancellor of Oxford.

<sup>8</sup> Reginald Boulers, O.S.B., had been abbot of St Peter's, Gloucester, Henry Cranebroke, O.S.A., prior of Combwell, and John Lowe, O.E.S.A., prior of the London convent and later provincial prior. Richard Redman, O.Praem., had been and, after consecration, continued to be his Order's visitor general in the British Isles.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Mascall and Stephen Patrington were both royal confessors, and Henry Deane had been royal councillor and, while bishop, also chancellor of Ireland.

<sup>10</sup> Edmund Bramfield had been proctor in the papal curia; Thomas Brinton and Thomas Ringstead were both papal penitentiaries.

<sup>11</sup> Knowles, *Religious Orders*, 2: 153–5, 369–70.

<sup>12</sup> For example, the Franciscan Ralph Heylsdon was dispensed on 5 May 1501 and became titular bishop of Ascalon two years later; Thomas Fowler, monk of Abingdon, dispensed in 1489 and subsequently *episcopus Lachorensis*, 1505, and then prior of the former alien priory of Monmouth, 1506/7; and, Francis Sexello, O.F.M., dispensed in 1498 and elected titular bishop of Castoria in 1511, when he already held the vicarage of Chard, Somerset: W.H. Bliss and others, eds., *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. 20 vols. (London: HMSO and others, 1893–2005), 17, part 1: 293–4, 590–1 (nos. 445, 963); 15: 213–14 (no. 431); 19: 300; D.M. Smith, ed., *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales*, vol. 3: 1377–1540 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 195–6.

available to those religious who were discontented with their cloistered lives and desired a way out.<sup>13</sup> How such individuals would have framed their wills with regards to their former regular lives is worth considering. On the other hand, the proportion of monastic superiors becoming bishops, both diocesan and titular, increased during the fifteenth century, so that by c.1490 they constituted the majority of regular bishops and, in many cases, did not resign as abbot or prior but continued to hold that office *in commendam*.<sup>14</sup> How might this continued connection with, and involvement in, the life of their respective religious houses be reflected in the wills that such men eventually made? Lastly, of the 17 cathedrals in England, eight were monastic cathedral priories, that is, their chapters were communities of either Benedictine monks or, in the case of Carlisle, Augustinian canons, and two – Bath and Wells, and Coventry and Lichfield – had double chapters (secular and regular).<sup>15</sup> It was not unknown for members of the local monastic community (usually the prior) to be elected by the monks as bishop, though in some cases, the election was quashed by the king.<sup>16</sup> Of the regular bishops whose wills are examined in this paper, two were diocesans who had previously been prior of the same cathedral: Alexander de Tottington at Norwich, and John de Sheppey at Rochester. Both had resigned the priorate before consecration as bishop, but it may be considered how continued administrative and physical proximity to their monastic chapters was reflected in their wills.

### Wills and the regular clergy

By the late Middle Ages in England, a ‘last will’ (*voluntas ultima*) was technically concerned with the transfer of immovable property (realty), whereas the testament (*testamentum*) dealt with movables (goods or ‘chattels’).<sup>17</sup> However, this legal distinction was not always followed, and the term ‘will’ will be employed here invariably. For historians, late medieval and early modern wills constitute an attractive yet often frustrating primary source.<sup>18</sup> While it is true that the testators and testatrices of most extant wills were relatively wealthy, it is also the case that these wills provide the medium by which many individuals who would otherwise be little more than names in historical sources are able to ‘speak’.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, what the wills can tell us about, for example, the precise economic circumstances or personal beliefs of their testators has been a matter of debate among scholars, especially when read without reference to

<sup>13</sup> F. Donald Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c.1240–1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Chapter 2.

<sup>14</sup> Heale, *Abbots and Priors*, 197–203.

<sup>15</sup> Joan Greatrex, *The English Benedictine Cathedral Priories: Rule and Practice, c.1270–1420* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> Haines, ‘Regular Clergy’, 409–13; Dobson, ‘English and Welsh Monastic Bishops’, 354; Swanson ‘Regulars as Bishops’.

<sup>17</sup> Michael M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England from the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1963), 178, 192.

<sup>18</sup> Shona Kelly Wray and Roisin Cossar, ‘Wills as Primary Sources’, in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources. Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, ed. Joel Rosenthal (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 59–71 (69–70).

<sup>19</sup> Michael L. Zell, ‘Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wills as Historical Sources’, *Archives* 14, no. 62 (1979): 67–74; Prue Vines, “‘In the Name of God, Amen’: Seeking the Testator’s Authentic Voice in Research Using Wills”, *Law Text Culture* 6 (2002): 63–86. Recently, Susan E. James has argued that late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century wills allow Tudor women to ‘speak out in their own voices’: *Women’s Voices in Tudor Wills, 1485–1603: Authority, Influence and Material Culture* (Farnham: Routledge, 2015), 1.

other sources.<sup>20</sup> Wills were highly formulaic and structured documents that balanced individual and personal wishes (literally, one's last 'will') with convention, obligation and expectation. For a married lay testator with children, customs concerning inheritance meant that his last will would cover, at most, one third of his property (the so-called 'dead's part') and was not necessarily indicative of personal wealth.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the extent to which the numerous religious and charitable bequests in late medieval wills reflect the personal piety of their testators has been rightly questioned;<sup>22</sup> and for the period of the Reformation, wills have been used extensively as a means of gauging the shifting religious beliefs among the lay population both locally and in England as a whole, though this approach has not gone unchallenged.<sup>23</sup> For the current study, therefore, the use of what is admittedly a relatively small sample of wills (47 for a period of less than 200 years) must be undertaken with some caution.

A significant proportion of most wills was taken up with bequests – the post-obit devising of property and money to one or more beneficiaries. For clergy, there was a distinction between, on the one hand, a secular clerk's private property (patrimony) and, on the other, income arising from his ecclesiastical office (benefice) over which he had no testamentary capacity.<sup>24</sup> However, for the regulars, in addition to theoretically breaking vows of stability and obedience, the owning of property, and thus bequeathing that property by means of a will, was another aspect of episcopal status at odds with monastic and especially mendicant vocations. Indeed, members of religious orders had no testamentary 'capacity' or 'freedom' as they were not allowed canonically to own and dispose of property.<sup>25</sup> In English common law, professing as a religious resulted in 'civil death', whereby the novice lost his civil rights, including that of owning and inheriting property.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the eschewing of property, both collectively as well as individually, was one of the central tenets of the new mendicant orders of the thirteenth century, partly in reaction to the wealth accumulated by 'possessor' communities of monks and regular canons. Friars vowed absolute poverty and, like Jesus, individual friars were expected to have nothing except food and clothing, and were required to beg (*mendicare*) for alms.<sup>27</sup> However, professed religious could 'come back to life' legally if, for example, they were appointed as head of a religious house or more specifically as bishop.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Wray and Cossar, 'Wills as Primary Sources', 61, 70; Clive Burgess, *The Right Ordering of Souls: The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), 84–5.

<sup>21</sup> Francine Michaud, 'Wills and Testaments', in *Death in Medieval Europe. Death Scripted and Death Choreographed*, ed. Joelle Rollo-Koster (London: Routledge, 2016), 114–29 (117).

<sup>22</sup> Clive Burgess, 'Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered', in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M.A. Hicks (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), 14–33; idem, "'By Quick and by Dead": Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol', *English Historical Review* 102 (1987): 837–58.

<sup>23</sup> For example, M.L. Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles as a Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 50 (1977): 246–9; J.D. Alsop, 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989): 19–27; Caroline Litzenger, 'Local Responses to Changes in Religious Policy Based on Evidence from Gloucestershire Wills (1540–1580)', *Continuity and Change* 8 (1993): 417–39.

<sup>24</sup> Sheehan, *Will in Medieval England*, 241.

<sup>25</sup> For an exception, see David E. Thornton, 'The Last Will and Testament of Diarmaid Ó Conchobhair, Prior of Cluain Tuaiscirt na Sionna', *Irish Historical Studies* (forthcoming May 2024).

<sup>26</sup> Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*. 2nd edn. 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), 1: 433–8; Wray and Cossar, 'Wills as Primary Sources', 63.

<sup>27</sup> M.D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty. The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210–1323* (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1998).

<sup>28</sup> Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, 1: 438.

Furthermore, bishops, both secular and regular, could make wills, as long as they received licence from the king or alternatively the pope (*licentia testandi*).<sup>29</sup> Thus, for example, the Dominican Einion ab Ynyr, bishop of St Asaph, had received licence to make a will from Edward I, whereas John Lowe, O.E.S.A., bishop of Rochester, petitioned the pope for licence to make his.<sup>30</sup> In addition, former bishops might also acquire a licence: the aged Thomas Spofford, O.S.B. and reluctant bishop of Hereford, received a papal bull allowing him to make a will in 1440.<sup>31</sup>

A number of historians have examined the extant last wills and testaments of late medieval English bishops, notably Chris Woolgar and Joel Rosenthal,<sup>32</sup> and these studies do make reference to the wills of monastic and mendicant bishops, but there has been to date no consideration of regular episcopal wills specifically.<sup>33</sup> The remainder of this article will seek to analyse the wills of 47 monks, regular canons and friars who were appointed to the episcopate in Britain and Ireland, either as ‘ordinary’ diocesan bishops or as titular bishops, from the mid fourteenth century until the 1530s. The details of these 47 testators are supplied in the Appendix, along with an additional five, marked with an asterisk, whose wills were made before 1350. The table is arranged alphabetically according to the surnames/bynames of their testators or, in four cases, by the forenames.<sup>34</sup> It also lists: the bishopric(s) to which the testator had been appointed; his religious order; the religious house(s) where he was known to have been a member, including as a superior; the dates of the will and of probate; and, the manuscript and/or printed source for the text of the will. This sample of 47 wills does not claim to be comprehensive or complete: while the wills of many medieval English bishops, both secular

<sup>29</sup> Sheehan, *Will in Medieval England*, 253; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, 1: 438; Daniel Williman, Karen Corsano and Charles Donahue, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon 1316–1415*. 2nd edn. (Cambridge, MA: Ames Foundation, 2020), 11–12; Agostini Paravicini Bagliani, ed., *I testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento*. Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria 25 (Rome: Presso la Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1980), xliii–lxv.

<sup>30</sup> A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869–78), 1: 600, cited in Swanson, ‘Mendicant Bishops’, 327, n. 93; Francis Roth, ‘Sources for a History of the English Austin Friars: III. The Fifteenth Century’, *Augustiniana* 10, nos. 1–2 (1960): 295–340 (325).

<sup>31</sup> Arthur Thomas Bannister, ed., *Registrum Thome Spofford, Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. MCCCCXXII–MCCCCXLVIII*. Canterbury and York Society 23 (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1919), 232. Spofford’s will does not survive; he did not retire until 1448, when he returned to St Mary’s Abbey, York, dying eight years later.

<sup>32</sup> C.M. Woolgar, ed., *Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate 1200–1413: Wills, Executors’ Accounts and Inventories, and the Probate Process*. Canterbury and York Society 102 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), and also idem, ‘Treasure, Material Possessions and the Bishops of Late Medieval England’, in *The Prelate in England and Europe, 1300–1560*, ed. Martin Heale (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 173–90; Joel T. Rosenthal, ‘Lancastrian Episcopal Wills: Directing and Distributing’, *Medieval Prosopography* 11, no. 1 (1990): 35–84; idem, ‘The Fifteenth-Century Episcopate: Careers and Bequests’, *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 117–28; note also Michael Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance in Thirteenth-Century England: Reward and Punishment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), especially 224–38; and Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 98–9, 312, 330–3. For comparison, see María Dolores Teijeira Pablós, ‘The Last Service of a Prelate to his Cathedral: The Impact of Episcopal Wills on the Artistic Development of the Castilian Sees in Late Gothic Times’, in *Obispos y catedrales. Arte en la Castilla bajomedieval*, ed. María Victoria Herráez (Bern: Peter Lang, 2018), 259–88.

<sup>33</sup> Though note Robson, ‘Franciscan Bishops’, 33–5.

<sup>34</sup> We do not know the surnames of two testators: Simon, the Cistercian bishop of Achonry; and John, bishop *Ayobanensis*, probably also a white monk. In addition, the Welshmen Einion ab Ynyr and Dafydd ab Owain are listed under their first names, as they did not have surnames per se, but rather were known by their Welsh patronymics.

and regular, have been lost and many died intestate,<sup>35</sup> it is not unlikely that those of at least some, especially titular bishops, await discovery in local archives. It should also be made clear that the current sample does not include the wills of those *former* religious who were appointed as bishops after the suppression of the monasteries, or those who were promoted earlier but who did not make their wills until after the dissolution.<sup>36</sup>

This corpus of 47 wills is a rather mixed bag. Spanning a period of just under two centuries, the majority were written in Latin, but six – dating from 1498 and later – were in English.<sup>37</sup> The use of the vernacular for wills had increased during the fifteenth century, but members of the clergy continued to prefer Latin. In addition, the length of individual wills in the sample, and therefore the amount of information they contain, can vary significantly: some are relatively short and to the point, whereas others are much longer and detailed. In addition, three of the documents considered here were not full, written texts but rather were ‘nuncupative’ wills: that is, a short, third-person summaries of the last wishes of their testators expressed orally, usually on the deathbed, and recounted later by witnesses.<sup>38</sup>

Table 1 summarises the prosopography of the 47 regular bishops whose wills are analysed here, according to the region of their last known diocese (i.e. when they made their will),<sup>39</sup> and their respective religious orders. Of these regular bishops, most ended their episcopal careers as bishops in England (18) or Wales (10); of the rest, nine held Irish bishoprics when (or shortly before) they made their wills, another nine were titular bishops, and one had been appointed to a Scottish see. In terms of religious order, we see that over half were members of monastic orders (18 monks, and seven regular canons) and the remaining 22 were friars. A small number of these episcopal testators would seem to have resigned as bishop prior to making their wills. For example, Philip Repingdon, O.S.A., retired as bishop of Lincoln in October 1419 and in his undated will (probably 1424) calls himself *nuper ecclesie Lincolnensis episcopus*. Repingdon, we might note, had been made cardinal priest by Pope Gregory XII in 1408 but was not recognised as such in England and never used the title.<sup>40</sup> In contrast, in 1368 Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury and formerly abbot of Westminster and bishop of Ely, had resigned as metropolitan when he was created cardinal priest of St Sixtus by Urban V:<sup>41</sup> he was subsequently made cardinal bishop of Palestrina and accordingly styles himself *episcopus Penestrinus* in his will.

<sup>35</sup> For example, John la Zouche, Franciscan bishop of Llandaff (d. 1423): E.F. Jacob and H.C. Johnson, eds., *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–1443*, vol. 2: *Wills Proved before the Archbishop or His Commissaries*. Canterbury and York Society 42 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1938), 247. The Benedictine Nicholas Ashby, also bishop of Llandaff, made a will but was declared intestate because his executors refused to act: F.R.H. Du Boulay, ed., *Registrum Thome Bourghier Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi A.D. 1454–1486*. Canterbury and York Society 54 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 190.

<sup>36</sup> These individuals form part of a similar, but slightly different, study planned by the present author.

<sup>37</sup> Interestingly the six English wills were of Welsh (two) or titular (four) bishops.

<sup>38</sup> Dafydd ab Owain, bishop of St Asaph, and Seán Ó hEidhin, bishop of Clonfert; also the earlier Walter Jorz, archbishop of Armagh.

<sup>39</sup> For those who had held successively two or more bishoprics, only the latest is used here. For example, the Dominican William Bottlesham was successively bishop *Navatensis* (?)/Bethlehem (1380–5), of Llandaff (1385–9) and finally of Rochester (1389–1400); but in the table he is only counted in the ‘England’ field.

<sup>40</sup> Simon Forde, ‘Repyndon [Repington, Repingdon], Philip (c.1345–1424), Bishop of Lincoln’, *ODNB*, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23385>.

<sup>41</sup> W.J. Dohar, ‘Langham, Simon (d. 1376), Administrator, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal’, *ODNB*, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16015>.

**Table 1.** Regular episcopal wills in the study, by religious order and region of last diocese.

	England	Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Titular	Total
<i>O.Carm.</i>	3		1			4
<i>O.Cist.</i>		2	1		1	4
<i>O.E.S.A.</i>	1					1
<i>O.F.M.</i>		1	4		3	8
<i>O.Gilb.</i>				1		1
<i>O.P.</i>	3	4			2	9
<i>O.S.A.</i>	2		1		2	5
<i>O.S.B.</i>	8	3	2		1	14
<i>O.Praer.</i>	1					1
<b>Total</b>	18	10	9	1	9	47

Source: Appendix.

## Analysis of the wills of regular bishops

Becoming a bishop did not necessarily mean that a monk or friar automatically and immediately rejected or forgot his religious vocation and former confrères. Indeed, those bishops who continued as abbots *in commendam* were still active members of their respective religious communities, even if they were not necessarily resident at their monasteries continuously; and, as we have seen, a number of bishops had resigned and retired to their cloisters. Thus, Willielm Thomson's prosopographical study of the earliest Franciscan bishops in Europe found that just under 40% 'maintained discernible ties' with their order, or with the Poor Clares, and another five 'show some evidence of doing so'; and only one bishop 'seems to have deliberately flouted his erstwhile profession'.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, we may ask whether monastic and mendicant bishops acknowledged their regular status in some way in the wills they made. In this paper, the wills of these monastic and mendicant bishops will be examined according to specific parts or clauses of the wills – self-identification, commendation of the soul and burial request, bequests, and choice of executors and witnesses – in order to determine whether the episcopal testators refer explicitly, or allude indirectly, to their regular status. In fact, of the 47 wills, only seven (15%) do not meet any of these criteria, thereby containing *no* apparent reference or allusion to the monastic or mendicant vocation of their respective episcopal testators.<sup>43</sup> The others all meet at least one – and in most cases, more than one – of the criteria, and thus contain some sort of acknowledgement or reflection, however indirect, of their testators' regular status. In order to make the content of these 47 wills clearer, I have also surveyed the wills of 111 secular bishops of English, Welsh and Irish dioceses for the same time period. For each of the broad criteria examined below, data from the secular prelates' testaments will be compared statistically with those from the monks and friars' wills, in order to determine to what extent the testamentary behaviour of regular bishops did, or did not, diverge from the norm of episcopal will-making in the late Middle Ages.

## Self-identification/intitulation

It was relatively common for testators, both lay and clerical, when identifying themselves at the start of their wills to provide more information than merely their forename and

<sup>42</sup> Willielm R. Thomson, *Friars in the Cathedral: The First Franciscan Bishops, 1226–1261* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), 152–3.

<sup>43</sup> William Bellers (*Sellers*), Edmund Bramfield, Lawrence Child, Philip Repingdon and Thomas *Wele* (*Weyle*); and the nuncupative wills of Dafydd ab Owain and Seán Ó hEidhin.

surname. For example, male lay testators may provide a title or status, along with their profession in many cases, and normally their place or parish of residence. Women also usually indicated their marital status (mostly, widow) and those of noble status might have the title *dame*. For members of the clergy, the word *clericus*, or in English *clerk*, might be given at the very least, though normally their ecclesiastical office (vicar, rector, curate, prebendary canon, etc.) plus the location of the benefice would also be supplied. Accordingly, most episcopal testators would state their name (not always the surname) and that they were bishop (*episcopus*) or occasionally *minister* of the relevant diocesan church, usually adding that they held the office by divine permission or by the grace of God.

From the total of 158 episcopal wills examined for the present study, it is apparent that the majority of regular bishops did not identify themselves differently from their secular counterparts. However, a minority did employ wording that served to indicate their status as regular clerks. Thus, five of the regulars identify themselves, in the general preamble to their wills, as *ego* (or once, *nos*) *frater*, with Thomas Brinton of Rochester also adding *monachus* after his name, and in addition, the wills of Bishop Ringstead of Bangor and Stephen Patrington are entitled *testamentum fratris* in the registers. The noun *frater*, ‘brother’, was used to denote a member of a religious order, as well as more specifically a ‘friar’, and certainly had a more ‘regular’ connotation than *dominus*, abbreviated as *dom.*, which could have secular usage too. It is no doubt significant, however, that four of the five episcopal testators who used the formula *ego frater* were bishops of Rochester at the time of their death, perhaps suggesting a local practice rather than a definite intention to allude to regular status on the part of the individual prelates.<sup>44</sup> In addition and uniquely among *in commendam* bishops, Thomas Wells calls himself both prior of St Gregory’s Canterbury as well as bishop of Sidon. Furthermore, three other bishops did make more explicit reference, elsewhere in their wills, to earlier monastic careers. Bishop Wells of Rochester made bequests to St Mary’s Abbey at York, stating that this monastery was where, in his youth, he had been ordained as a monk during the abbacy of Thomas Spofford, later bishop of Hereford.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, Thomas Skeffington of Bangor notes, when bequeathing to the Cistercian monastery at Merevale, that this was ‘where I was professed’, and also refers to Waverley Abbey as ‘where I was sometime abbot’.<sup>46</sup> Also, Richard Wycherley, titular bishop *Olenensis*, noted that he had been professed at the Dominican convent at Warwick, when bequeathing to that house.

The fact that the majority of regular bishops did *not* make explicit reference to their regular status – either by using the word *frater* or by indicating a past or present association with a religious house – may be because it was in their capacity as bishops, and not as monks or friars, that they were licensed to make a will. However, most of these men found other, less obvious ways to acknowledge or reflect their regular backgrounds. It

<sup>44</sup> The exception was Nicholas Warter, bishop of Dromore, who uses *frater* but, as noted by Michael Robson, does not refer to his episcopal status but rather calls himself rector of St Mary at Castlegate, York. Of the regular bishops of Rochester, only John de Langdon and William Wells did not use *frater*.

<sup>45</sup> William Wells, monk of York, was ordained between 1406 and 1409; he was abbot of St Mary’s, York, 1423–46: David M. Smith, ed., *York Clergy Ordinations 1400–1424* (York: Borthwick Publications, 2020), 57, 71, 74, 122; Smith, ed., *Heads of Religious Houses*, 3: 91.

<sup>46</sup> Bishop Skeffington had undergone ordination as monk of Merevale in 1482–3: Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office, MS B/A/1/12 (Reg. Hales), ff. 279r–281v.

would therefore be interesting to determine how often regular bishops were called *frater* in other documents, and on their seals or tombs.

## Commendation of soul

Late medieval testators, who normally expected to die not long after they drew up their wills, were perhaps rather more conscious of the fate of their souls and the imminent prospect of Purgatory than they had been during younger, healthier days. This was why most men and women chose first (*in primis*) to commend or commit their souls and then to give their bodies for burial, before dealing with their other testamentary bequests.<sup>47</sup> The most common formula for late medieval wills, prior to the Reformation, among both lay and clerical testators, was to commend one's soul to God, the Virgin Mary and all the saints in Heaven, or variations thereof.<sup>48</sup> The evidence collected for the present study support Joel Rosenthal's view that bishops (seculars and regulars) were 'usually pretty standard' when commending their souls.<sup>49</sup> Of the regular bishops, the committals of most can be determined: of these, three-quarters commended their souls to God, Mary and the saints, and the remainder used some variation of this formula. such as six to God alone. About half of the secular bishops commended their souls simply to God, Mary and the saints, and the other half preferred a variation, including 26 (or 24%) to God alone.

However, Rosenthal also notes that some bishops did invoke particular saints associated with their church and see. Thus, about a quarter of both regular and secular bishops surveyed here added one or more specific saints to their commendations. These additional saints could include Sts Peter and Paul, and occasionally the Archangel Michael, but also other saints usually associated with the relevant cathedral and/or diocese. The bishops of Rochester in particular frequently committed their souls to their patron St Andrew and quite a few archbishops of Canterbury included Thomas Becket, while a number of the bishops of London added St Erkenwald. The commendation by regular bishops with monastic chapters to the patron saints of their cathedrals, such as at Rochester, need not therefore indicate a particular personal identification with the cathedral priory. However, a handful of regular bishops did also add to their commendations saints associated with their religious order or former religious house, including two bishops of Rochester: John Langdon, a former monk of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, added Thomas Becket; and the friar preacher William Bottlesham mentions St Dominic.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, Bishop Heyworth of Coventry and Lichfield, a former monk of St Albans, commended his soul not only to St Chad, the patron of his see, but also to St Alban. Two friars minor, Nicholas Warter and John Tinmouth, chose to include St Francis. Thus, while the commendation clauses of most regular bishops

<sup>47</sup> Wray and Cossar, 'Wills as Primary Sources', 67–8.

<sup>48</sup> Variant forms could include omitting one or two of the three elements (especially commending to God alone), and commending to the Trinity or Jesus instead of God.

<sup>49</sup> Rosenthal, 'Lancastrian Episcopal Wills', 47–8; see also Woolgar, ed., *Testamentary Records*, xxxvi.

<sup>50</sup> William Wells, previously abbot of St Mary's, York, added St Katherine the Virgin. There was an altar dedicated to St Katherine, 'in the vestry', at St Mary's: A.B. Whittingham, 'St Mary's Abbey, York: An Interpretation of its Plan', *Archaeological Journal* 128, no. 1 (1971): 118–46. Also, for a connection of St Katherine of Alexandria with York Minster, see Chloe Morgan, 'A Life of St Katherine of Alexandria in the Chapter-House of York Minster', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 162, no. 1 (2009): 146–78.

followed the standard formula, with the occasional addition of the relevant see's patron saint, six (13%) do seem to have consciously sought the help of saints associated with their former monasteries or their religious order.<sup>51</sup> Requesting the intercession of a saint associated with one's religious order would imply that the episcopal testator in question had not entirely forgotten his vocation, but this was hardly a common feature in the wills of regular bishops.<sup>52</sup>

### Disposition: burial clause

During the Middle Ages, the location of one's burial was extremely important, and therefore medieval and early modern wills invariably contain a burial clause, usually immediately following the commendation of the soul. Indeed, it was concerns over the fate of one's soul after death that underlay the importance of the burial site.<sup>53</sup> Most testators specified where they wished their bodies to be buried, and only rarely did they ask to be interred 'wherever' they happened to die, or leave the decision to the discretion of their executors. Christian burials should be made on holy or consecrated ground, which meant in a church or its associated cemetery, so the most important decision therefore was at *which* church should one be buried and then where *exactly* in the church or cemetery? The spiritual hierarchy of churches meant that some, such as a cathedral or a wealthy monastery, were more desirable than, say, a local parish church. Furthermore, within a church itself, there was, in effect, what has been termed a 'spiritual geography' comprising a series of concentric circles of increasing holiness, with the high altar at the east end as its focus.<sup>54</sup> Depending on one's legal and socio-economic status, a testator could expect, and therefore request, burial close to the altar or, failing that, at one of a number of other locations within the church. However, most lay men and women had to be content with interment in the cemetery of their parish church.<sup>55</sup> The wish to be buried next to a family member, especially one's husband or wife, was also important for lay testators,<sup>56</sup> though this consideration was secondary to the spiritual factors summarised above. The burial clause may be followed by arrangements for the testator's funeral, usually with requests for multiple prayers for the soul of the deceased (and

<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, Thomas *Wele*, O.S.B., titular bishop of Banados (*Panadensis*), commended his soul to St Nicholas 'my avowry' (patron saint), presumably a reference to St Nicholas parish church, Nuneaton, where he was vicar.

<sup>52</sup> Non-testamentary evidence may be worth further investigation in this regard. In his will, John Lowe, O.E.S.A., bishop of Rochester, commends his soul *Deo salvatori*, but on his tomb the inscription invokes both St Andrew and St Augustine: W.H. St John Hope, 'Testamenta Antiqua. III', *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, new series 8 (1894): 34–6 (35). Similarly, for the tomb of Stephen Patrington, see John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Islands* (London: Printed by Thomas Harper, 1631), 437–8.

<sup>53</sup> Michaud, 'Wills and Testaments', 124–5; Robert Dinn, "'Monuments Answerable to Mens Worth': Burial Patterns, Social Status and Gender in Late Medieval Bury St Edmunds", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995): 237–55; Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England* (London: Routledge, 1999); idem, 'Later Medieval Death and Burial', in *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, eds. Christopher Gerrard and Alejandra Gutiérrez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 856–67. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198744719.013.35.

<sup>54</sup> Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 95–103.

<sup>55</sup> For example, Vanessa Harding, 'Burial Choice and Burial Location in Later Medieval London', in *Death in Towns. Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. Steven Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 119–35; eadem, 'Choices and Changes: Death, Burial and the English Reformation', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480–1580*, eds. David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (London: Routledge, 2003), 386–98; eadem, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), especially Chapter 5.

<sup>56</sup> Dinn, 'Monuments Answerable to Mens Worth'.

appropriate bequests of course) at the funeral and also at later dates. Again, the extent of the funeral would depend largely upon the status and wealth of the testator.

As relatively powerful and wealthy individuals, diocesan bishops could request burial in the most important church within their diocese which, in most cases, would have been their own cathedral. Thus, Rosenthal demonstrates that the majority of fifteenth-century bishops in England and Wales duly wished to be buried in their cathedrals.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, Peter Sherlock has shown that while bishops in England and Wales – before, during and after the Reformation – were generally buried in their respective cathedrals, this practice was especially frequent during the fifteenth century.<sup>58</sup> However, Rosenthal and Barrie Dobson have both noted that at least some regular bishops preferred to be interred elsewhere, usually at their religious houses.<sup>59</sup>

At first glance, analysis of the 158 wills examined for this study would seem to suggest a significant difference between the burial requests of the secular and the regular bishops. Of the 111 seculars, the vast majority (92, or 83%) requested burial in a cathedral, invariably their own, and only four asked to be interred at a religious house. (Here, cathedral priories are counted as cathedrals rather than religious houses.) The remainder opted for a parish or collegiate church, with a few not specifying a location for their interment. In contrast, half of the regular bishops requested to be buried at a religious house, with only 18 (39%) choosing a cathedral and five a parish church. However, these figures do not take into account the fact that almost all of the secular prelates whose wills are examined here were diocesan bishops in England or Wales, with their own cathedrals, while less than two-thirds of the regular bishops were so – the rest being either bishops of titular sees or of Irish dioceses but, in many cases, serving as suffragans in England and Wales. Yet even this consideration does not explain the statistical divergence entirely: indeed, nine regular bishops of English or Welsh dioceses asked to be interred at religious houses rather than their own cathedrals. Furthermore, it would not have been unreasonable for the *in partibus* bishops and the absentee Irish bishops to have requested burial at the ‘mother church’ of the diocese where they had been active as suffragans; yet none did so.

The burial requests of the English, Welsh and Irish diocesans thus reveal rather different patterns. Of those 18 regular bishops whose most recent diocese was in England, 13 requested burial in their cathedrals and only four opted for a religious house. It should, however, be recalled that of those who preferred the cathedral, a few had also been previously monks at their respective cathedral priories, so they could equally be regarded as asking for monastic burial of course. A few requested their cathedral but also made alternative arrangements.<sup>60</sup> William Heyworth, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and previously abbot of St Albans, requested burial in his cathedral at Lichfield, but added that he could be buried at St Albans Abbey if he were to die ‘in those parts’. John Stanbury opted for Hereford Cathedral *if* he happened to die within his diocese. In contrast, Archbishop Henry Deane seems to have been adamant that he should be buried at Canterbury, for in his will he gave instructions of how his body

<sup>57</sup> Rosenthal, ‘Fifteenth-Century Episcopate’, 125–6; idem, ‘Lancastrian Episcopal Wills’, 50–2.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Sherlock, ‘Episcopal Tombs in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55 (2004): 654–80 (666–8).

<sup>59</sup> Rosenthal, ‘Lancastrian Episcopal Wills’, 54; Dobson, ‘English and Welsh Monastic Bishops’, 364–5.

<sup>60</sup> Compare Paravicini Bagliani, ed., *I testamenti*, ciii–cviii.

was to be transported to Canterbury if he were to die at Lambeth. Of those four regular English bishops who requested a monastic burial, it is worth recalling that when he made his will, Cardinal Bishop Simon Langham was no longer archbishop of Canterbury, which may explain why he requested burial at Westminster Abbey, where he had been professed and had served as abbot. The odd man out of this group was Philip Repington, bishop of Lincoln and former Augustinian abbot of Leicester, who in his will did not ask to be interred at his cathedral but instead requested a simple burial and funeral in the church of St Margaret in the cathedral close, though in the end he was interred in the cathedral.<sup>61</sup>

In contrast to the strong preference for cathedrals among English bishops, of the 10 regulars who died as bishops of Welsh dioceses, over half (six) requested burial at a religious house, and only four asked for their cathedrals. Thus, the Dominican bishop of Bangor, Gervase de Castro, wanted burial in the church of his order in Bangor, rather than the cathedral; and Alexander Bache, O.P., bishop of St Asaph, wished to be buried at the Dominican convent at Hereford, where he had been ordained. Uniquely for the present sample, Thomas Skeffington (O.Cist.), bishop of Bangor and abbot of Beaulieu, found a compromise of sorts by bequeathing his heart to Bangor but requesting that the rest of his body be buried at Beaulieu.<sup>62</sup> Finally, for those regulars who were or had most recently been bishops of dioceses in Ireland (and Scotland), none requested to be buried in their respective cathedrals, and the vast majority asked for burial at a religious house of their order in England or Wales. Thus, the Benedictine Francis Woolley, bishop of Clogher, wished to be interred at Snape, where he was prior, and Robert Windell, O.F.M., bishop of Emly and suffragan in diocese of Norwich, requested burial at Babwell friary.<sup>63</sup> In contrast, William Gonerby, O.Gilb., bishop of Dunkeld, asked to be interred at the Cistercian abbey at Wardon, in Bedfordshire, not the nearby Gilbertine house of Chicksands in the same county, where he had previously served as prior. David Chirbury, O.Carm. and bishop of Dromore, requested that, if he were to die in the diocese of St David's, he should be buried at the priory of Augustinian canons at Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, but added that if he died in England, then he requested burial at the Carmelite convent at Bristol. (As there was only one Carmelite friary in Wales, located in Denbigh in the north, this was an understandable request.) Similarly, John Walton, archbishop of Dublin and former abbot of Osney, stated that he should be buried wherever he happened to die ('in that place where God shall see fit to summon me to his judgement seat'), but that if he were to die in England, then he wished to be buried at Osney Abbey, 'among the abbots'. He made no explicit reference to St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin.

Of the nine bishops *in partibus*, none requested burial at a cathedral. Titular bishops did not have their own cathedrals although, as many later suffragans were associated with

<sup>61</sup> Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals ...* 3 vols. in 2 (London: R. Gosling, 1727–32), 3: 54.

<sup>62</sup> Miles Salley, O.S.B. and bishop of Llandaff, wanted his body to be buried at the Hospital of St Mark, Billeswick, Bristol (commonly called Gaunt's), where the brethren were Augustinian canons and not Benedictines, and wished his heart and bowels to be interred in the parish church of St Tewdric's in Mathern, Monmouthshire (Mathern was the main residence of the bishops of Llandaff), but he makes no reference in this regard to either Abingdon or Eynsham abbeys.

<sup>63</sup> Joanna Caruth, David Gill and E. Cobbold, 'Bury St Edmunds, Babwell Friary', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 37, no. 3 (1991): 266; B.S. Nenk, S. Margeson and M. Hurley, 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1990', *Medieval Archaeology* 35 (1991): 126–238 (186).

one diocese in particular, they presumably could have requested interment at the relevant cathedral, like the secular clerk Thomas Cornish, titular bishop of Tenos and also, among other positions, precentor of Wells Cathedral, who wished to be buried there.<sup>64</sup> Almost all the regular titular bishops requested burial at a religious house. For example, the Augustinian priors Henry Cranebroke, bishop of Joppa, and Thomas Wellys, bishop of Sidon, both requested burial at their respective houses. Similarly, Richard Martin, bishop of Lismore and Waterford and later so-called Bishop in the Universal Church, had been ordained as member of the Franciscan convent at Lichfield but in the latter part of life was associated with the Canterbury friary,<sup>65</sup> where he duly requested burial. The Dominican bishop *Olenensis* Richard Wycherley had been active as suffragan of the bishop of Hereford after c.1480 but by 1501 was suffragan at Worcester, and he accordingly requested burial at the Worcester Black Friars. It was not uncommon for titular bishops and suffragan non-residents of Irish dioceses to hold additional benefices, often parish churches, and five regular bishops requested burial at their parishes therefore. For example, the Benedictine John *Chourles*, bishop of Dromore, was rector of St Mary Somerset, London, where he wished to be buried.<sup>66</sup> Similar requests were made by John Tinmouth, titular bishop of Argos and vicar of St Botolph's, Boston, and by Thomas *Wele*, bishop *Panadensis* and vicar of St Nicholas, Nuneaton.

Medieval testators might not only request the church where they wished to be buried, but also specify the exact location within the church. While a few regular diocesans who requested burial in their cathedrals also specified that they wished their tomb to be located near to that of a particular episcopal predecessor,<sup>67</sup> some bishops wishing interment at a religious house of their order were similarly specific in selecting the location. For example, Thomas Wells, titular bishop of Sidon and prior of St Gregory's Canterbury, requested burial at St Gregory's, and specified that he wished to be buried next to his predecessor, Edward Guildford.<sup>68</sup> Richard *Wycherley* wished to be buried in the choir of the church of the Worcester Black Friars, on the south side of the tomb of dame Joan Lichfield<sup>69</sup> and opposite that of Richard Wolsey, O.P., bishop of Connor and Down. By specifying a particular individual, these men may be revealing a vocational or even emotional association with the person in question (see below). Others were more vague: as seen above, John Walton wanted burial 'among the abbots' at Osney.

The fact that half of the regular bishops whose wills are surveyed here requested burial at a religious house (usually one with which they were associated) and, unlike the majority of

<sup>64</sup> Although some sources suggest Cornish, as master of the Hospital of John the Baptist, Wells, was an Augustinian, this seems unclear to me: Bliss and others, eds., *Calendar of Papal Registers*, 15: 75, 229–30 (nos. 157 and 462). Note also David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), 336, 401; David Gary Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions: The Social Self in Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 186. For his will, not surveyed here, see TNA, PROB 11/17/425.

<sup>65</sup> Michael Robson, 'Richard Martyn Franciscan Bishop in the Universal Church', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 86 (1993): 19–45.

<sup>66</sup> His inscription in the church reads 'Hic jacet Johannes Epus' Dromorensis, & Rector istius Ecclesie. Qui ob. 12 Jun. 1433': John Stow, revised by John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster ... in 6 Books*. 2 vols. (London: printed for A.Churchill and others, 1720), 1: 213 (book 3).

<sup>67</sup> Archbishop Deane wanted to be interred in the cathedral at the location Thomas Becket lay, where it may be convenient; Brinton requested the chapel of B.V.M. at Rochester next to the tomb of Bishop Thomas Trillek, his immediate predecessor; Robert Rede asked to be buried in Chichester cathedral, near the tomb of his predecessor and kinsman William Rede.

<sup>68</sup> Smith, ed., *Heads of Religious Houses*, 3: 405.

<sup>69</sup> For her burial, see TNA, PROB 11/4/408.

secular bishops, not at their cathedrals, may imply a strong association with their regular status. However, given that most monastic and mendicant bishops who did not wish to be interred at a cathedral were bishops of non-English or titular sees should encourage some caution: it may have been the relatively lower status of, or – in the case of non-resident bishops – the lack of attachment to their cathedrals, that led these men to request burial elsewhere, rather than a strong preference for a specific monastery or friary.

## Bequests and beneficiaries

The greater part of most late medieval and early modern wills was taken up with bequests and legacies to a variety of individual and institutional beneficiaries.<sup>70</sup> It was not uncommon to begin with bequests associated with one's preceding burial requests and funeral arrangements, and most lay testators also bequeathed to their 'mother church' (the cathedral of their diocese) and to their parish church (often for allegedly 'forgotten' tithes). In addition, many testators made other pious bequests, including to religious houses, notably but not exclusively mendicant houses, often in return for prayers for their souls.<sup>71</sup> Occasionally, late medieval lay testators made bequests in their wills to individual, named religious: while bequests to specific monks, canons and friars were relatively rare, those to nuns were seemingly more common.<sup>72</sup> In most cases, such bequests were to family members who had joined a local house. Bequests to religious houses or individual religious may be termed *regular* bequests.

Examination of the regular bequests in the wills of late medieval bishops indicates that episcopal testators were more extensive and more comprehensive when bequeathing to monastic and mendicant houses than lay men and women. Overall, the figures for such bequests were not notably different between the secular and regular bishops. Of the former, about two-thirds made some sort of bequest to a monastic or mendicant house(s) and/or one or more named members of religious orders. The rate was higher, though not markedly so, for the regular bishops (35, or 75%). In these figures, we might note, are included the standard legacies to a bishop's cathedral, even where the chapter was monastic. The number of these anonymous and institutional regular bequests varies significantly between wills: some bishops simply bequeathed to their cathedral priories, the local mendicant convents, and, perhaps, a few monasteries within their dioceses; other wills contain much longer lists of religious houses as beneficiaries, often both local as well as further afield. In contrast to these anonymous bequests to religious houses, some bishops also bequeathed to specific, named members of religious orders, and here we see the figures for secular and regular prelates are significantly different, with about double the percentage of monastic and mendicant bishops making such bequests.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Woolgar, ed., *Testamentary Records*, xxxvii–xl.

<sup>71</sup> For instance, Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370–1532* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 119; Claire Cross, 'The End of Medieval Monasticism in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 78 (2006): 145–57 (148); Paravicini Bagliani, ed., *I testamenti*, cxxix, cxxxii; Clive Burgess, 'Friars and the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol: Observations and Possibilities', in *The Friars in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 2007 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. N. Rogers (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), 73–96.

<sup>72</sup> Sheehan, *Will in Medieval England*, 261–2; Marilyn Oliva, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350–1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998).

<sup>73</sup> I have excluded here bequests made to suffragans who are named but whose regular status is not made explicit in the will.

Most bishops therefore made some sort of bequest to more than one religious house, and in some wills quite long lists are included. These institutions were often located within the bishop's diocese, and this is occasionally made explicit (*infra diocesim*). In addition, many such monastic beneficiaries were under the patronage of the testator as bishop. Thus, William de Wykeham, secular bishop of Winchester, bequeathed to a number of abbeys and priories which he described as 'in my patronage', both located in his diocese and elsewhere.<sup>74</sup> In this broad sense, the regular bishops did not behave differently from their more numerous secular colleagues, but a closer examination of the bequests to religious houses by monkish and mendicant prelates suggests that many did pay special attention to houses of their own order, including their own former monasteries or convents. Indeed, in his survey of the wills of 38 fifteenth-century bishops in England and Wales, Joel Rosenthal has noted that three out of the six regular bishops made bequests to their former houses.<sup>75</sup>

For the current study, where it has been possible to trace the pre-episcopal careers of the regular bishops (43),<sup>76</sup> at least 30 (70%) made bequests to a house or houses of their order with which they had been associated and, in a number of instances, were still associated. Only in a few cases however, is this association stated explicitly.<sup>77</sup> Friars tended to be less 'stable' than monks and canons, and so of course usually had connections with more than one house of their order. Henry Standish, O.F.M., bishop of St Asaph, was associated in his youth with the Franciscan houses at Hereford and Oxford, and was later warden of the London convent as well as becoming provincial prior: in his will, he accordingly made bequests to the grey friars of Hereford, Oxford and London, as well as to the minoresses of Denny but also to the Cistercians at Whalley near his Lancashire family home. A number of the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century monastic bishops remained superiors *in commendam* of their respective monasteries, and accordingly bequeathed to these houses.<sup>78</sup> As noted above, two of the Benedictines had previously been prior of the cathedrals where they were bishop: the bequests in such cases may, however, reflect the typical episcopal concern with the local monastic chapter.

Furthermore, half of the regular bishops (24) bequeathed to *other* houses of their religious order and in most, though not all, cases these bequests were in addition to giving to their own house(s). This was especially common among the mendicant bishops, although as we have seen above bishops often bequeathed to many religious houses in their

---

<sup>74</sup> Nicholas Harris Nicolas, ed., *Testamenta Vetusta: Being Illustrations from Wills, of Manners, Customs, &c. as well as of the Descents and Possessions of Many Distinguished Families. From the Reign of Henry the Second to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth*. 2 vols. (London: Nichols & Son, 1826), 1: 770. On the patronage of monasteries in the late Middle Ages, see Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c.1300–1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007).

<sup>75</sup> Rosenthal, 'Fifteenth-Century Episcopate', 125–6.

<sup>76</sup> To-date, I have been unable to find detailed information about the pre-episcopal careers of four regular bishops: Gervase de Castro, Seán Ó hEidhin, Robert Ringman and Thomas *Wele*. Konrad Eubel stated that *Wele* was a Benedictine and of *dioec. Wigorn.*, and it is possible that his toponymic byname was Hartperry and that he had been a monk of St Peter's, Gloucester: Conrad Eubel, ed., *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*. 9 vols. (Monasterii [Münster in Westfalen, Germany] and elsewhere: Sumptibus Librariae Regensbergianae, and other publishers, 1914–2002), 2: 211; Bliss and others, eds., *Calendar of Papal Registers*, 13: 335, n. 8; J. Parry and A.T. Bannister, eds., *Registrum Ricardi Beauchamp ... , Registrum Johannis Stanbury, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCCLIII–MCCCCLXXIV*. Canterbury and York Society 25 (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1919), 152.

<sup>77</sup> For example, bishops Skeffington of Bangor and Wells of Rochester cited above, and also Richard *Wycherley*.

<sup>78</sup> Henry Cranebrooke, Richard Redman, Miles Salley, Thomas Skeffington and Florence Wooley.

dioceses, irrespective of the religious order. However, one of the more notable cases was the suffragan William Gonerby, bishop of Dunkeld, who made bequests to almost all the Gilbertine houses, with separate bequests to the canons and to the nuns of double houses, as well as bequeathing to a handful of local monasteries of other orders in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire. Among those few who appear to omit their own monasteries was Archbishop Henry Deane, O.S.A., former prior of Llanthony Secunda, Gloucester, who made bequests to religious houses of various orders in the diocese of Canterbury, including the Augustinian priory of St Gregory's, but not to Llanthony Secunda. Even more notably, Stephen Patrington, O.Carm., made no testamentary gifts to any religious house: although requesting burial at the White Friars, London,<sup>79</sup> he explicitly stated that he did not wish to bequeath to this house because he had donated so much previously. Patrington's case does highlight the possibility that non-bequeathing need not in itself mean that the testator had not supported an institution in the past.

As described above, late medieval lay testators very occasionally made bequests to specific, named members of religious orders, often their relatives. The bishops also bequeathed to individual religious in their wills, in fact at a greater frequency than the laity, but it was the regular bishops in particular who made many such individual bequests. Thus, while just under half of the monastic or mendicant bishops bequeathed to named religious, only 20% of the seculars did so. Furthermore, in the case of a number secular bishops, it was possibly a family tie to the monk or nun in question, rather than their regular status per se, that underlay the bequest. Thus, Godfrey Giffard, quondam bishop of Worcester, bequeathed to a number of individual religious, including Mabel Giffard, abbess of Shaftesbury, who he states was his sister, and another relative, Agnes Giffard, nun at Wilton.<sup>80</sup> Similar bequests to religious who were the testators' relatives include: Thomas Bek, bishop of Lincoln, to *frater* Anthony, brother of his nephew Henry Bek; William Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, to Elizabeth, nun of Canon-sleigh, *consanguinea mea*; and presumably Archbishop Thoresby of York to his namesake *frater* John de Thoresby.<sup>81</sup> Such bequests may be regarded as motivated by the beneficiary's familial relationship with the testator, rather than his or her regular status, and should perhaps be counted therefore alongside other legacies to relatives. It ought to be noted, however, that regular bishops could also make such familial bequests: David Chirbury, bishop of Dromore, bequeathed to his nephew and fellow Carmelite Philip Chirbury.<sup>82</sup>

The regular bishops who made bequests to individual religious also bequeathed to at least one house of their own order, and in many cases the individual beneficiaries in question were themselves members of the religious houses with which the testator had been, or still was, associated. For example, the Gilbertine Bishop Gonerby of Dunkeld made

<sup>79</sup> Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 437–8, and Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register of Carmelites in England and Wales 1240–1540* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, 2020), 380.

<sup>80</sup> J.W. Willis Bund, ed., *Register of Bishop William Gynsborough, 1303–1307*. Worcestershire Historical Society 19 (Oxford: Worcestershire Historical Society, 1907), 51–2, 57–8.

<sup>81</sup> James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia or Wills Registered at York Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics, &c., of the Province of York, from the Year MCCC. Downwards, Part I*. Surtees Society 4 (London: J.B. Nichols, 1836), 1: 25, 90; Leland L. Duncan, "The Will of William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1396", *Archaeologia Cantiana* 23 (1898): 55–67 (65).

<sup>82</sup> Copsey, *Biographical Register*, 28, 284.

bequests to two nuns of his former priory at Chicksands, as well as Nicholas, master of Sempringham; and the Cistercian Simon, bishop of Achonry, bequeathed to a Stephen, monk of Quarr. Those bishops who were superiors *in commendam* also bequeathed to individual members of their monasteries.<sup>83</sup> In most cases, only one or two individual religious received bequests.

However, an extreme example is the Dominican Thomas de Ringstead, bishop of Bangor (1357–66),<sup>84</sup> who made numerous bequests to 21 other religious, of whom at least 10 were members of his order. These include a handful of black friars who may have been at the Guildford convent in 1329 or shortly thereafter when Ringstead was ordained and may therefore have been close associates of the bishop: Thomas Hilley, styled *episcopus Lamburgensis* (Lviv, Ukraine), Walter de Newport, and Ringstead's *socius* Thomas de Ilchester, as well as the slightly later brother Thomas Langford.<sup>85</sup> Ringstead also made bequests requesting prayers for the souls of Thomas Lisle, O.P. and former bishop of Ely (d. 1361), and *frater* William de Ringstead 'my brother'. Dominicans were also among his executors (see below). Bishop Ringstead therefore certainly remembered his Order when drawing up his will, making bequests to many Dominican priories but more specifically to many individual friars, some of whom at least may have been confrères during his earliest years at Guildford. Other Dominican bishops made bequests to individual members of their order, though not on quite the same scale as Thomas de Ringstead. For example, Robert Rede, bishop successively of Lismore, Carlisle and Chichester, bequeathed to at least six other black friars.<sup>86</sup>

Most pious bequests in medieval wills were monetary, with the amounts to be received specified, but in many instances non-monetary, moveable items were also bequeathed. For bishops, these could include clothing, insignia and other items associated with ecclesiastical office, such as vestments, mitres, capes as well as croziers, and liturgical vessels and textiles. Such items are often described in detail in the wills. Chris Woolgar has pointed out that it was common, indeed sometimes customary, for a new bishop to receive such liturgical material from the cathedral with the expectation that it would be duly returned on his death.<sup>87</sup> Bequests of such goods to the cathedral are not surprising therefore. Other non-monetary bequests in episcopal wills include personal, household items and also manuscripts and, towards the end of the period, printed books. The manuscripts and books could be volumes of liturgical use, such as bibles, missals and breviaries, but also copies of works by specific authors. Of the 109 bishops surveyed here who bequeathed to religious houses or individuals, over half (61) included among these bequests non-monetary objects, and of these, the regular bishops were slightly more likely to bequeath such items than the seculars. More telling, however, is the fact

<sup>83</sup> Francis Woolley (two monks of Snape); Henry Cranebroke (canons of Combwell); and Thomas Skeffington (a monk of Beaulieu).

<sup>84</sup> Glanmor Williams, 'Ringstead, Thomas (d. 1366), Bishop of Bangor and Author', *ODNB*, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23658>, stated that Ringstead 'became a member of the Dominican convent at Cambridge in January 1346'; but the records of ordination collected by Alfred Emden demonstrated that Ringstead had joined the order almost two decades earlier: *A Survey of Dominicans in England based on the Ordination Lists in Episcopal Registers (1268 to 1538)* (Rome: S. Sabina, 1967), 440.

<sup>85</sup> Emden, *Survey*, 365, 384, 410–11, 492.

<sup>86</sup> Rede explicitly identified these beneficiaries as friars preachers and gave to their house too. R.G. Davies, 'Rede [Reade], Robert (d. 1415), Bishop of Chichester', *ODNB*, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23228>; Emden, *Survey*, 432.

<sup>87</sup> Woolgar, 'Treasure, Material Possessions and the Bishops', 182; idem, ed., *Testamentary Records*, liii–lv.

that from among the 61 bishops who made non-monetary regular bequests, for the seculars most were made to cathedral priories (invariably their own), whereas for the monastic and mendicant bishops who gave vestments, books, etc., only six (26%) bequeathed these objects to cathedrals and most left them to other religious houses, usually of their own order. Thus, the bequeathing of physical objects associated with ecclesiastical office and vocation seems to have been performed differently by the two categories of prelate: those who were members of religious orders were more likely to leave such items to religious houses or individuals (usually) of their order and did not simply make the customary bequest to their own cathedral or successor like the secular bishops. This tendency to bequeath personal and ecclesiastical goods would suggest a continuing association with or affection for these institutions.

Like late medieval lay testators, most bishops made bequests to religious houses, usually to mendicant convents and some monasteries within their dioceses or under their patronage. Monk and friar bishops seem to have been slightly more inclined towards such institutional regular bequests, and in most cases these included houses of the bishop's own order. Furthermore, late medieval prelates made testamentary gifts to individual, named religious, more frequently than the laity. In a number of these cases, the beneficiaries were relatives of the bishops in question, but again it was the monastic and mendicant bishops in particular who made such individual regular bequests, generally to one or more members of their own order. Thus, of the 47 regular bishops' wills surveyed here, most made at least one of these 'religious' bequests in their wills, and only 10 regular bishops therefore did not make any such religious bequest.<sup>88</sup>

### Executors, supervisors and witnesses

In addition to occurring as beneficiaries or legatees, individuals were also named in medieval wills in a number of other capacities. Testators were required to nominate one or more people to 'execute' the will after they had died, and some also chose other people to supervise/oversee the process.<sup>89</sup> The executors were required to take the will to the relevant ecclesiastical court to be proved, prepare an inventory of the deceased's goods and receive administration of these goods. This was not always a simple task, and executors had the right to refuse the responsibility. Thus, testators normally chose two or more individuals (relatives or friends) who, they expected, would be willing and able to take on the job.<sup>90</sup> Executors were usually named towards the end of a will, after the main bequests had been described. They were often compensated for their efforts or had already been named as beneficiaries. The identity of executors was therefore evidence of personal relationship.<sup>91</sup> In addition, most wills were witnessed by a number of people who were on hand when the will was drawn up and could vouch for the document at the ecclesiastical court if so required.<sup>92</sup> A list of witnesses was

<sup>88</sup> William Bellers; Edmund Bramfield; Lawrence Child; Dafydd ab Owain; William Heyworth; John Lowe; Robert Mascall; Seán Ó hEidhin; Stephen Patrington; Philip Repingdon; Nicholas Warter; and Thomas Weyll.

<sup>89</sup> Sheehan, *Will in Medieval England*, 195–220; Woolgar, ed., *Testamentary Records*, xlv–li.

<sup>90</sup> For example, Philippa Maddern, '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*, eds. Rowena E. Archer and Simon K. Walker (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), 155–74.

<sup>91</sup> Paravicini Bagliani, ed., *I testamenti*, cxlvi–cli.

<sup>92</sup> Wray and Cossar, 'Wills as Primary Sources', 63–4.

usually given at the end of a will though in some cases, especially in probate copies, the list may be truncated, ending with a phrase such as ‘and others ...’. Because late medieval and early modern testators normally made their wills when they were seriously ill (‘sick in body’) and expected to die shortly thereafter, then in most cases, the witnesses would be people who were readily available: thus, family members or close friends who lived far away would not necessarily be in a position to witness the process. Consequently, the factors underlying the selection of executors and of witnesses were rather different.

While members of religious orders were not chosen as executors or witnesses particularly frequently, by either lay and clerical testators, secular and regular bishops do seem to have behaved differently from one another in this respect. While only 12 of the 111 secular prelates appointed monks, canons or friars as the executors or supervisors of their wills (that is 11%), over a third of the regulars did so (17, or 36%). For religious witnesses to the wills examined here, the respective numbers are so low in each case to be meaningless: three (3%) and two (4%).

The reasons for selecting monks or friars as executors by secular bishops can be determined in a few cases. Thus, of the 12 secular prelates who named religious among their executors, half (six) were bishops of monastic chapters and the executors in question were the priors (and once, a monk) of the relevant cathedral priories. In contrast, none of the regular bishops of English dioceses who had monastic chapters chose the prior or a monk of their cathedral priory as executor or witness. In addition, for the secular prelates, as with their bequests to individual religious, it seems that family ties may have determined the choice of executor and/or witness in some cases. Thus, the witnesses to the will of Bishop Skirlaw of Durham (1403) included his sister Joan, prioress of Swine, and he bequeathed to her and ‘each nun’ and also singled out one nun of Swine, Katharine Punde, for a specific bequest. Among the secular bishops, an interesting odd man out is John Buckingham, sometime bishop of Lincoln, whose will is dated 9 February 1399. Buckingham had been translated to Coventry and Lichfield a year before he made his will but had refused to take up this benefice. Instead, he ended his days residing in a house of the infirmary at Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury.<sup>93</sup> His will reflects this situation: he made bequests to the priory as well as other Canterbury and Kent religious houses; his executors included the prior, Thomas Chillenden; and among his witnesses was William Richmond, monk of Christ Church, who was the quondam bishop’s penitentiary.<sup>94</sup>

Turning to the wills of monastic and mendicant bishops, we see that over a third appointed other regulars as executors. Analysis of the wills of thirteenth-century cardinals has shown that those of a regular background tended to choose members of their respective orders as executors.<sup>95</sup> However, for the present study, the proportion of the regular bishops who ordained their confrères as executors is far fewer: at least 14 did so, with the identity (currently) uncertain for three wills, plus two other bishops appointed members of their orders as supervisor/overseer. In a few cases, the executor

<sup>93</sup> A.K. McHardy, ‘Buckingham, John (c.1320–1399), Administrator and Bishop of Lincoln’, *ODNB*, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2786>.

<sup>94</sup> C. Eveleigh Woodruff, ed., *Sede Vacante Wills: A Calendar of Wills Proved before the Commissary of the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury. During Vacancies in the Primacy, with an Appendix Containing Transcripts of Archiepiscopal and Other Wills of Importance*. Kent Records 3 (Canterbury: Kent Archaeological Society Records Branch, 1914), 100–5.

<sup>95</sup> Paravicini Bagliani, ed., *I testamenti*, cl–cli.

in question was a relatively prominent member of the religious order. For example, the two fifteenth-century Carmelite bishops, John Stanbury and David Chirbury, both appointed the well-known theologian Walter Hunt, O.Carm.<sup>96</sup> Heads of houses were also obvious candidates. Thus, Richard Redman, bishop of Ely, appointed two local abbots as his executors: his fellow Premonstratensian John Marteyn *alias* Wisbech, abbot of West Dereham, but also John, abbot of the Benedictine house at Wymondham. Richard *Wycherley*, O.P., bishop *Olenensis*, made Robert Manndefield, prior of the Dominican convent at Bristol, an executor as well as residuary beneficiary of his will,<sup>97</sup> and John Langdon, bishop of Rochester, appointed the prior of his former house, Christ Church Canterbury, as executor. Less notable executors could include members of the community with which the testator had recent or continued associations. Henry Cranebroke, bishop of Joppa and also prior of Combwell, named Thomas Chester, sub-prior, as his executor, and this was no doubt Cranebroke's successor as prior of the same name.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, the executors and witnesses of Thomas Wells, bishop of Sidon and prior of St Gregory's Canterbury, included two canons of St Gregory's. In addition, the non-resident bishop of Clogher, Francis Woolley, chose his confrère Robert Brown, monk of Snape, as the supervisor of his will. In a few cases, the executors were possibly men whom the testator had known since the early days of his religious career, and with whom he may therefore have had ties of friendship. For instance, John Lowe, O.E.S.A., bishop of Rochester, appointed two *fratres* William *Shorwey* and Robert *Gyffart* as his executors: the former may be identified with the Austin friar William *Shereway*, who during the early 1430s was ordained while a member of the Droitwich convent, where Lowe himself had earlier started his career.<sup>99</sup> Thomas Ringstead's executors included three Dominicans: Thomas Hilley, bishop *Lamburgensis*, to whom he had made bequests, as well two others, John Beauchamp, and the later provincial prior Nicholas de Monington, D.D., both of whom are recorded in the obituary list of the Guildford convent, where Ringstead had been ordained.<sup>100</sup> His witnesses included another Dominican, Thomas de Ilchester. Similarly, the executors of Alexander Bache, O.P., included the former Dominican provincial prior, William Seward, who like the bishop may have a member of the Hereford convent during his youth.<sup>101</sup> Finally, the Benedictine William Wells, bishop of Rochester, chose Thomas Spofford, bishop of Hereford, as his executor: Spofford had been Wells' predecessor as abbot of St Marys York and, as stated above, Wells mentions in his will that he himself had been ordained during Spofford's abbacy.

Very occasionally, regular bishops appointed members of *other* religious orders as their executors. Thus, as seen above, Richard Redman chose a Premonstratensian abbot but also the Benedictine abbot of Wymondham, though the latter may in fact

<sup>96</sup> See Copsey, *Biographical Register*, 450–2, where Stanbury and Hunt are described as friends.

<sup>97</sup> Emden, *Survey*, 400; *BRUO*, 2: 1244.

<sup>98</sup> Smith, ed., *Heads of Religious Houses*, 3: 418.

<sup>99</sup> Worcester, Worcestershire Archives, b706.093-BA2648/5(iv) (Reg. Polton), p. 219; Virginia Davis, 'Lowe, John (c.1385–1467), Bishop of Rochester', *ODNB*, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/refodnb/17083>.

<sup>100</sup> Emden, *Survey*, 275, 406; *BRUO*, 2: 2198; J.S. Purvis, 'Obituary Kalendar of the Dominican Friary of Guildford', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 42 (1934): 90–9 (93, 95).

<sup>101</sup> Emden, *Survey*, 448; *BRUO*, 3: 1704; Walter Gumbley, 'Provincial Priors and Vicars of the English Dominicans, 1221–1916', *English Historical Review* 33 (1918): 243–51 (246).

have been a relative of the bishop.<sup>102</sup> Similarly, as well as two canons of his priory, Thomas Wells also appointed the prior of Christ Church Canterbury as one of his executors and a witness. The Franciscan Richard Martin, Bishop in the Universal Church, named the Augustinian prior of St Gregory's Canterbury as the overseer of his will. Miles Salley (Sawley), bishop of Llandaff and abbot of Eynsham, would seem to have had a special association with the Augustinian Hospital of St Mark's, Billeswick, Bristol, and he accordingly appointed its master, Thomas Tyler, as his executor, and named certain brethren of the hospital among the witnesses. Similarly, John bishop *Ayobanensis*, who was probably a Cistercian and, at the time of his death, was dwelling (*com-morans*) at the hermitage at Cripplegate, London, ordained Robert Draycote, Augustinian prior of Elsing Spital, Cripplegate, as one of his executors.

Although the number of bishops – whether secular or regular – who appointed members of religious orders as their executors was relatively small, the fact that the monastic and mendicant bishops did so with greater frequency than their secular colleagues was no doubt significant. In addition, the fact that, in most cases, these executors were also members of the testator's *own* order would suggest (alongside the evidence for individual religious bequests) that the regular bishops in question had continued ties which had been first fostered within their order, before being consecrated as bishop.

## Discussion and conclusions

Comparison of the last wills and testaments of 47 regular bishops in Britain and Ireland dating from the mid-fourteenth century until the 1530s with those of 111 contemporaneous secular prelates shows that, in a number of respects, the monastic and mendicant bishops behaved significantly differently from their secular counterparts when making their wills. In particular, the two episcopal groups would seem to have made different decisions regarding their preferred place of burial, bequests to specific named members of religious orders and the appointment of religious as executors of their wills, that were a result of the monk- and friar-bishops' religious vocations and previous regular careers. Of the 47 wills of regular bishops analysed here, only seven do not make any reference or allusion to their testators' religious background – without additional data, we would not even be aware that these seven men were members of religious orders. Of these seven however, it is worth noting that two had nuncupative wills, which are often relatively uninformative.

The interpretation of the patterns summarised above is not so readily established. For example, I have suggested the fact that regular bishops bequeathed to individual named religious – usually of their own order – and appointed religious as their executors, more frequently than the secular bishops, may have been due to a continued association or fondness by these monks, canons and friars for their respective religious orders. However, these patterns of testamentary behaviour may rather have arisen from personal ties of friendship between the episcopal testators and their respective beneficiaries and executors, formed between these men when they were inevitably brought together as members of the same monastic or mendicant convent, perhaps during their youth, and continued thereafter. In another study, I have argued that, from the evidence of their wills made during the first few decades after the Dissolution at least, many ex-Cistercian monks and nuns

<sup>102</sup> Smith, ed., *Heads of Religious Houses*, 3: 89.

maintained personal networks with a small number of their former brothers – or sisters – in religion and that, in some cases, these friendship ties can also be traced in earlier documentation, prior to the closure of the monasteries.<sup>103</sup> Similarly therefore, the numerous Dominican beneficiaries and executors of Thomas Ringstead cited above may have been contemporaries of the bishop with whom he had established personal friendships when a member of the Guildford convent and with whom he remained connected, or at least remembered personally, even after achieving episcopal status.

Other factors that may have influenced decisions when making these wills are less apparent. There is no clear evidence, for example, of changing testamentary behaviour over time, except that a conspicuous number of those regular bishops who made their wills during the first half of the fifteenth century made no regular bequests nor appointed regular clerks as their executors. Similarly, the number of years spent in the episcopate does not seem to have affected these patterns noticeably. Admittedly, most of those few who had been bishop for 30 or more years did not bequeath to fellow religious – except the abbots *in commendam* Redman and Skeffington – but in these cases perhaps their old confrères were already dead. Also, the ‘type’ of bishop when making the will does not appear to have influenced the decisions, though it is worth noting that most of the seven monastic and mendicant bishops who made no reference or allusion to their regular status at all were either bishops of Welsh sees or suffragans. On the other hand, the religious order of the testators may have played a role in testamentary decision-making to some extent. Thus, friar bishops in particular seem to have included in their wills more references to, or reflections of, their religious status than did their monkish counterparts. The patterns for individual criteria vary however. Thus, for example, friars tended to make more bequests to other houses of their orders (60%) and to individual members of their orders (57%), as well as request burial at mendicant religious houses (55%) and appoint confrères as executors and supervisors of their wills (68%). On the other hand, friars were *less* likely to refer to their regular status (46%) than were the monks and canons, and also less inclined to commend their souls to a saint associated with their order (43%). Overall, however, it would appear that mendicant bishops did indicate their regular status when making a will more frequently than their monastic counterparts. How far this tendency would have influenced the behaviour and decisions of these mendicants as bishops is a question worth further exploration.

## Acknowledgements

I would like thank Chris Woolgar for his editorial and academic comments on drafts of this article. I am also grateful to Professors Michael Robson and Robert Swanson, and the late David M. Smith, for their help with specific points in the paper.

## ORCID

David E. Thornton  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8977-0690>

---

<sup>103</sup> David E. Thornton, ‘Best Friends Forever? Testamentary Evidence for Friendship Networks among Cistercians in Britain after the Dissolution’, *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 72 (2021): 115–53.



## Appendix. The wills of regular bishops in Britain and Ireland, 1265–1535.

Name	Bishopric	Religious Order	Religious house	Date of will and probate	Source
Alexander Bache	St Asaph (1390–4)	O.P.	Hereford	13/8/1394; prob. 15/9/1394	TNA, PROB 11/1/77; Woolgar, 73–4
William Bellers ( <i>Ballere, Sellers</i> )	<i>Soltaniensis</i> (1395/6–1437)	O.P.	York dioc. (ord. 1372); Leicester (ord. 1375); Cov. and Lich. dioc. (ord. 1380)	25/9/1437; prob. 19/7/1441	LPL, Reg. Chichele, ff. 473r–v; Jacob, 578–9
William de Bottlesham ( <i>Bottisham</i> )	<i>Navatensis</i> (1380) (?); Bethlehem (1383–5); Llandaff (1386–9); Rochester (1389–1400)	O.P.	Cambridge (bef. 1382)	16/2/1400; not proved	LPL, Reg. Arundel 1, ff. 166v–167; Woolgar, 90–1
Reginald Boulers	Hereford (1450–3); Cov. and Lich. (1453–9)	O.S.B.	Gloucester (ord. 1425; abb. 1437–50)	23/2/1459; prob. 10/4/1459	TNA, PROB 11/4/303
Edmund Bramfield ( <i>Bromfield</i> )	Llandaff (1390–3)	O.S.B.	Bury St Edmunds (c.1350–, abb. el. 1379); La Grande Sauve, Fr. (abb. 1385)	10/6/1393	TNA, PROB 11/1/61; Woolgar, 100
Thomas Brinton	Rochester (1373–89)	O.S.B.	Norwich (c.1352/3–73)	29/4/1389	LPL, Reg. Courtenay, f. 231; Devlin, 1: xvii–xviii, 2: 503–4
John de Burghill	Llandaff (1396–8); Cov. and Lich. (1398–1414)	O.P.	Hereford (ord. 1350–4)	21/6/1412	CCA, DCC/Reg. G, ff. 289v–290v; Woolgar, 101–4
Gervase de Castro	Bangor (1366–70)	O.P.		24/9/1370; prob. 30/10/1370	LPL, Reg. Whittlesey, ff. 117r–v; Woolgar, 107–8
Lawrence Child	St Asaph (1382–9)	O.S.B.	Battle	10/11/1389	LPL, Reg. Courtenay, f. 232v; Woolgar, 113.
David Chirbury ( <i>Cherbury</i> )	Dromore (1431–51/7)	O.Carm.	Ludlow; Oxford (ord. 1400–1); Ludlow (pr. c.1424–32)	9/11/1456; codicil 3/1/1457	TNA, PROB 11/4/151
John <i>Chourles</i> (Charles/Curlw/Thouras)	Dromore (1410–33)	O.S.B.	Bury St Edmunds (c.1397)	1/4/1433; prob. 16/6/1433	LPL, Reg. Chichele, ff. 437v–438r; Jacob, 482–4
Henry Cranebroke	Joppa (1469–74)	O.S.A.	Combwell (ord. 1425, pr. <i>in comm.</i> 1444 × 74)	18/4/1474; prob. 25/5/1474	TNA, PROB 11/6/229
Dafydd ab Owain	St Asaph (1500–13)	O.Cist.	Strata Marcella (ord. 1461, abb. 1485 × 90); Strata Florida (?abb. c.1496/7); Aberconwy (abb. <i>in comm.</i> 1503 × 13)	11/2/1513	TNA, PROB 11/17/387
Henry Deane	Bangor (1494–9); Salisbury (1500–1); Canterbury (1501–3)	O.S.A.	Llanthony Secunda (ord. 1452; pr. 1467–1501 <i>in comm.</i> )	1503 (?)	CCA, DCC/Reg. F; TNA, PROB 11/13/629; Way; Woodruff, 93–100
* Einion ab Ynyr ( <i>Anian</i> )	St Asaph (1268–93)	O.P.	Rhuddlan (pr. 1268)	21/2 or 19/3/1289; prob. 1/5/1293	CCA, DCC/Reg. Q; Fisher, 186–7

(Continued)

Appendix. Continued.

Name	Bishopric	Religious Order	Religious house	Date of will and probate	Source
John Gilbert	Bangor (1372–5); Hereford (1375–89); St David's (1389–97)	O.P.	Linc. dioc. (ord. 1352); Oxford (1366); Guildford	24/11/1393; prob. 11/8/1397	LPL, Reg. Arundel, 1, ff. 160r–v; Woolgar, 117–18
William Gonerby ( <i>Gunwarby, Gunwardby</i> ) alias Lincoln	Dunkeld (1431–54/7)	O.Gilb.	Chicksands (prr 1430)	9/5/1457; prob. 9/10/1457	TNA, PROB 11/4/192; Stephenson, 80
William Heyworth	Cov. and Lich. (1429–47)	O.S.B.	St Albans (abb. 1401–20)	12/7/1443; prob. 3/7/1447	LPL, Reg. Stafford, f. 154v; Foss, 2: 518–19
Thomas Horwell (Orwell)	Killala (1390–8); Dromore (1398–1404)	O.F.M.	London?/ Cambridge custody? York?	20/3/1402; prob. 2/7/1404	TNA, PROB 11/2A/114
John	<i>Ayabonensis (Ayebonensis, Ayobanensis)</i> (1362/3–82)	[O.Cist.]	[Stratford Langthorne, or Garendon]	14/3/1382; prob. 18/3/1382	LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, ff. 81v–82r
* Walter Jorz (Jorse, Joyce)	Armagh, abp (1307–11, res.)	O.P.	Oxford (c.1300); Lincoln (1320)	2/2/1321; prob. 7/2/1321	LA, MS DIOC/REG/5 (Reg. Burghersh); Bennet, 127
* Richard de Kelloe ( <i>Kellaw</i> )	Durham (1311–16)	O.S.B.	Durham (c.1300–, subprr 1302; 1305– Holy Island, prr)	1316; prob. 24/12/1316	BIA, Sede Vacante Register 5A, f. 184v; Hardy, 3: liv; Raine, 1–2
John de Langdon	Rochester (1421–34)	O.S.B.	Canterbury Christ Church (ord. 1401–4)	2/3/1434; prob. 27/6/1437	LPL, Reg. Chichele, ff. 462v–463r; Jacob, 556–8
Simon Langham	Ely (1362–6); Canterbury (1366–8); card. 1368–76	O.S.B.	Westminster (c.1344, abb. 1349–62)	28/6/1375	WAM 9225; Widmore, 184–91; cf. Woolgar, 136
John Lowe	St Asaph (1433–44); Rochester (1444–67)	O.E.S.A.	Droitwich; Lincoln (ord. 1400–3); Oxford; London (1420, prr 1423); prov. prr (1427–33)	15/8/1463(?); prob. 21/11/1467	TNA, PROB 11/5/485; Hope
Richard Martin	Lismore and Waterford (1472–4/5); 'Universal Church' (1474–98)	O.F.M.	Lichfield (ord. 1449–51); Bologna (1469); Canterbury (?guardian)	9/11/1498; prob. 9/3/1501	KA, MS PRC/32/7, ff. 81v–83r; Robson (1993)
Robert Mascall	Meath (bp. el. 1400); Hereford (1404–16)	O.Carm.	Ludlow (c.1366); Oxford: Ludlow (prr 1393); London (?)	23/11/1416; prob. 17/1/1417	LPL, Reg. Chichele, ff. 300r–v; Jacob, 106–7
Seán Ó hEidhin ( <i>John O'Heyne, Hayne</i> )	Clonfert (1438–59)	O.F.M.	[Norwich]	5/3/1459; prob. 10/5/1459	TNA, PROB 11/4/306
Stephen Patrington	St David's (1415–17); Chichester (1417)	O.Carm.	York dioc. (ord. 1366–70); Oxford (1373–82 prr); prov. prr (1399–1414)	16/11/1417; prob. 29/12/1417	LPL, Reg. Chichele, ff. 310r–v; Jacob, 133–5
Robert Rede	Lismore (1394–6); Carlisle (1396); Chichester (1396–1415)	O.P.	Warwick; Langley?	10/8/1414; prob. 6/7/1415	LPL, Reg. Chichele, ff. 275v–277r; Jacob, 36–40
Richard Redman	St Asaph (1471–95); Exeter (1495–1501); Ely (1501–5)	O.Praer.	Shap (abb. 1457/8–1505 <i>in comm.</i> ); Praer. Visitor Gen.	18/8/1505; prob. 24/10/1505	TNA, PROB 11/14/731
Philip Repingdon	Lincoln (1404–24)	O.S.A.	Leicester (c.1369; abb. 1393–1405)	[1424?]; prob. 1/8/1424	LPL, Reg. Chichele, ff. 373v–374r; Jacob, 285–7
Robert Ringman	<i>Gradensis</i> (Garðar, Greenland) (1425–53)	O.F.M.	[Norwich]	13/07/1453; prob. 5/8/1453	NRO, NCC Will Reg. 7 (Aley), ff. 175r–v

(Continued)



## Appendix. Continued.

Name	Bishopric	Religious Order	Religious house	Date of will and probate	Source
Thomas de Ringstead	Bangor (1357–66)	O.P.	Guildford (ord. 1329); Cambridge (1346)	3/12/1365; prob. 9/2/1366	LPL, Reg. Islip, ff. 245v–246r; Woolgar, 179–82
Miles Salley (Sawley)	Llandaff (1499–1517)	O.S.B.	Abingdon (1487); Eynsham (abb. 1497/8–1517 <i>in comm.</i> )	29/11/1516; prob. 22/1/1517	TNA, PROB 11/18/440
* Boniface de Savoy	Canterbury, abp (1241–70)	O.Cart.?	Portes, O.Cart. (nov. 1224); Nantua, O.S.B. (pr 1232–)	11/10/1264	Wurstemberger, 4: 342–4; Williams, 487–9
John de Sheppey	Rochester (1352–60)	O.S.B.	Rochester (ord. 1318; pr 1333–52)	21/9/1360; prob. 5/7/1363	LPL, Reg. Islip, ff. 169v–170r; Woolgar, 219–22
Simon	Achonry (1386–98)	O.Cist.	[Quarr]	14/2/1398; prob. 27/3/1398	HRO, MS 21M65/A1/10 (Reg. Wykeham); Gunner, 358; Kirby, 2: 480
Thomas Skeffington ( <i>Skevington</i> ), alias Pace	Bangor (1509–33)	O.Cist.	Merevale (ord. 1482–3); Waverley (abb. 1491 × 1500); Beaulieu (abb. 1508 × 33)	10/5/1533; prob. 21/8/1533	TNA, PROB 11/25/59
John Stanbury	Bangor (1448–53); Hereford (1453–66)	O.Carm.	Sutton (Plymouth); Oxford (1443–6)	25/2/1473; prob. 20/10/1474	TNA, PROB 11/6/256; Parry, vii–ix
Henry Standish	St Asaph (1518–35)	O.F.M.	Hereford (1489); Oxford; London (ward. c.1508); Prov. Prr (1505–18)	3/7/1535; prob. 21/8/1535	TNA, PROB 11/25/375
John Tinmouth, alias <i>Maynelyn</i>	Argos (1510–24)	O.F.M.; Hosp. StJ	Kings Lynn; Oxford; Colchester (1493, wrdn)	1523; prob. 12/11/1523	TNA, PROB 11/21/462
Alexander de Tottington	Norwich (1406–13)	O.S.B.	Norwich (c.1369–72, pr 1382–1406)	20/4/1412; prob. 4/5/1413	LPL, Reg. Arundel, 2, ff. 165v–166r; Woolgar, 251–5
John Walton	Dublin, abp (1472–84, res.)	O.S.A.	Osney (ord. 1433–4; abb. 1452–72)	Before res. 1484; d. 1489/90	TCD, MS 552 (E.3.32), ff. 53r–54v; Berry, 167–71
Nicholas Warter	Dromore (1419–37)	O.F.M.	York (ord. 1394)	30/1/1448	BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, ff. 268v–269r; Robson (2000), 25–6
Thomas <i>Wele</i> ( <i>Weyle/Weel</i> ) [alias Hartperry?]	<i>Panadensis</i> ( <i>Pavadensis</i> ) (1474–1509)	O.S.B.	[St Peter's Gloucester (ord. 1463)]	1/5/1521; prob. 17/5/1521	TNA, PROB 11/20/169
Thomas Wells	Sidon (1504/5–23)	O.S.A.	Canterbury St Gregory; Bicknacre (pr 1504–5); Canterbury St Gregory (pr 1505–26)	10/9/1525; prob. 1/10/1526	KA, MS PRC/32/14, ff. 156v–157r
William Wells	Rochester (1436–44)	O.S.B.	York St Mary's (ord. 1406–9; abb. 1423–36)	7/2/1444; prob. 14/5/1444	LPL, Reg. Stafford, ff. 122v–123r; Foss, 1: 361–3
Robert Windell	Emly (1423–41)	O.F.M.	Babwell (?)	30/6/1441; prob. 2/7/1441	SROB, MS IC/500/2/1 (Reg. Osbern), f. 253r; Tymms, 11
Florence Wooley ( <i>Wolley</i> , <i>Wuley</i> )	Clogher (1478–1500)	O.S.B.	Abingdon; Snape (pr 1491 × 9)	20/7/1500; prob. 14/10/1500	NRO, NCC Will Reg. 24 (Cage), f. 162r

(Continued)

## Appendix. Continued.

Name	Bishopric	Religious Order	Religious house	Date of will and probate	Source
* Thomas de Wouldham, alias Southfleet	Rochester (1291–1317)	O.S.B.	Rochester (prr 1283–91)	26(?)9/1316	BL, Cotton MS Faustina B V, f. 29r [30r]; Thorpe and Thorpe, 113
Richard Wycherley (Wytherley, Wicerloy)	Olenensis (1480–1502)	O.P.	Warwick; Oxford (1480); Kings Langley (prr 1498/9–1502)	8/9/1502; prob. 26/9/1502	TNA, PROB 11/13/300 (?)

**Sources: Abbreviations:** BIA: York, Borthwick Institute for Archives; BL: London, British Library; CCA; Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives; HRO: Winchester, Hampshire Record Office; KA: Maidstone, Kent Archives; LA: Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives; LMA: London, London Metropolitan Archives; LPL: London, Lambeth Palace Library; NRO: Norwich, Norfolk Record Office; SROB: Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office; TCD: Dublin, Trinity College; TNA: Kew, The National Archives; WAM: London, Westminster Abbey Muniments.

### Printed sources

Bennet: Nicholas Bennet, ed., *The Registers of Henry Burghersh 1320–1342: III*, Lincoln Record Society 101 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011); Berry: Henry F. Berry, ed., *Register of Wills and Inventories of the Diocese of Dublin in the Time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1457–1483: from the Original Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1898); Devlin: Mary Aquinas Devlin, ed., *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373–1389)*. Camden 3rd series 85–6. 2 vols. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1954); Fisher: J. Fisher, 'Three Welsh Wills', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 6th series 19 (1919): 181–92; Foss: D.B. Foss, 'The Canterbury Archiepiscopates of John Stafford and John Kemp with Editions of their Registers'. 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1986); Gunner: W.H. Gunner, 'Original Documents' *Archaeological Journal* 9, no. 1 (1852): 358–60; Hardy: Thomas Duffus Hardy, ed., *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense. The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham, 1311–1316*. Rolls Series 62. 4 vols. (London: Longman, 1873–8); Hope: W.H. St John Hope, 'Testamenta Antiqua. III', *Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist: A Quarterly Journal and Review*, new series, 8 (1894): 34–6; Jacob: E.F. Jacob and H.C. Johnson, eds., *The Register of Henry Chichele: Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–1443*, vol. 2: *Wills Proved before the Archbishop or His Commissaries*. Canterbury and York Society 42 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938); Kirby: T.F. Kirby, ed., *Wykeham's Register*, vol. 2. Hampshire Record Society 13 (London: Simpkin & Co, 1899); Parry: J. Parry, ed., *Registrum Johannis Stanbury, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCCLIII–MCCCCLXXIV*. Canterbury and York Society 25 (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1919); Raine: James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia or Wills Registered at York Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics, &c., of the Province of York, from the Year MCCC. Downwards, Part I*. Surtees Society 4 (London: J.B. Nichols, 1836); Robson (1993): Michael Robson, 'Richard Martyn Franciscan Bishop in the Universal Church', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 86 (1993): 19–45; Robson (2000): Michael Robson, 'Nicholas Warter, Franciscan Bishop of Dromore, c.1372–1448', *Collectanea Hibernica* 42 (2000): 7–26; Stephenson: F.M. Stephenson, 'The Gilbertine Priory of New Biggin at Hitchin', *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 14 (2005): 77–80; Thorpe: John Thorpe and John Thorpe, eds., *Registrum Roffense, or, A Collection of Antient Records, Charters, and Instruments of Divers Kinds: Necessary for Illustrating the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Rochester* (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1769); Tymms: Samuel Tymms, ed., *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St Edmunds and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*. Camden Society, Old Series, 49 (London: Camden Society, 1850); Way: A. Way, 'The Will of Henry Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury, Deceased 15 February 1502–3', *Archaeological Journal* 18 (1861): 256–67; Widmore: Richard Widmore, *An History of the Church of St Peter, Westminster, Commonly Called Westminster Abbey, Chiefly from Manuscript Sources* (London: Jos. Fox and C. Tovey, 1751); Williams: D.A. Williams, 'Aspects of the Career of Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1241–70' (Ph.D. diss., University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1970); Woodruff: C. Eveleigh Woodruff, ed., *Sede Vacante Wills: A Calendar of Wills Proved before the Commissary of the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury. During Vacancies in the Primacy, with an Appendix Containing Transcripts of Archiepiscopal and Other Wills of Importance*. Kent Records 3 (Canterbury: Kent Archaeological Society Records Branch, 1914); Woolgar: C.M. Woolgar, ed., *Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate, 1200–1413: Wills, Executors' Accounts and Inventories, and the Probate Process*. Canterbury and York Society 102 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press for the Canterbury and York Society, 2011); Wurstemberger: Ludwig Wurstemberger, *Peter der Zweite, Graf von Savoyen, Markgraf in Italien, sein Haus und seine Lande. Ein Charakterbild des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, diplomatisch bearbeitet, mit einem Urkundenbuche*. 4 vols. (Bern: Staempfli, 1856–8).