

The Coat of Arms

Annual Journal of the Heraldry Society



Series 4 Volume 5 Number 239 2022

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: secretary@theheraldrysociety.com

Membership Secretary

Jane Tunesi of Liongam

e-mail: membership@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

ISSN 2634-1182 (Online version)

THE COAT OF ARMS

The journal of the Heraldry Society



Fourth Series

Volume V

2022

Number 239 in the original series started in 1952

Founding Editor

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

Honorary Editor

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

Reviews Editor

Dr Philip Allfrey, D.Phil., M.Litt., a.i.h.

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, F.H.S., Dip.H.S., a.i.h.

Prof D'Arcy J.D.Boulton, M.A., Ph.D., D.Phil., F.S.A., F.H.S., A.I.H.

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

Dr Steen Clemmensen, Ph.D., A.I.H.

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

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

Prof Dr Torsten Hiltmann, Ph.D., a.i.h.

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

Elizabeth Roads, L.V.O., LL.B., F.S.A., F.H.S., A.I.H.

Prof Fiona Robertson, M.A., M.Phil., D.Phil., F.S.A.

Advertising Manager

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

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

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

The symbolism of the African nations part 1: arms inspired by classical European heraldry. By Rolf Sutter and Paul A. Fox	1
The arms of Cistercian Abbeys as drawn by Dom Anselm Baker, part 5: Cheshire, Herefordshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Wales and Man. By Michael Carter	57
An early example of the arms of Normandy on a group of medieval furniture fittings from Norfolk. By Steven Ashley	79
The Dilke-Devereux armorial pedigree at Maxstoke Castle, Warwickshire By Bernard A. Juby	86
Transformation of heraldic decoration: the ‘Radcliffe Bed’ By Peter N. Lindfield	108
A question of wyverns or dolphins. By Steen Clemmensen	120
The enigmatic arms of Trencavel. By Daria S. Staroskolskaya	127
Heraldry in J.R.R. Tolkien’s legendarium By Agnieszka Żurek	145
Letters from Tregaron – a study in heraldic practice in Elizabethan Wales. By Robert J. Colley	183
Heraldic artefacts reported under the Treasure Act And the Portable Antiquities Scheme	201

BOOK REVIEWS

Hofman, <i>Armorial in Medieval Manuscripts: Collections of coats of arms as means of communication and historical sources in France and the Holy Roman Empire (13th – early 16th centuries)</i> . By Christof Rolker	214
--	-----

Koukouni, <i>Historical Archaeology and Heraldry on Chios.</i> By Steven Ashley	217
Thiry and Duerloo (edd.), <i>Heraldic Hierarchies: Identity, Status and State Intervention in Early Modern Heraldry.</i> By Philip Allfrey	220
Shand and Wallington-Smith, <i>Heraldry & Stained Glass at Apothecaries' Hall, London.</i> By Paul Jagger	223
Luxford, Ailes, and Powell (edd.), <i>The Founders' Book – A medieval history of Tewkesbury Abbey.</i> By Robert S Harrison	227
List of Abbreviations and recurring short titles	231

A QUESTION OF WYVERNS OR DOLPHINS

STEEN CLEMMENSEN F.S.A., A.I.H.

Abstract

This paper explores the distinctive brisures adopted by five brothers of the Mauley family in the late thirteenth century, and attempts to resolve a difficulty of identification caused by a contradiction between two rolls of arms.

For nearly one hundred years it has been common knowledge that Edmund Mauley, who drowned trying to cross the Bannock Burn outside Stirling Castle on Monday June 14th 1314, was buried or at least had his cenotaph in the church of Saint Andrews in Bainton in Yorkshire (**Figure 1**). That is except for a recent post on the tripadvisor website and a note in a book from 2019 by Brian and Moira Gittos, which suggests that the tomb was for his brother John.¹ The authors do not give much evidence for their conclusion, but do supply some hints.

The basic work on the monument was published in 1929 by a respected archaeologist William M. l'Anson and faithfully repeated not only by the monument experts Henry Lawrance in 1949, Mark Downing in 2014, and the armorist Gerard J. Brault in 1997, but also on numerous websites, so why should there be a problem?² Brault provides one reason. Bannockburn was not the first of Edmund's encounters with Stirling. Both brothers were present at the passage of a ford by the advance guard of the army of Edward I on May 30th 1304 during the siege of Stirling. The passage evolved into a skirmish, and the names and arms of the English participants were recorded in an armorial, the *Stirling Roll of Arms*, with John in ST:93 having wyverns as a brisure and Edmund in ST:95 having dolphins. When Brault considered the opposite combination supplied by a later armorial, the *Parliamentary Roll of Arms* (at N:720 and N:721), on the basis of the traditional attribution of the monument at Bainton carved with a shield bearing the wyverns, he concluded that the compiler of the *Stirling* must have transposed the names.³ It may have influenced him that Edmund was the better known of the two.

The Yorkshire Mauleys were latecomers with a peculiar attitude to naming. The eldest sons were always named Peter, and the later heads of the family numbered themselves. Peter I (d.1242) arrived from Poitou and rose in the service of King John. He was awarded the marriage of the heiress Isabel deTurnham in 1214, who brought him 33 knight's fees from her grandfather William Fossard of Mulgrave (d.1195). Among these properties was the advowson of Bainton. His son Peter II (d.1279) had four sons: his heir Peter

¹ B. & M. Gittos, *Interpreting medieval effigies - evidence from Yorkshire until 1400* (Oxford, 2019) pp. 71–2.

² W.M. l'Anson, 'The medieval military effigies of Yorkshire (Part II)', *Yorks Arch J*, vol. 20 (1929), pp. 1–67 (51–52); H. Lawrance: 'Heraldry from Military Monuments from before 1350' (Harl. Soc. no.98, 1946), p. 29; M. Downing, 'Military effigies of England & Wales, vol. 7. Warwickshire-Yorkshire East Riding' (Shrewsbury, 2014), p. 103; G.J. Brault, 'The Rolls of Arms of Edward I' (Woodbridge, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 287–8.

³ CA M.14 bis f. 269r-272r, the *Stirling Roll of Arms*, in Brault *Rolls*, op.cit., vol. 1 pp. 483–94 (492–3); BL Ms Cotton Caligula A.xviii, ff. 3r–21v, the *Parliamentary Roll of Arms*, edition by S. Clemmensen expected 2022; CEMRA pp. 36, 42.

WYVERNS OR DOLPHINS?



*Figure 1: top, The Mauley tomb in the Church of Saint Andrew, Bainton (Yorks ER). (photograph courtesy of Eddie Walker, Goolio60); bottom, drawing of the effigy from *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* vol. 29 (1929), p. 56.*

THE COAT OF ARMS

III (c.1249–1308), Robert (d.1331, who used eagles as his brisure), John (d.s.p.1331), Edmund (d.s.p.1314) and Stephen (d.s.p.1317), a royal clerk, archdeacon of Cleveland and rector of Bainton. Edmund had a fine career, possibly through an association with Piers Gaveston, the favourite of Edward II. That monarch created Gaveston Earl of Cornwall on August 6th 1307 as one of his first actions as king. Edmund de Mauley got his first royal grants the next year, and by 1310 had advanced to become steward of the royal household, a position he kept (with interruptions) until his death. We know very little of John, except that he must have been an efficient administrator as he was granted several properties by his nephew Peter IV (d.1348) including the family seat Mulgrave Castle.⁴

Two coats of arms are attributed to the Mauleys. The better known is *Or a bend sable*, but two armorials and a number of later extracts have *Vair a maunch gules*. Hugh Stanford London proposed that the latter was the ancient arms of Mauley and that the former was that of Fossard adopted by Mauley - but when? The only relevant evidence for the *maunch* comes from a Peter in *Glover's Roll* (B:124) of c.1255 and in the *St. George Roll* (E:115) of c.1285. The earliest evidence for the *bend* is in *Segar's Roll* (G:134) of c.1282, supported by seals of c.1300, and by the use of the bend by all the sons of Peter II. The sons became active c.1270.⁵ All three armorials are general compilations for which an overlap in time would not be surprising. The change of arms probably took place between 1260 and 1270 in the time of Fossard's great grandson Peter II. As we shall see, the old coat of arms was not forgotten. The sons differenced the new family arms with three small figures placed on the bend, except for the eldest, who used a label.

The monument in Bainton is located on the wall between two windows, and consists of a stone plinth with a worn effigy below a trefoiled niche, with three carved shields placed above. The warrior is fully armed and wears a shield carved with his arms. It is unusual in that the knight's head is bare and has long tonsured hair. Stylistically it has been dated to c.1336 by Anson and to 1330–40 by Downing. This is two decades after the death of the presumed occupant, a fact which puzzled Anson. The arms above the tomb have been repainted and are: firstly, *A hand holding a fleur-de-lis issuing from a maunch on a field vair* (Mauley ancient); secondly, *A bend with a label of five points* (Mauley modern, for an heir or cadet); and thirdly, *On a bend three wyverns*. The monument may be considered in combination with the 'Mauley' stained glass windows in York Minster (**Figures 2–4**) donated by archdeacon Stephen Mauley.⁶

⁴ GEC vol. 8 pp. 554–71 (559–60 note h); C. Moor, *The Knights of Edward I* vol. 3 (Harl.Soc., vol. 30, 1930), pp. 135–8.

⁵ Hugh S. London, 'Glover's and Walford's Rolls', in *Rolls of Arms of Henry III*, ed. A.R. Wagner, (London, 1967), pp. 67–204 (139); Brault *Rolls*, op.cit. vol.1, *St. George's Roll* pp. 202–256, *Segar's Roll* pp. 309–322; CEMRA pp.18–19,

⁶ D.J. Hawke, 'The Medieval Heraldry of York Minster', (Wakefield 1971), pp. 17, 77–79, 93 (pen drawing of arms), 101; P. Armstrong, *Bannockburn 1314. Robert Bruce's great victory*, (Oxford, 2002), p.19: drawing of a window with nearly illegible arms purporting to be wyverns on a bend. Hawke has Peter I as Peter Trehous and the 'maunch' as arms of Trehous. The stained glass was restored in 1903 and has parts that are still partly illegible.

WYVERNS OR DOLPHINS?



Figure 2: top, central section of the Mauley window in York Minster, fourth bay in South Aisle; bottom: left hand panel of the above window depicting on the left Robert Mauley and on the right Peter III de Mauley. Photographs by Paul A. Fox.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 3: centre panel of the Mauley Window in York Minster showing on the left Stephen de Mauley (incorrectly restored with arms of Edmund) and on the right his father Peter II de Mauley. Photograph by Paul A. Fox.

The description by Hawke gives left to right the arms of Robert (eagles) & Peter III (plain), Stephen (cleric holding dolphins) & Peter II (maunch), 'Edmund' (snakes) & 'John' (dolphins). The current configuration is an incorrect restoration as the shield held by Stephen had three crosslets on the bend according to notes made in 1640 by the herald painter and antiquarian John Withie, arms also found carved in stone on the south side of the nave.⁷

Further information from York Minster is supplied by a now lost effigy, damaged by the fire in 1829, but described and illustrated in varying quality.⁸ The descriptions

⁷ Hawke *York Minster*, op. cit., p. 17, shield no.8; Charles Jackson, 'Armorial tiles found at Rossington', in *The Herald and Genealogist*, vol. 2 (1865) pp. 500–502, with comments by J.G. Nichols on pp. 502–507 (504); Hawke *York Minster* p. 17, shield no.8. Editor's note: a number of windows in the Minster were significantly damaged by gunshot during the Civil War.

⁸ *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. 2 (1865), op. cit., pp. 503–4, see note 7.

WYVERNS OR DOLPHINS?

indicate that surcoat and shield from this lost tomb bore *A bend charged with three eaglets*, such as those found on tiles at the site of the former Rossington Manor, once held by Robert Mauley (d.1331). The tomb chest held the four arms of his brothers (plain bend, crosslets, wyvern, dolphins). This effectively confirms the crosslets as the brisure of archdeacon Stephen, leaving the wyvern and dolphins to be distributed between John and Edmund.

For the tomb and arms at Bainton to belong to Edmund it must be argued that his body was brought thence from Scotland to Yorkshire and the tomb constructed much later, perhaps as part of a rebuilding programme which followed a Scottish raid in 1322. By this time Peter IV had inherited the property of three of his uncles. The case for assigning the Bainton tomb and its wyverns to John rests on three arguments: 1 proximity in time; 2 proximity in property; 3 the hair.

John held Kilnwick by Watton, just four km southeast of Bainton, where he prospered as a local administrator of the family lands. He served as an attorney in 1286, and in 1300 was on a commission on intrusions into the lands of Peter IV, then a minor, (though Peter III was still living). In 1317 he became executor to his brother Stephen (d.s.p.1317) the archdeacon of Cleveland and rector of Bainton. Peter IV is known to have held court in Bainton in 1316, and to have paid considerable sums for his sins to the Minster, so he may have supported building work at Bainton.⁹

By 1322 John held the family seat of Mulgrave Castle and other properties of Peter IV for life, including some formerly of Edmund. John would have had the means to make a suitably impressive memorial for himself. He also succeeded his brother Stephen as rector in Bainton and was described as “knight and acolyte”. This suggests that the former warrior had taken minor orders and had duly been tonsured. L’Anson noted his surprise on the hair and the style of armour. Edmund, although he received part of the family lands as a fief of his father and brother, is not recorded in having anything to do with Bainton. He held in Seaton 22 km southeast of Bainton, and spent most of his career on royal service.¹⁰

The scholarly linkage of Edmund to Bainton is based solely on the dubious evidence of the Parliamentary Roll, and in a circular argument the Bainton tomb has been assumed to prove that the Parliamentary Roll is correct, and the Stirling Roll incorrect. The historical evidence rather points to John Mauley (d.s.p.1331), a former strenuous knight and present rector of Bainton, having made himself a memorial there marked with his arms *Or on a bend sable 3 wyverns argent*. In conclusion the author of the *Stirling Roll* appears to have had better control of his data than the later compiler of the *Parliamentary Roll*. This is to be expected given the differing nature of these two rolls.¹¹ This changes our understanding of right-hand panel of the Mauley window at York, which should be read John (vipers or wyverns) and Edmund (dolphins).

⁹ Moor *Knights*, op.cit., vol. 3 p. 137; Hawke *York Minster*, op.cit., p. 17

¹⁰ Edmund also held Ascot-in-Gt.Milton (Oxon) and had several royal grants for life.

¹¹ Of which rather more will be said in my forthcoming publication of the Parliamentary Roll.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 4: right hand panel of the Mauley Window in York Minster which the Stirling Roll identifies as on the left John de Mauley and on the right Edmund de Mauley.
Photograph by Paul A. Fox.