

# Heraldic investigations anent early Murray genealogy

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## ABSTRACT

*A detailed analysis of the early sigillographic and heraldic data relating to the de Moravia/Murray family has been carried out. It has been concluded that the Murrays of Drumsargard were the senior line of their branch of the kindred, one which included the Murrays of Bothwell and the Murrays of Petty as cadet lines. Armory also throws light on the antecedents of Joanna Murray, the wife of Archibald the Grim, 3rd Earl of Douglas.*

## INTRODUCTION

Freskin, probably of Flemish origin, was involved in the pacification of Moray in 1130 which led to the establishment of his family in that region and its adoption of the ‘de Moravia’ or ‘Murray’ surname. The family rapidly expanded in the north-east, acquiring lands in Moray, Sutherland and Ross and establishing four families – Murray of Sutherland, who adopted the Sutherland name, Murray of Duffus (MOR), Murray of Petty (INV) and Avoch (ROC), and Murray of Culbin (NAI). Furthermore, a fortuitous marriage to an Oliphant heiress in the mid-13th century brought one branch of the family the valuable barony of Bothwell (LKS) while another acquired the near-contiguous barony of Drumsargard (LKS) (illus 1).

The right to the chiefship of the Murray kindred was debated by Victorian luminaries such as Innes in the *Moray Registrum* (Innes 1837) and Riddell in *Stewartiana* (Riddell 1843: 86–96), a debate that was extended to try to unravel the relationship between the

families of Murray of Bothwell and Murray of Drumsargard. Joseph Bain (Bain 1884) was able to demonstrate that the Drumsargard line was extant before 1296, Sir William de Moravia’s seal being attached to the Ragman Roll of that year. In a subsequent publication, he linked the Drumsargard and Tullibardine lines, as being descendants of Sir Malcolm de Moravia who held lands in Roxburgh 1250 x 60 (Bain 1889).

The authors of the relevant chapters in the *Scots Peerage* were more circumspect. Cook, in his articles on the lords of Bothwell (SP II: 120) (Cook 1900), noted that no Murray held both Bothwell and Drumsargard while Anderson in his article on the Murrays of Drumsargard (SP VIII: 225) made no mention at all of their Bothwell kinsmen. More recently a number of monographs on Scottish baronial families have been published (Boardman 2003; Neville 2005) but no extended study of the de Moravia family has appeared in print.

The question of the seniority of the Bothwell and Drumsargard lines was

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reconsidered within the pages of *The Double Tressure* (Maxwell Findlater 2003), where it was proposed, on the basis of heraldic evidence, that Bothwell was the senior line but adopted the differenced arms while Drumsargard was an illegitimate line which used the undifferenced arms. The present paper considers a wider range of heraldic and sigillographic evidence than hitherto and reaches a new conclusion.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF DE MORAVIA HERALDRY

A century ago Murray heraldry was explored in *The Heraldry of the Murrays* (Johnston 1910), a volume which dealt primarily with the Petty-derived families whose arms are based on *Azure, three stars argent*;<sup>1</sup> its treatment of the Sutherland branch of the family was brief while the Culbin-derived Murray families barely received a mention. However, our understanding of the early armorial data from these branches of the wider kindred is critical in letting us reach some important conclusions regarding the earliest phase of Murray heraldry.

Thus the seals of the early Sutherland earls displaying *Three stars* are known from 1357 (SHS62702) and 1365 (PRO.P2093). The colours are originally found as *Or, three stars gules* (BL11, BS7, GL694) but thereafter the counterchanged version is preferred (SC18).

Murray of Culbin seals displaying *Three stars* are known from the 1290s homage of Sir John de Moravia (SHS52008) and from that of Sir Alan de Moravia attached to the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 (SHS52011). Painted evidence is less certain, but an unnamed coat in the Bruce Roll displays *Sable, three stars argent* (BS15). Confirmatory evidence is supplied at a much

later date by Workman's Roll (FWR377) which provides *Sable, three stars argent* for 'murray of culben'.

This sigillographic data is of vital importance since it demonstrates that both these branches of the family, as well as the Murrays of Petty, used the basic *Three stars* in their armorial achievement and that differencing was accomplished by changing the tinctures of field and stars. Of necessity this would have taken place by the middle of the 13th century when the separate families are clearly delineated (illus 1) and when armory was advancing rapidly in the upper ranks of the nobility as demonstrated by the Scottish arms found among the Matthew Paris shields (1244 x 59) and the coats of all the Scottish earls emblazoned in the Lord Marshal's Roll (c 1295). Furthermore there is vestigial heraldic evidence of a fourth branch, the Murrays of Duffus, extinct in the male line by 1268, but whose descendants in the female line, the Keiths of Inverugie, quartered *Three stars* for Murray of Duffus in the period 1490 x 1500 (SHS43507, SHS43508). This data, however, should be used with caution as the quarterings may represent 'arms of simplification' with any relevant brisures omitted (McAndrew 2006: 226).

Sir Walter (I) de Moravia of Petty and Avoch (d c 1250) is, therefore, the most likely founding father of this branch of the family before it split into subdivisions (Petty, Bothwell, Tullibardine) in subsequent generations. Differencing was subsequently achieved by the addition of supplementary charges, a procedure which represents the second phase of armorial development within the family. Very similar processes can be seen in the armory of other Scottish magnate families – the Comyns of Badenoch and Buchan, the Balliols of Bywell and Cavers and their respective descendants.

Although the heraldic materials available for study are modest, there are two exceptions – a group of seals associated with the Ragman Roll and related homages at the end of the 13th century and the Murray quarterings in the coats-of-arms of the earls of Douglas in the 15th-century armorial rolls. The latter have the advantage of colour and will be treated first.

#### MURRAY QUARTERINGS USED BY THE DOUGLAS EARLS

The last member of her line of the family, Joanna Murray, married Sir Archibald Douglas ‘the Grim’, lord of Galloway, and later 3rd Earl of Douglas (d 1400). The Murray stars used in the heraldry of their elder son, Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas (d 1424), and his descendants on some of their seals need not concern us as the arms cannot be unequivocally linked with a specific lordship delineated on the seal legend. Instead it is necessary to concentrate on the armory of their younger son, James ‘the Gross’, Earl of Avondale, and briefly 7th Earl of Douglas (d 1443), and his sons and successors, William, 8th Earl (dsp 1452), and James, 9th and last Earl (dsp 1488).

The complex seal of the last earl (SAS677, SHS32003), displaying a quartered shield surmounted by an *inescutcheon surtout* and quartered banners, was explored in detail some 30 years ago (McAndrew 1980; McAndrew 2006: 207). The two Murray coats, one on the shield displaying *Three stars within a double tressure flory counterflory*, and the other on the sinister banner displaying *Three stars*, were analysed in terms of lordship, the former representing the barony of Bothwell and the latter the barony of Drumsargard, whose lords also held Carmunock, Stonehouse and Strathavon, or Avondale, from c 1342 (SP VIII: 257; Brown 1998: 37, 56).

Crucially, we have knowledge of the colours of these coats from painted examples in 15th-century armorials. James ‘the Gross’, as Earl of Avondale, quartered *Azure, three stars argent* in the *Grand Armorial Equestre de la Toison d’Or* (TO956). As his personal variant of the Douglas arms with an ermine field is displayed in the 1st and 4th quarters, then the 2nd and 3rd quarters of *Azure, three stars argent* represent his comital lands of Avondale and its associated Lanarkshire barony of Drumsargard. The more complex coat is painted as *Azure, three stars or within a double tressure flory counterflory or* in the Scots Roll (SC9). This is the first time the Murray stars of this house are displayed in gold and in all probability in error as the 9th Earl’s Garter stall-plate displays the stars in silver (Hope 1901). So it is proposed to utilise *Azure, three stars argent within a double tressure flory counterflory or* to represent the Bothwell lordship, the royal tressure having been added to celebrate the marriage of Sir Andrew (III) Murray of Bothwell to Christian Bruce, sister of King Robert I.

This is a point of some importance since the sharing of the colours of azure and argent indicates a close family relationship within the Petty group. A measure of validation is provided by extrapolating back to 1296, when the seals of Drumsargard and Bothwell (prior to the embellishment with the royal tressure) would have been identical if the metals were different on their coats-of-arms. In contrast, if both families bore the stars in silver, the cadet family would need to add some means of differentiation and the resulting seals would be different. The latter alternative is found to be the case (see below).

Of course prior to their use by the Douglas earls to represent lordships, the two coats-of-arms originally belonged to two branches of the Murray kindred – the plain *Azure, three stars argent* to Murray of Drumsargard and

*Azure, three stars argent within a double tressure flory counterflory or* to Murray of Bothwell, the better known and more puissant family. The identity of the colours utilised in their arms leads to the conclusion that the Drumsargard line was part of the Petty/Bothwell/Tullibardine branch of the Murrays, as distinct from the Sutherland and Culbin branches. As such both Drumsargard and Bothwell descend from Sir Walter (I) de Moravia of Petty and Avoch (illus 1).

#### MURRAY SEALS IN THE RAGMAN ROLL

Turning now to the seals of the Murrays associated with the homage documents of the 1290s, a situation of some complexity exists as there are three different seals with the legend William de Moravia. However, flourishing at this time were four Sir Williams – of Drumsargard, of Bothwell, of Tullibardine and of Sandford (St Fort) (CDS II: no 823 and Appendix III; McAndrew, 1999; Maxwell Findlater 2003) to which the index of Bain's Calendar adds a further William, son of John de Moravia (CDS II: 664, 665; compare CDS II: introduction, p xxix, note 1).

The simplest of this trio to identify is the one originally attached to the Ragman Roll of 1296. A seal bearing *Three stars, a rose* at either side of the shield (RRS3205, SAS2049, SHS52006), attached to a fragment of homage, can be securely linked with William de Morref of Romsirgard (RR371) (an alternative rendering of Drumsargard), a connection first proposed by Joseph Bain in the 1880s (Bain 1884, 1889). This seal impression (RRS3205) is attached to a string along with four others that have been identified as belonging to Fergus MacDowilt (RR346), John de Paris (RR429), Edward de Whitewelle (RR403) and Johan le Botiler (RR384). All these men are found in homage group #146 that encompasses

144 homagers running from RR321 to RR464. Consequently RRS3205 is also limited to the same parameters and only William de Morref of Romsirgard (RR371) qualifies (McAndrew 1999). It has been suggested the roses at either side represent cadetship (Bain 1884), but it is difficult to see how they could act in this fashion, as at war his shield and banner would only display the three stars. A better explanation of these external ornaments, surely, is to consider them as an endeavour to display a maternal connection; however, a rose, or possibly a cinquefoil, is not specific enough to point in the direction of a particular family. Contrast the more diagnostic example of Robert, Lord Clifford, killed at Bannockburn, who replaced the foliage found in the exergue of his father's seal with annulets from the coat-armour of his Vipont heiress mother in his own seal (Birch 1887).

An unattached seal bearing *Between three stars, a chevron* (RRS3018, SAS2054) and the legend *S'Willelmi de Moravia* links with William de Morref of Tullibardy (RR565), the chevron strongly indicative of a feudal link with their superiors, the earls of Strathearn, who also bore that charge in their arms of *Or, two chevrons gules* (Q18, FF8, BL9) (Johnston 1910: v). However it is unlikely that this seal impression was attached to the Ragman Roll as the block of 102 homagers that includes RR565 is associated with a group of 90 seals described in Bain's Calendar in Appendix I.2. Unfortunately, the seal of RR565 William de Moravia of Tullibardine is one of the few missing from the 19 strings of four and five seals that constitute the organisation of this material. Consequently the seal impression is more likely to have been attached to an earlier homage that only two Williams, William de Moravia of Bothwell and William de Moravia of Tullibardine, witnessed (Thomson 1834). Later seals, dating from 1442, of the Tullibardine branch of the family also display

the same combination of charges (SHS52105, SHS52106). A label of three points in chief, probably erroneously, is added to the description of the relevant item in Scottish Heraldic Seals (SHS52010).

The last of the trio is a seal bearing *Three stars of six points, a label of five points in chief* (RRS78401, SAS2050, SHS52007) with the legend *S'Willelmi de Morevia*. Ownership of this seal has been settled on William, son of John de Moravia by the editors of Scottish Armorial Seals and Scottish Heraldic Seals, thus equating the label with the position as son and heir of John de Moravia. Presumably the John referred to was the son of Malcolm de Moravia (seal with a label, SHS52004) and elder brother of William of Tullibardine (SHS52010, above) providing a close-knit group linked in the senior line by the common brisure of a label. However, William, son of John, is a figment of Bain's imagination, created to provide a suitable homager for the

ownership of the seal which in his judgement could not belong to the obvious candidate, William de Moravia of Bothwell, as the putative head of this branch of the Murray kindred, and thereby entitled to bear the three stars without any additional brisure.

William, son of John is stated to have been a prisoner in England 1296x97 (CDS II: 742, 911, 925) but is otherwise obscure; these details would equally fit Sir William de Moravia of Bothwell.

However, if the alternative use of a label at this period of armorial development is considered as a simple mark of cadency no different to any other (Gayre 1961: 45), then there is no reason not to believe the seal could belong to one or other of the two possible remaining candidates – Bothwell or Sandford. But the latter is not listed among the Ragman Roll homagers<sup>2</sup> so Sir William de Moravia of Bothwell can be established as the only candidate, in agreement with recent work

TABLE 1  
Murray seals

	<i>Names</i>	<i>Seals</i>
1291 homagers	Sir William de Moravia of Bothwell Sir William de Moravia of Tullibardine	RRS3018 unattached seal
1296 homagers	Sir William de Moravia Sir William de Moravia, lord of Bothewelle Sir William de Moravia, lord of Romsirgard Sir William de Moravia of Tullibardy	RRS78401 individual seal RRS3205 strong correlation
non-homagers	William de Moravia of Sandford William, son of John de Moravia	

(Maxwell Findlater 2003) (Table 1). A good contemporary example of the use of the label as a cadency mark is that of the Stewart earls of Menteith who added it to their chequered fess (SAS2553, BL10), evident still on the 1st Earl's effigy at Inchmahome Priory (Stewart 1933: 103).

It should be noted that the seal impression (RRS78401) was originally attached to membrane #15 of the homages, recording that of a Sir William de Moravia without any territorial designation (RR92) on 19 July 1296 at Aberdeen (CDS II: 823); this homager can now be conflated with Sir William de Morref, lord of Botheville (RR178), who at the later date of 28 August at Berwick-on-Tweed, had his homage recorded on membrane #135. Sir William de Moravia of Bothwell thus joins a select group of Scottish magnates whose homage is found among the earlier individual homages as well as the later group homages.<sup>3</sup>

This conclusion was also reached in recent work (Maxwell Findlater 2003) albeit using the evidence in a different fashion. The author also made the valuable point that the most important line was generally referred to without designation while the subsidiary lines were distinguished territorially (Maxwell Findlater 2004). However the use of the Bothwell designation among the Ragman Roll homagers (RR178) necessitates a measure of caution in this approach.

Having established that the seal bearing *Three stars of six points, a label of five points in chief* as that of Sir William de Moravia, lord of Bothwell, it is important to recognise that this seal, with its characteristic skewed stars, was in use more than a decade earlier. During the marriage negotiations on behalf of Alexander, prince of Scotland (dsp 1284), and Margaret, daughter of Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, Alexander III issued letters in 1281 defining arrangements for the succession to the throne of Scotland, which were witnessed

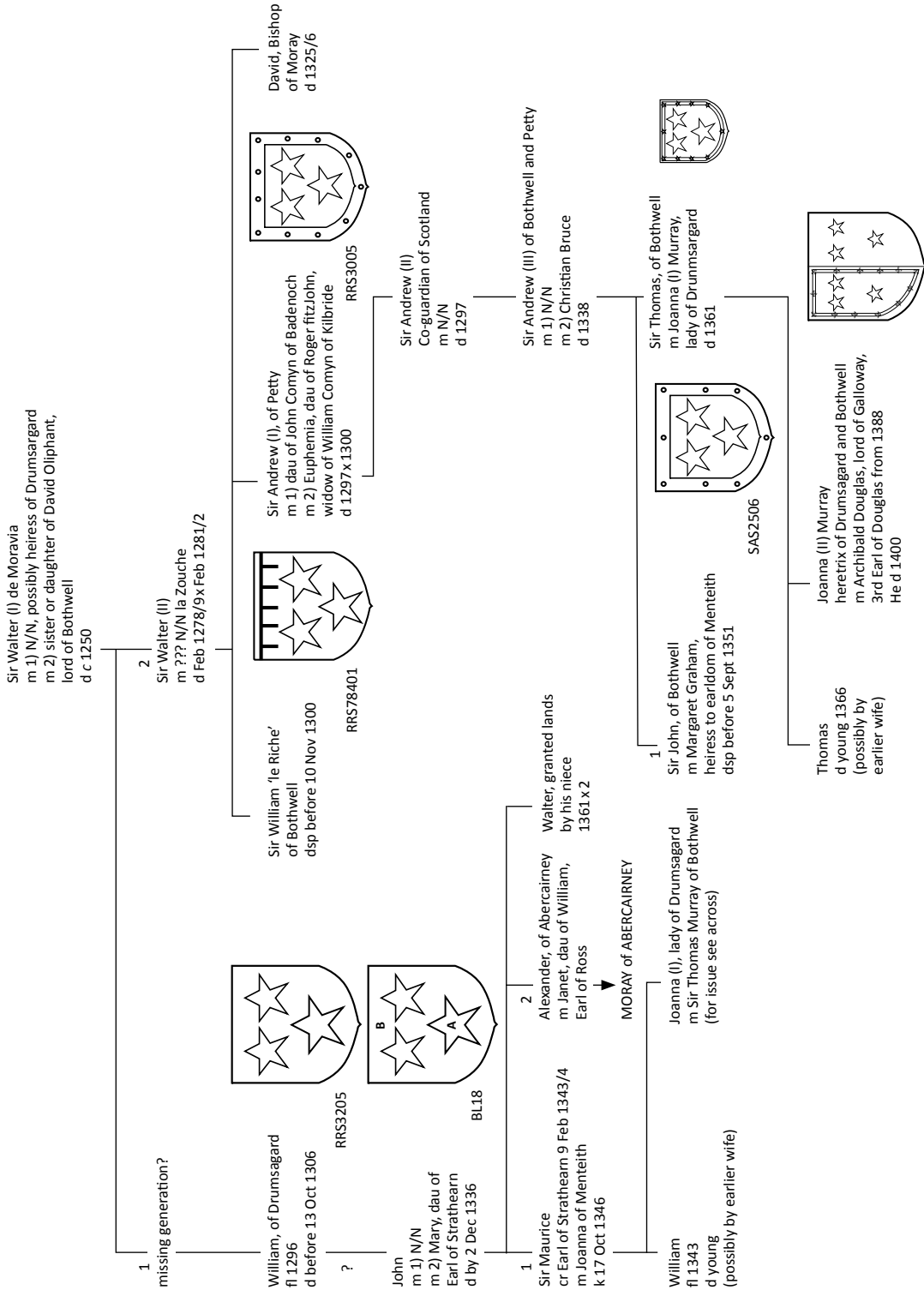
by the Scottish envoys in Flanders – five bishops, six earls, and five barons. Most of the seals attached to this document survive including that of Walter de Moravia (without designation) who can now be recognised as the lord of Bothwell (Reiffenberg 1844: 177–9).

Furthermore a gathering of magnates at Scone – 13 earls and 25 barons – swore to uphold the succession to the Scottish throne on 5 February 1283/84 (Dickinson, 1952). The five baronial envoys of 1281 are all included in this larger group thereby confirming that William de Moravia, here characterised as son of Walter de Moravia, is indeed the lord of Bothwell, as previously accepted (SP II: 124).<sup>4</sup>

For completeness should be added a further seal, probably dating from 1291, bearing *Three stars within a bordure charged with 11 roundels (or roses)* (RRS3005, SAS2052, SHS52009) with the legend *S'Andreu de Moravia*, belonging to Sir Andrew (I) Murray of Petty (d 1297 x 1300).

## DRUMSARGARD AND BOTHWELL

It has long been established that, towards the end of the 13th century, Sir William Murray 'le Riche' was the holder of the extensive lordship of Bothwell (SP II: 124). But it is manifest that, while the Bothwell seal has a label in chief, ie it is differenced, that of his Drumsargard namesake is devoid of such additional charges. Heraldically it follows that Drumsargard is the senior house and Bothwell is a cadet family, a concept that requires a paradigm shift in our thinking. However it will be appreciated that it does correspond with the outcome of the earlier analysis of the Murray coats in the armory of the Douglas earls that the plain coat belongs to Murray of Drumsargard while an embellished one belongs to Murray of Bothwell. This can be accommodated best by postulating that Sir Walter (I) had an earlier



ILLUS 2 Murray of Drumsargard and Murray of Bothwell



wife to his known one, probably the heiress of Drumsargard, as this lordship was not hitherto known as a Murray possession (Grant 2007: 108) (illus 2).

Sir Walter (I) had an awkward decision to make regarding the division of his lands, having to allocate his northern patrimony at Avoch and Petty, the Drumsargard inheritance of his first wife and the Bothwell estates of the second. While the norm was for the eldest son to inherit the patrimony, and the second to receive any acquisitions, this pattern had already been broken in the Sutherland branch of the family where the eldest son, William (d 1250x60), succeeded to his father's acquisitions in Sutherland, considered more important than Duffus, the family's Ur-lands in Moray, which the second son, Walter (d 1240x48), inherited (Crawford 1985). So, if the basic hypothesis is correct then William, the only son of the first marriage, inherited his mother's lands of Drumsargard, while the major inheritance of the northern patrimony and Bothwell passed to the sons of the second marriage. By 1296 they were in the hands of Sir William 'le Riche' and the focus of Murray lordship had moved from Moray to the Clyde valley.

The first member of the family known to hold the barony of Drumsargard, Sir William Murray, died before 13 Oct 1306<sup>5</sup> and Sir John de Moravia (d by 2 Dec 1336) is next found in possession (SP VIII: 255).<sup>6</sup> His second wife was Mary, daughter of Malise, 7th Earl of Strathearn, with whom he obtained the lands of Abercairney, Ogilvy and Glenservy. However he was succeeded by the son of his first marriage (wife's name unknown), Sir Maurice Murray of Drumsargard, a prominent Bruce supporter. For his various services he had a grant of the barony of Avondale (Strathavon) in Lanarkshire c 1342 but was killed at the battle of Neville's Cross on 17 Oct 1346, not long after his creation as Earl of Strathearn 9 Feb

1343/44. His elevation to comital status, as a member of the senior line of the Drumsargard/Bothwell/Petty kindred, was a reward for loyal service to the Bruce kings through the difficult period of the early 1330s. He married Joanna de Menteith, Dowager Countess of Atholl and Strathearn, and left an heiress daughter, Joanna, who married her distant kinsman, Sir Thomas Murray of Bothwell (see below). According to this hypothesis, the painted arms in the Balliol Roll of 1334 for 'Sr de Morref' – *Azure, three stars of six points argent, pierced gules* (BL18) – belong to Sir John Murray of Drumsargard and not to a Murray of Bothwell family member.

It has been proposed that Murray of Drumsargard was an illegitimate line but assumed the plain arms of *Three stars* while the senior legitimate line of Bothwell added the brisure of a label (Maxwell Findlater 2003). This suggestion is not supported by contemporary evidence which demonstrates that accepted practice in medieval Scotland did not allow an illegitimate son to inherit the arms of his father. Thus Sir Alan Durward (d 1275) bore arms of *Argent, a chief gules* (C66) (McAndrew 1982) and left three daughters among whom his lands were split. He also left an illegitimate son, Sir Thomas Durward of Forfarshire, who bore differenced arms on his Ragman Roll seal of *Ermine, a chief* (RRS3543, SAS831). A second example involves Sir Archibald Douglas, bastard son of the Good Sir James. Only when he succeeded as 3rd Earl of Douglas in 1388 did he put aside his differenced arms of *Ermine, on a chief azure, three stars argent* (GL695) and adopt the plain arms of Douglas.

Sir Walter (I) de Moravia (d c 1250) is believed to have married the sister (or less probably the daughter) of David Oliphant, a marriage which, on the extinction of the senior male line of the Oliphants, brought the de Moravia family Bothwell in Clydesdale and

Smailholm and Crailing in the Borders. On his death the patrimony in the north and the Oliphant-derived lands passed to Sir Walter (II) (d Feb 1278/79 x Feb 1281/82)<sup>7</sup> and hence to his heir, Sir William 'le Riche' (dsp by 10 Nov 1300).

Sir William's younger brother, Sir Andrew (I) de Moravia, was taken prisoner at the battle of Dunbar in 1296. He was known to be alive 6 Nov 1297, but died imprisoned in the Tower of London between that date and 10 Nov 1300. His seal displays *Three stars of six points within a bordure charged with eleven roundels* (RRS3005). This bordure has the appearance of a maternal bordure, one in which the charges are adopted from the maternal arms. The fact that the charges are roundels (for la Zouche?) rather than crescents for Oliphant suggests that Sir William le Riche and Sir Andrew (I) were grandsons of the Oliphant heiress rather than sons. The la Zouche family, at this period holding lands in Ayrshire and Fife, were the only magnate family in Scotland to use roundels in their armorial achievement (illus 2).

His son, Sir Andrew (II) de Moravia, was Wallace's co-Guardian at the battle of Stirling Bridge and died from his wounds a few months after the battle. His posthumous son, Andrew (III), succeeded not only his father in Petty and Avoch but also his great-uncle in the Bothwell acquisitions. He was a staunch supporter of the Bruce kings and played a prominent part in the country's recovery as Guardian after the invasion of the Disinherited under Edward Balliol in 1332. He died and was buried at Avoch in Ross in 1338. He married in 1326 the king's twice-widowed sister, Christian, who by this date was probably beyond childbearing age; his sons, therefore, are likely to be by an earlier unknown wife (cf Duncan 1988: 65 for a possible alternative explanation).

His elder son, Sir John Murray of Bothwell, succeeded and married Margaret Graham,

heiress to the earldom of Menteith, in 1348. He was one of a number of magnates used as a hostage substitute for David II and died in exile prior to 5 Sept 1351. Sir Thomas Murray (d 1361) inherited his brother's estates and offices and married his distant cousin, Joanna, daughter and heiress of Sir Maurice Murray of Drumsargard, Earl of Strathearn (illus 2). His seal displays *Three stars within a bordure charged with eight roundels* (SAS2056) and therefore follows closely the pattern of that of his great-grandfather. Two interpretations are possible: first, the charged bordure is a brisure for a younger son, for Sir Andrew (I), as younger brother of Sir William 'le Riche', and for Sir Thomas, as younger brother of Sir John, though its date of 1357 means that Sir Thomas had not changed his arms after his elder brother's death; or second, the bordure charged with roundels had become the characteristic difference of the Murrays of Bothwell after the death of Sir William 'le Riche' c 1300. The latter alternative would appear to be the more likely if, as argued here, the Bothwell family were junior to that of Drumsargard.

Sometime after 1357, the Murray of Bothwell difference was changed to the more prestigious *double tressure flory counterflory* to celebrate the marriage to a member of the royal kindred, despite the fact there was no issue of the marriage. However, another possibility is that the charge signifies the possession of lands held in regality, in this instance, Garioch, and is comparable to the addition of the royal tressure to the arms of the Randolph earls of Moray and the Fleming earls of Wigtown.

#### THE MURRAY HEIRESS

After the death of Sir Thomas Murray of Bothwell, the extensive Murray lands,

including both Bothwell and Drumsargard, passed to Sir Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway. However it is not clear whether Sir Archibald married Joanna (I) Murray of Drumsargard, widow of Sir Thomas Murray of Bothwell, or Joanna (II), their daughter, heiress of both baronies. The early peerage volumes have him marry Joanna (II) and so both Bothwell and Drumsargard passed legitimately to him (Wood's Douglas 1813: I, 426). But Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta*, published in 1864, revealed that Archibald had a dispensation to marry the widow in 1362 (SP III: 161). In that case Drumsargard and its associated baronies passed legally into Douglas hands, while Bothwell was simply annexed, providing it with a powerful lord in arduous times (Brown 1998: 37, 56). But there is no proof that the marriage ever took place. If the elder Joanna died of the plague soon after the dispensation was announced, and Sir Archibald had ward of her daughter, then after a decade he could have married Joanna (II) as sole heir of *both* her father and her mother. It is noticeable that there were no children of the marriage till 1372 when Joanna (II) would have been of marriageable and child-bearing age.

Can heraldry throw any light on the alternatives? In armorial terms, Joanna

(II) would have been entitled to quarter or impale the arms of Murray of Drumsargard with her own Murray of Bothwell arms but the contemporary *Armorial de Gelre* merely provides 'lourt a morref: *Azure, three stars argent*' (GL708). Parenthetically, it is worth noting that there are only four coats in the Scottish section of *Gelre* that use the style of '*lourt a . . .*', thereby lacking a Christian name, and all belong to families recently bereft of their senior line.

Archibald the Grim's wife's seal displays *An angel supporting from behind two shields bearing arms: dexter, A heart, on a chief three stars (Douglas) impaling A lion rampant crowned (lordship of Galloway), sinister, Three stars (Murray)* (SAS2057) but the legend *S'Ionete Cōitisse de Douglas Dne Bot(huil)* does not clearly distinguish between mother and daughter. On the one hand, the single Murray shield displays Murray of Drumsargard, indicative of Drumsargard in the male line; but in contrast the seal legend calls her lady of Bothwell.

However there exist four armorial corbels adjacent to the east window in the Collegiate Church of Bothwell, celebrating the immediate family of its founder, Archibald the Grim. These were described and identified (Bain 1868) (Table 2).

TABLE 2  
Bain 1868 descriptions

Ermine, a heart, on a chief, three stars	Archibald the Grim, 3rd Earl of Douglas
Impaled: d, Scottish lion s, A heart, on a chief, three stars surmounting both impalements, a label of three points	David, Duke of Rothesay m Marjory, dau of Archibald the Grim
Impaled: d, Three stars within a double tressure fcf; on a chief, three stars s, Three stars	Murray of Bothwell and his Murray wife
Impaled: d, A heart, on a chief, three stars s, Scottish lion	Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas m Margaret, daughter of Robert III



ILLUS 3 Douglas ermine

TABLE 3  
Hodgson 2010 descriptions

Ermine, a heart, on a chief, three stars	Archibald the Grim (original arms)
Impaled: d, A lion contourné, crowned? s, A heart, on a chief, three stars surmounting both impalements, a label of three points	Archibald, son and heir, later 4th Earl of Douglas
Impaled: d, Three stars within a double tressure fcf; s, Three stars	Marriage of Sir Thomas Murray of Bothwell to Joanna (I) Murray, daughter of Maurice Murray, Earl of Strathearn
Impaled: d, A heart, on a chief, three stars s, A lion crowned	Archibald the Grim (arms as lord of Galloway)

Three can be recognised as belonging to Archibald himself, and his son and daughter; the fourth, displaying the impaled Murray shields, Bain (1900) suggested belongs to Archibald the Grim's wife, Joanna (I) Murray, and her first husband, Sir Thomas Murray.

Recently the carvings have been photographed (illus 3–6) and reinterpreted (Hodgson 2010) and Bain's description of the lion rampant of Scotland has been substituted by the crowned lion of Galloway<sup>8</sup> (Table 3).

Both analyses agree that the heraldry on the 'Murray' corbel is in some way representative of Archibald the Grim's wife, either Joanna (I) Murray of Drumsargard or Joanna (II) Murray of Bothwell and Drumsargard. Bain's interpretation is based on the seal of a married woman, with husband to the dexter and wife to the sinister – in this instance dexter, *Three stars within a double tressure* (Murray of Bothwell) and sinister, *Three stars* (Murray of Drumsargard) and so representing the marriage



ILLUS 4 4th Earl of Douglas



ILLUS 5 Murray impaling Murray

of Sir Thomas Murray of Bothwell and his wife Joanna (I) Murray of Drumsargard. But why would Archibald the Grim celebrate his wife's first husband in his collegiate church?

It is worth noting that while the 2nd Earl of Douglas was amongst the first armigers in Scotland to adopt quartered arms, quartering Douglas (patronymic) with Mar (his mother's earldom) (GL684), his cousin, Archibald the Grim, continued to use impaled arms for the same purpose with Douglas to the dexter

and Galloway, his territorial lordship, to the sinister. If the corbel represents the arms of an individual, ie Archibald's wife, (and not a husband and wife) then the impaled arms represent her as an heiress with her father's (Sir Thomas Murray of Bothwell) arms to the dexter and her mother's (Joanna (I) Murray of Drumsargard) to the sinister; ie the heraldic display on the corbel represents Joanna (II) Murray, heiress of both Bothwell and Drumsargard, displaying her full



ILLUS 6 Douglas, lord of Galloway

achievement, and present as the wife of Archibald the Grim.

#### MURRAY OF TULLIBARDINE

Disappointingly, the heraldic data pertaining to the Tullibardine branch of the family throws little light on their affiliation. The

conjectured ancestor is John de Moravia, Sheriff of Perth 1210 x Dec 1214 (Reid 2002: 34–6) who should not be conflated with his contemporary of the same name, elder brother of Gilbert de Moravia, Bishop of Caithness (1223–45) of the Culbin branch of the kindred.

His putative successor, Sir Malcolm de Moravia, was also Sheriff of Perth 1270 x 29

Oct 1289 (Reid 2002: 34–6)<sup>9</sup> and is said to have married the sister of Geoffrey de Gask (SP I: 452). A seal of a Sir Malcolm bearing *Three stars with a label of many points in chief* has been described (SAS2053); however it originally appeared in Hutton's Sigilla (Hutton c 1800) where the drawing provides a date of 1334 though the only known Sir Malcolm flourished in the latter half of the 13th century. The associated text also provides 'f18' which links this seal to a number of others copied from Harleian ms 4693 at the British Museum by Sir James Balfour of Denmilne. Other items from this collection include a seal allocated to Sir David Lindsay of Crawford (d 1355 x 57), dated 1345 on f17 where the drawing (less the legend) clearly displays the armorial bearings of a Stewart of Rossyth. Clearly its legend has been tampered with<sup>10</sup> and little reliability can be placed on the Balfour subset within Hutton's Sigilla.

Sir Malcolm was succeeded by his elder son John (dsp after 1284),<sup>11</sup> who granted the lands of Aldie in Strathearn to his younger brother, William (d after 1296) (SP I: 452). The latter married Ada, daughter of Malise, Steward of Strathearn, with whom he got one half of the lands of Tullibardine; he acquired the other half by purchase some years later. His 1291 seal bears *A chevron between three stars* (SAS2054), the first instance of the combination of the Murray stars with a Strathearn chevron.

While later seals (SHS52105, SHS52106) demonstrate the continuity of their use of the iconography, the colours of the Tullibardine arms are not known for a further 250 years, by which time they were using *Azure, three stars argent within a double tressure flory counterflory or* (DLM363, HR647). The chevron remained in the arms of Murray of Gask: *Azure, a chevron or between three stars argent* (DLM362, FWR564), all of which supports the affiliation of the Tullibardine

line with those of Drumsargard, Petty and Bothwell, but fails to provide a definitive link to these branches.

## CONCLUSION

This paper has demonstrated the importance of heraldic studies in helping to shed new light on historical problems. By using all the data available it is possible to distinguish heraldically between the various Murray families based on the colours of their three stars. Within the Bothwell/Petty group of families bearing arms based on *Azure, three stars argent* it has been possible to distinguish heraldically the Drumsargard, Bothwell, Petty and Tullibardine lines. Furthermore based on heraldic norms it has been proposed that Murray of Drumsargard was senior to Murray of Bothwell despite the fact the latter was the more powerful house. In contrast, the investigation of the heraldry of the Murrays of Tullibardine has been less successful. The heraldry of Joanna Murray, the wife of Archibald the Grim, has been reinterpreted and provides evidence that she was Joanna (II) Murray of Bothwell and Drumsargard. Her estates greatly extended the power and influence of Archibald's branch of the Douglas family, to whose family earldom he succeeded in 1388.

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## NOTES

- 1 The charges on the Murray shield and on the Douglas chief will be referred to as stars,



- independent of the number of points. The number is immaterial within the context of this paper. They are uniformly shown with five points on the charts.
- 2 He is given as a homager in Bain's CDS II Index but is not actually present in the complete list (CDS II: no 823).
  - 3 These include Malise, Earl of Strathearn (RR12, RR169), John Comyn, Earl of Buchan (RR36, RR170), Sir John Comyn of Badenoch (RR39, RR171), Alexander, Earl of Menteith (RR97, RR173), James, Steward of Scotland (RR1, RR174), Sir John Stirling of Moray (RR63, RR177), Sir Alexander Comyn (RR102, RR179) and Sir Reginald le Cheyne (RR80, RR181).
  - 4 The complexities in the Bothwell pedigree which include the addition of an extra generation (Maxwell Findlater 2003) can be ignored if it is accepted that Sir William 'le Riche' made the presentation to Lilford Church in 1282 and that the Williemus de Moravia filius Walterus of Moravia, a charter witness of the Act of Succession, is likewise William 'le Riche'.
  - 5 Thanks are due to Mr Andrew MacEwen of Stockton Springs, Maine for valuable discussions and additional references to the Murray of Drumsargard and Murray of Bothwell families.
  - 6 The relationship between Sir William and Sir John as his son and successor is unproven.
  - 7 This pedigree follows Watt 1977: 405–18 in that it omits the shadowy William between Walter (I) and Walter (II) found in the Scots Peerage.
  - 8 Two of the carvings have been poorly illustrated (Henderson & Waddell 1904: 65) but there is no mention of the heraldic material in later, more detailed descriptions of the church (Waddell 1934; Waddell 1937/38).
  - 9 The gap of 55 years between father and son holding the same position casts doubt on this relationship (SP I: 450).
  - 10 The seal is described as belonging to William Stewart of Rossyth (Laing, 1850: no 811) and to David Lindsay of Crawford (Laing, 1866: no 631).
  - 11 There appears to be no evidence to justify the conflation of this John with John de Moravia of Drumsargard. The 'Tullibardine' branch of the family were active in Strathearn *t* Earl Malise III (d 1313) while the Drumsargard line only appear in Strathearn records *t* Earl Malise IV (d 1323 x 29).

## HERALDIC SIGLA

- ASPII *Aspilogia II: Tremlett, T D & London, H S (eds) 1967 Rolls of Arms temp Henry III.* London: Society of Antiquaries. Critical edition of the Matthew Paris Shields, Glover's Roll and Walford's Roll.
- ASPIII *Aspilogia III: Brault, G J (ed) 1997 Rolls of Arms temp Edward I.* London: Boydell for the Society of Antiquaries. Critical edition of Heralds' Roll, Dering Roll, Camden Roll, St George's Roll, Charles' Roll, Segar's Roll, Lord Marshal's Roll, Collins' Roll, Falkirk Roll, Guillim's Roll, Caerlaverock Poem, Galloway Roll, Smallpece's Roll, Stirling Roll, Nativity Roll, Fife Roll, and Sir William le Neve's Roll.
- BL *Balliol Roll, c 1334: McAndrew, B A (ed) 2002 The Balliol Roll.* Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society. See also Mitchell, R W 1983 *Handlist of Medieval English Rolls of Arms*, no 31. The Heraldry Society of Scotland.
- BS *Bruce Roll, c 1370: Mitchell, R W 1982 Scottish Arms from the Continent*, no 1. It is described as being part of an armorial called the Mowbray Roll in *Aspilogia II: 269.*
- C *Walford's Roll, c 1275: Aspilogia II.*
- DLM *Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1542 with some later additions: D Laing (ed) 1878 Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.* Edinburgh: Paterson. Numbering used here follows Mitchell, R W 1982–85 *Handlist of Scottish Rolls of Arms.*
- FF *Fife Roll, early 14th century: Aspilogia III.*
- FWR *Forman-Workman Register, 1566 with numerous later additions to c 1605: R R Stodart, 1881 Scottish Arms.* Edinburgh: Paterson. Vol 2, Chap 6: *Illuminated Heraldic Manuscript called Workman's (W)*, though omitting a few items, remains the only critical edition. Numbering used follows an unpublished listing of McAndrew, B A and Mitchell, R W 1982–5 prepared for the *Handlist of Scottish Rolls of Arms.*
- GL *Armorial Gelre, 1370–95: Adam-Even, P (ed) 1971 L'armorial universel du héraut*

*Gelre*, reprinted in a new edition with a complete set of plates 1992. Leuven: van Helmont. The Scottish coats-of-arms are summarised in Mitchell, R W 1982 *Scottish Arms from the Continent* no 3. Numbering used here follows Adam-Even.

- HR Hague Roll, 1592, with some later additions: Mitchell, R W 1982–85 *Handlist of Scottish Rolls of Arms*. See also Campbell, C 1988 *The Double Tressure* 10, 33 which provides the most readily available general description of the roll and corrections to Mitchell's Handlist.
- PRO.P Ellis, R H (ed) 1978 & 1981 *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals*. London: HMSO, 2 vols.
- Q Collins' Roll, c 1295: Aspilogia III.
- RR Ragman Roll, 1296: not an armorial roll but a list of Scottish magnates, knights, ecclesiastics and burgesses. Numbering used follows Thomson, T (ed) 1834 *Instrumenta Publica sive processus super fidelitatibus et homagiis Scotorum domini regi Angliae factis AD MCCXCI–MCCXCVI*. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club.
- RRS Ragman Roll Seals, 1296: McAndrew, B A 1999 *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 129: 663. See also Bain, J et al 1881–1986 *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*. Volume III, Appendix II. Edinburgh: H M General Register House.
- SAS Macdonald, W R 1904 *Scottish Armorial Seals*. Edinburgh: Green & Sons.
- SC Scots Roll, 1455–58: Campbell C, *The Scots Roll*, 1995. Dunfermline: The Heraldry Society of Scotland.
- SHS Stevenson, J H & Wood, M (eds) 1940 *Scottish Heraldic Seals*. Glasgow: University Press, 3 vols. References to these volumes are in the form ABCXY where the first three digits provide the page number, and the last two the item number on the page.
- TO Grand Armorial Equestre de la Toison d'Or, 1433–5: Pastoureau, M & Popoff, M (eds) 2001 *Grand Armorial Equestre de la Toison d'Or*. St Jorioz: Editions du Gui. The Scottish coats-of-arms are summarised in Mitchell, R W 1982 *Scottish Arms from the Continent* no 4, and a detailed analysis

of the Scottish material has been provided by Campbell, C 1971 *The Coat of Arms* 12: 58, 115, 171. Numbering used follows Pastoureau and Popoff.

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