

The Coat of Arms

Annual Journal of the Heraldry Society



Series 4 Volume 1 Number 235 2018

The Heraldry Society is an educational charity. Its purpose is to promote greater understanding and appreciation of heraldry and its related subjects. The society organises lectures, study days, congresses, dinners and other social activities. It offers a course in heraldry leading to examination for a diploma. It publishes a range of source material at modest cost. Members receive the *Coat of Arms* and the quarterly *Heraldry Gazette*.

Help to support our work and participate in our social activities by joining today via our website www.theheraldrysociety.com

Registered office

53 Hitchin Street, Baldock, Hertfordshire SG7 6AQ

The Society was registered in England in 1956 as registered charity no. 241456.

The Coat of Arms is a non commercial, non profit making academic journal. Advertising space is sold in order to subsidise the cost of printing. The contents of this journal will be made freely available to all online via the Heraldry Society website one year following distribution of paper copy to members. Images may be subject to copyright, and should not be reproduced without permission of the originator.

President

His Grace The Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal

Honorary Secretary

John Tunesi of Liongam

e-mail: honsecheraldrysociety@gmail.com

Membership Secretary

Jane Tunesi of Liongam

e-mail: memsec@theheraldrysociety.com

Material appearing in *The Coat of Arms* does not necessarily represent the views of the Honorary Editor, of the Editorial Panel, or of the Society.

coatofarms@theheraldrysociety.com

Printed in Bristol by 4word Ltd.

©The Heraldry Society

ISSN 0010-003X

THE COAT OF ARMS

The journal of the Heraldry Society



Fourth Series

Volume I

2018

Number 235 in the original series started in 1952

Founding Editor

† John P.B.Brooke-Little, C.V.O., M.A., F.H.S.

Honorary Editor

Dr Paul A Fox, M.A., F.S.A, F.H.S., F.R.C.P., A.I.H.

Reviews Editor

Tom O'Donnell, M.A., M.PHIL.

Editorial Panel

Dr Adrian Ailes, M.A., D.PHIL., F.S.A., F.H.S., A.I.H.

Dr Jackson W Armstrong, B.A., M.PHIL., PH.D.

Steven Ashley, F.S.A, a.i.h.

Dr Claire Boudreau, PH.D., F.R.H.S.C., A.I.H., Chief Herald of Canada

Prof D'Arcy J.D.Boulton, M.A., PH.D., D.PHIL., F.S.A., A.I.H.

Dr Clive.E.A.Cheesman, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., Richmond Herald

Steen Clemmensen A.I.H.

M. Peter D.O'Donoghue, M.A., F.S.A., York Herald

Dr Andrew Gray, PH.D., F.H.S.

Jun-Prof Dr Torsten Hiltmann, PH.D., a.i.h

Prof Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard, PH.D., F.R.Hist.S., A.I.H.

Elizabeth Roads, L.V.O., F.S.A., F.H.S., A.I.H, Snawdoun Herald

Advertising Manager

John J. Tunesi of Liongam, M.Sc., FSA Scot., Hon.F.H.S., Q.G.

Guidance for authors will be found online at
www.theheraldrysociety.com

THE ARMS OF THE CISTERCIAN ABBEYS AS DRAWN BY DOM ANSELM BAKER ¹

Part 1: Yorkshire

MICHAEL CARTER FSA

Fountains Abbey: *azure, three horseshoes or*

During his visitation of the northern counties in 1530, Thomas Tonge, Norroy King of Arms, recorded the arms of numerous monasteries. The visitation is an invaluable source for scholars of heraldry and late medieval monasticism. Tonge gave the blazon of Fountains Abbey as *azure, three horseshoes or*.² These arms are one of the great mysteries of monastic heraldry, and a satisfactory explanation as to why this Cistercian monastery adopted this blazon has long eluded scholars.³

Fountains was founded in the winter of 1132 by Archbishop Thurstan of York. The monastery soon prospered, and by the late Middle Ages was by far the largest and richest Cistercian monastery in England. Its art and architecture provides a case study of the evolution of the Cistercian aesthetic during the Middle Ages.⁴ including the adoption of heraldic ornament. The use of individual coats of arms by monasteries first emerged in years around 1300,⁵ and the earliest extant evidence of the use of a coat of arms by Fountains dates to 1424, the counter seal on a charter now at Durham Cathedral. It is decorated with a shield of *a cross between four lions*. Surrounding the shield is the motto, *Benedicite Fontes Domino* (Oh you fountains, bless the Lord) (Book of Daniel 3:77; sung in the canticle *Benedicite Omnia Opera*).⁶ This is clearly

¹ Baker illustrated arms for 45 medieval and 2 post medieval abbeys arranged by county. The two counties most strongly represented are Devon with five and Yorkshire with seven. There were three abbeys from Wales and one on the Isle of Man. We begin this serialization with four of the Yorkshire foundations.

² London, CA MS D.4, f.34v; see also, *Heraldic Visitation of the Northern Counties in 1530* by Thomas Tonge, ed. W.H.D. Longstaffe, Surtees Society, 41 (1862), p. 51 hereinafter **Tonge**; DBA vol 4 p. 176.

³ For a detailed analysis, see M. Carter, 'Azure, Three Horseshoes Or: The Arms Fountains Abbey, an Enduring Puzzle', *Notes and Queries*, 64 (2017), pp. 234–42, hereinafter **Carter**.

⁴ For an overview, see G. Coppack, *Fountains Abbey: the Cistercians in Northern England*, 2nd edn (Stroud, 2004).

⁵ For an overview of ecclesiastical heraldry, see *British Heraldry from its Origins to c. 1800*, ed. R. Marks and A. Payne (London 1978), pp. 59–60. For the use of heraldry by late medieval abbots, see M. Heale, 'Mitres and Arms: Aspects of the Self-Representation of the Monastic Superior in Late Medieval England', in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities: The British Isles in Context*, ed. A. Müller and K. Stöber (Berlin 2009), pp. 99–124.

⁶ C. Clay, 'Seals of the Religious Houses of Yorkshire', *Archaeologia*, 78 (1928), p. 17; illustrated, pl. III.2, hereinafter **Clay**.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Thurstan Archbishop of York gave a
place called Skeldale, in which to found a
Cistercian Monastery, a.d. mcxxxii.

Figure 1: Fountains Abbey.

CISTERCIAN ABBEYS

an allusion to the name of the abbey, and the motto ornaments late fifteenth-century building works in the church at Fountains.⁷

Two early sixteenth-century heraldic sources record that Fountains used these arms, and also give the tinctures as *gules, a cross between four lions argent*.⁸ These can be identified as the arms of St Oswald,⁹ Anglo-Saxon king of Northumbria who died in 642 and whose relics were later enshrined with those of St Cuthbert at Durham Cathedral Priory.¹⁰ Oswald was of great significance to the community at Fountains. Soon after his election as abbot of Fountains in 1495, Marmaduke Huby (d. 1526) successfully applied to the Cistercian General Chapter at Cîteaux to celebrate the feast of St Oswald on 5th August at Fountains, explaining there was a relic of the saint at the monastery and adding that saint was held in great reverence there.¹¹ Huby, a great reformer, added the feast to the calendar of his printed Breviary.¹²

Despite this veneration of St Oswald, it appears to have been during Huby's abbacy that Fountains adopted the use of the *azure, three horseshoes or*. These arms (though with no surviving tinctures) ornament the great bell tower built by Huby at Fountains, and also other building works dating to his abbacy, and they are often accompanied by the abbot's monogram (the initials, M H with a mitre and crosier between).¹³ This had led to the suggestion that the arms are Huby's personal blazon rather than those of his abbey,¹⁴ the horseshoes perhaps a pun on the abbot's surname, which was pronounced 'hobby', meaning a small horse.¹⁵ The abbot was certainly of a status to have had his own arms, but unfortunately no record of any has survived. Moreover, it is surely significant that Tonge explicitly records the arms *azure, three horseshoes or*, as those of the abbey, and they also appear on the seal of William Thirsk, who succeeded Huby as abbot in 1526.¹⁶

The significance and source of the arms defies a ready explanation. They cannot be connected to Thurstan, the founder, nor were they the arms of any of his successors as archbishop of York, who retained the patronage of the abbey until its Suppression

⁷ W. St J Hope, 'Fountains Abbey', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 15 (1900), p. 296, hereinafter **Hope**.

⁸ Wriothesley's Crosses in Prince Arthur's Book, London, College of Arms, MS Vincent 152, p. 67 (temp. Henry VIII) and London, College of Arms, MS L10, f.64v, (c.1520).

⁹ For arms attributed to St Oswald, see *DBA* vol 3 p. 176.

¹⁰ For the cult of Oswald in late medieval England, see D. Rollason, 'St Oswald in Post-Conquest England', in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (Stamford, 1995), pp. 164–174.

¹¹ *Letters from the English Abbots to the Chapter at Cîteaux*, ed. C. H. Talbot, Camden Fourth Series, 4 (1967), pp. 181, 190.

¹² The volume is now Oxford, Christ Church MS e.8.29; its illuminations and annotations to the calendar are discussed by M. Carter, 'The Breviary of Abbot Marmaduke Huby: Renaissance Design and Religious Change in Early Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire', *Bodleian Library Record*, 21 (2009), pp. 17–34.

¹³ Hope pp. 315–16, 284.

¹⁴ Hope p. 316.

¹⁵ The village of Huby in the North Riding was given as Hobi between 1086–1179 and as Hoby from 1179–1399; see V. Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-names* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 321. I am extremely grateful to Dr Laura Wright for this reference.

¹⁶ Clay p. 18; illustrated pl. III.8.

THE COAT OF ARMS

in 1539. Nor are they the arms of any of the monastery's benefactors. They cannot be connected with any of the saints held in especial reverence at the monastery, and suggestions that the arms in fact depict fountains, punning on the monastery's name, or elude to the abbey's activity as a breeder of horses, can be safely discounted.¹⁷ Despite this, the arms show that monasteries could have multiple and fluid heraldic identities, and that the heraldry of religious houses remains a fruitful area of research.

Kirkstall Abbey: *azure, three swords their points in base argent, hilt and pommel or*

Thomas Tonge's visitation is the source for the arms of Kirkstall Abbey which are traditionally identified as the arms of Peitevin, important benefactors of the monastery.¹⁸ Located to the west of Leeds, Kirkstall was a daughter house of Fountains. The founding community first settled in 1147 at Barnoldswick (West Riding), but they soon found this location unsuitable and in 1152 migrated to the site at Kirkstall. The abbey was founded by Henry de Lacy, baron of Pontefract, one of the major landowners in northern England, and a supporter of monastic reform. Robert, the son of the founder, was buried at Kirkstall in 1193, and in 1258 the abbey appealed to the Cistercian General Chapter for permission to celebrate the anniversaries of its founders.¹⁹ Extinction of the de Lacy line in the fourteenth century meant that by the time of Tonge's visitation, patronage of the abbey rested with the king.

A charter of Henry II confirming the abbey's possessions refers to 'that place of Kirkstall which they have by the gift of Henry de Lacy'. In actual fact, the site of the abbey was on lands given by William le Peitevin. The family were generous benefactors, and maintained a relationship with the monastery until the fourteenth-century, when in 1324, the family line in Headingley terminated after their manor was granted away by Elizabeth Calverley, the widow of Thomas le Peitevin. It was soon afterwards granted to Kirkstall.²⁰ In 1332–7 Alexander le Peitevin, son of William le Peitevin (who held Headingley from the Lacy family in 1290), attempted to reclaim these lands. Alexander's seal as a cadet of the family was *three swords in pile, their points in base with a bend overall*.²¹ Dodsworth recorded that his ancestor William le Peitevin sealed with three swords in the early thirteenth-century.²² The family's enduring benefaction provides a ready explanation for the use of their arms by the abbey.

With a net annual income of £329 a year at the time of its suppression in 1539, Kirkstall was a moderately wealthy monastery, and had there were considerable

¹⁷ For discussion of all these theories, see Carter.

¹⁸ London, CA MS D.4, f. 44v; Tonge p. 84. For an account of the family see *H&G* vol 5 (1870) pp. 235–43.

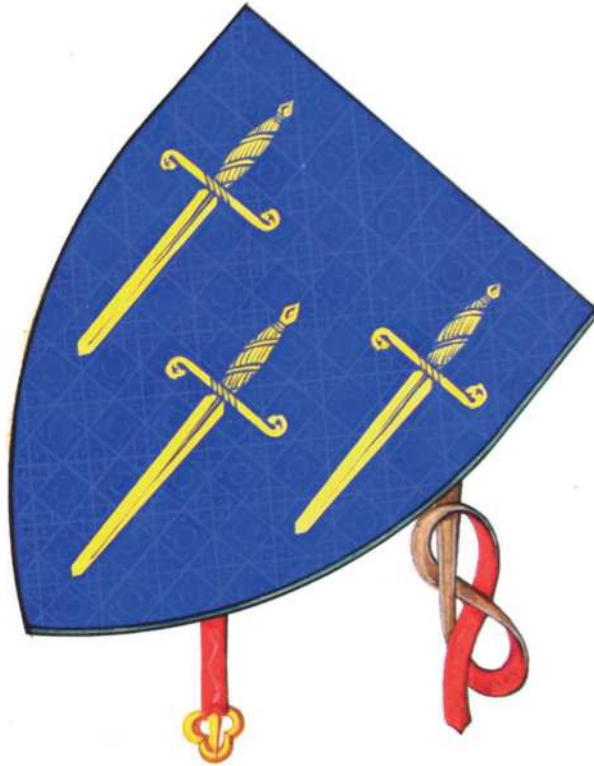
¹⁹ G.D. Barnes, *Kirkstall Abbey, 1147–1539: an Historical Study*, Thoresby Society, 58 (Leeds, 1984), p. 68.

²⁰ Barnes p. 15; M.L.Faull and S.A.Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to AD 1500*, 3 vols (Leeds, 1981), vol 2 pp.394–5.

²¹ *DBA* vol 4 p.437 citing *BM Seals* no. 12425.

²² W.T.Lancaster and W. Paley Baildon (Edd.), *The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall* (Thoresby Society vol 8, Leeds, 1904) p.57n. This source gives a pedigree of the family on pp.57–8.

Kirkstall, Yorkshie.



Henry de Lacy a.d. mcxlvii placed a colony of monks from Fountains Abbey at Bernoldeswick, but removed them to Kirkstall a.d. mclii.

Figure 2: Kirkstall Abbey.

THE COAT OF ARMS

building works at the abbey in the fifteenth- and early sixteenth- centuries. The initials of Abbot William Marshall (ruled, 1509–28) are sculpted on the buttresses supporting the storeys added to the crossing tower of the church in the early sixteenth-century.²³ The abbey's arms do not occur on any of the surviving late medieval buildings at Kirkstall and nor do they ornament the known seals.²⁴ At the turn of the twentieth-century, however, there was 'ancient stall work' with the arms of Kirkstall Abbey at the church of St Mary, Barnoldswick,²⁵ the original site of the monastery which remained one of its granges; ex situ medieval stonework sculpted with the arms can still be seen built into the east wall of the chancel.²⁶ Though none are from Kirkstall, late fifteenth-century floor-tiles decorated with three swords, similar to those on arms of Kirkstall, are known from Whalley Abbey (Lancashire), another de Lacy foundation, and from the Carthusian priory at Mount Grace (Yorkshire).²⁷

Rievaulx Abbey: *Gules, three water-bougets argent, the lower transfixes by a crosier in pale or*

In 1132, Rievaulx Abbey became the first Cistercian monastery to be founded in northern England. William, the first abbot (d. 1145), and Aelfred, the third (ruled, 1147–67), were venerated at the monastery as saints. Doubtless to provide a fitting setting for the relics of the latter, the east end of the church was rebuilt on a magnificent scale in c.1220.²⁸

The monastery's patron was Walter Espec, lord of Helmsley, a wealthy local landowner and active supporter of ecclesiastical reform, who had already founded Kirkham Priory (Yorkshire), a house of Augustinian canons.²⁹ According to some sources, in later life Espec entered Rievaulx as a lay brother, where he died and was buried in 1153. Patronage of the monastery descended to the de Roos family, and several of its members were buried at Rievaulx until the mid thirteenth-century. The relationship between the de Roos family and Rievaulx was not always harmonious, and the presence of the monument of Isabel de Roos (d. 1264) in the galilee porch shows that in accordance with Cistercian regulations, their burials were restricted to peripheral locations. The family subsequently turned to Kirkham Priory as their mausoleum.³⁰ The Roos coat of arms, *gules, three water-bougets argent*, occur no

²³ These works are described and discussed by M. Carter, 'Abbot William Marshall (1509–28) and the Architectural Development of Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire, in the Late Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 1 (2012), pp. 115–42.

²⁴ For which, see Clay pp. 23–24.

²⁵ J. C. Cox *Bench-Ends in English Churches* (London, 1916), p. 17.

²⁶ I am grateful to Mike Spence for this observation.

²⁷ J. Stopford, *Medieval Floor Tiles of Northern England. Pattern and Purpose: Production Between the 13th and 16th Century* (Oxford, 2005), p. 227, p. 229, fig. 23.21.

²⁸ For the architecture of Rievaulx, see P. Fergusson and S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture and Memory* (New Haven and London, 1999).

²⁹ For Espec's role in the foundation of Kirkham and Rievaulx, see J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 79–80, 100–101.

³⁰ E. Jamroik, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132–1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 48–51.

CISTERCIAN ABBEYS

River, olim *Rievall*, or *Rivaulx*, York-
shire.



Founded by *Walter* spec, a.d. mc
xxxī, dedicatd to the *B.V. Mary*.

Figure 3: Rievaulx Abbey.

THE COAT OF ARMS

less than three times on the priory's early fourteenth-century gatehouse,³¹ very much identifying the monastery as a family possession.³² The records of Tonge's visitation show that Kirkham used the de Roos arms, differenced by the inclusion of a crutch-like pastoral staff, as their own arms.³³

Early evidence of the use of the de Roos arms by the abbey dates to the mid fourteenth century, the seal of Abbot William (c.1361–c.1380) appended to a charter dated 1363.³⁴ By this time, the Cistercians had adopted a more permissive attitude towards the burial of their benefactors, and in the late fourteenth-century the tradition of de Roos burials was re-established at Rievaulx. In 1384, Thomas de Roos was buried before the high altar at Rievaulx, and in 1394 Sir John de Roos ordered that his body be laid to rest in the choir, to the south of the high altar; in the same year his wife, Mary, requested burial next to him.³⁵ Family burials at the monastery endured into the fifteenth-century, with Sir Thomas, tenth lord de Roos of Helmsley, interred at the monastery in 1464.³⁶

The church at Rievaulx was extensively renovated in c.1500, which included the laying of new pavements in the nave, assemblages of tiles decorated with the arms of de Roos, quartered with the fictive arms given to Walter Espec (*three cartwheels*).³⁷ The heraldic badge of the de Roos family was the peacock in its pride, and a limestone sculpture of this subject has been excavated at Rievaulx.³⁸ It likewise occurs on window corbels in the great hall at Helmsley Castle, a major de Roos seat.³⁹

Sawley Abbey: first shield – *azure, five fessils in a fess or*; second shield – *argent, on a pale a crossier or*

Located on the east bank of the river Ribble in Craven (West Riding), Sawley Abbey was founded in 1147 by William de Percy, a member of one of the great families of northern England. Throughout its history, Sawley maintained an intimate relationship with the family of its founder. In 1189 Matilda to Percy increased the endowment of the monastery, saving the struggling community from failure.⁴⁰ Percy burials at the abbey are documented in 1245 and in 1272. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland

³¹ For a description of the heraldry on the gatehouse, see S. Harrison, *Kirkham Priory* (London, 2000), pp. 14–16.

³² J. Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution*, Borthwick Papers, 86 (York, 1995), p. 23.

³³ London, College of Arms MS D.4, f. 27v; Tonge p. 19.

³⁴ Clay pp. 30–31; illustrated, pl. VII, 4. Also on the seal are arms of Mowbray, a major benefactor of the abbey; see Jamrozak *op cit*, esp. pp. 62–73.

³⁵ J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense and the Ecclesiastical History of Yorkshire* (York, 1758), p. 366; Fergusson and Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey*, pp. 250–51.

³⁶ S. Badham and G. Blacker, *Northern Rock: the Use of Eggstone Marble for Monuments in Medieval England*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 480 (London, 2009), p. 77.

³⁷ Stopford, *Medieval Floor Tiles of Northern England*, p. 240, fig. 24.17–20, p. 321.

³⁸ It is now on display in the site museum.

³⁹ J. Clark, *Helmsley Castle* (London, 2004), p. 10.

⁴⁰ For a summary of the abbey's foundation by the Percy family, see D. Robinson, ed., *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men* (London, 1998), pp. 170–72.

*Salley, or De Monte S. Andree, West
Riding of Yorkshire.*



*Founded by William de Percy the third,
a.d. mcxlvii-viii, in honour of the mother of
God.*

Figure 4: Sawley Abbey.

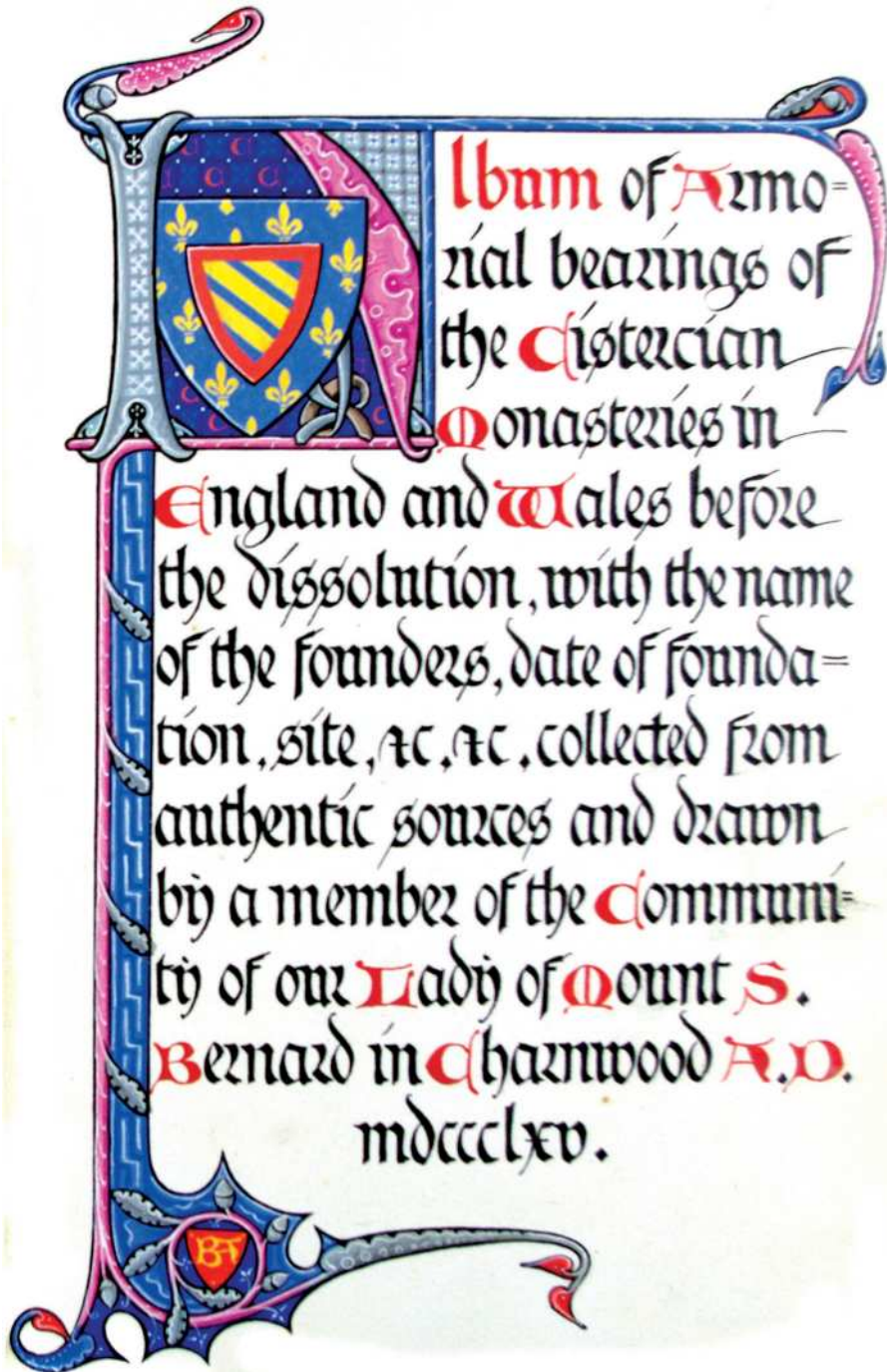


Figure 5: Title page of Baker's *Armorial bearings of Cistercian Monasteries*.

CISTERCIAN ABBEYS

also requested burial at the monastery in 1351.⁴¹ Although he was buried at Alnwick Priory, his son established a chantry at Sawley in 1356,⁴² and in 1396 Henry, Lord Percy, granted the monastery the rents from his manors at Gisburn.⁴³ When the monastery was suppressed in 1536, the abbot turned to the brother of the earl of Northumberland, Sir Thomas Percy, to whom the patronage of the abbey had descended, for succour and support.⁴⁴

The first of the shields given to the abbey by Tonge (*azure, five fessils in a fess, or*) are the ancient arms of Percy.⁴⁵ In the mid fourteenth-century, the arms *azure, a lion rampant or* (Percy Modern) were adopted by the family. The buildings of Sawley Abbey, especially the church, were extensively remodelled in the late fourteenth-century.⁴⁶ Ex situ stonework at the monastery is sculpted with the arms of Percy Modern, and also with the family's badge, a crescent.⁴⁷ Other stonework is sculpted with the arms of Hammerton, Lucy, Tempest and Vavasour, all benefactors of the monastery.⁴⁸ The original context of this heraldic stonework is unknown, but it may have ornamented with abbey's gatehouse at the south-east of the precinct, or perhaps the pulpitum screen installed during the remodeling of the church.

Sawley had a second shield (*argent, on a pale a crosier or*). When the abbey adopted these arms is unclear, and there is no extant material evidence of their use at the abbey or elsewhere. However, it is notable two nearby Cistercian abbeys, Furness and Whalley (both in Lancashire), similarly had two shields.⁴⁹ It is possible that they were the arms which related to the office of abbot, as numerous abbots in the Coucher Book of Furness were retrospectively represented with these similar arms.

⁴¹ *Testamenta Eboracensia. A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 4 (1832), p. 57.

⁴² *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, 2 vols, ed. J. McNulty, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, 87, 90 (1932–33), II, p. 201, hereinafter **McNulty**.

⁴³ J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, 1988) p. 38.

⁴⁴ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, XII (1), 491.

⁴⁵ London, College of Arms, MS Vincent 152, f. 46r; Tonge p. 89.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of these works and their wider context, see G. Coppack, 'The Planning of Cistercian Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages: the Evidence from Fountains, Rievaulx, Sawley and Rushen', in J. G. Clark ed., *The Religious Orders of Pre-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 197–209.

⁴⁷ J. Harland, *Historical Account of the Cistercian Abbey of Salley in Craven, Yorkshire* (London, 1853), p. 52.

⁴⁸ McNulty, I, p. 35 (Lucy); II, p. 144 (Vavasour); pp. 188, 191, 197 (Tempest).

⁴⁹ London, College of Arms, MS Vincent 152, f. 46r, 47v; Tonge pp. 89, 90, 92.