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The Political Repercussions of Family Ties in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Marriage of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France

By Elizabeth A. R. Brown

Medieval marriages in high places were political events. International weddings were negotiated like truces and treaties, and the marriages often affected the course of relations between the powers involved. The union of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France in 1308 is distinguished from other similar marriages by the power and ambitions of the two contracting parties, the couple's fathers, Edward I and Philip the Fair, and by the idiosyncrasies of character of the bride and groom, which eventually doomed the marriage. These, however, are differences of degree, not kind, and the rich surviving documentation concerning the union casts light on the dangers, the advantages, and the process of political marriage.

Three documents, hitherto unpublished,¹ illuminate the negotiations that preceded and followed the wedding. The first is a French memorandum written shortly before the wedding. Setting forth Philip the Fair's responses to requests made by Edward II after his father's death on 7 July 1307, it demonstrates the complexity of the issues raised by such marriages, issues that often remained the subject of negotiation even after the formal marriage contract was sealed. In this case, one was the settlement which Isabelle was

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- AN Paris, Archives nationales
- BL London, British Library
- BN Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
- PRO London, Public Record Office
- RS Rolls Series

¹ Excerpts from the first and third documents are found in Paul Charles Doherty, "Isabella, Queen of England, 1296-1330," D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1977, pp. 332-33. See nn. 5, 14, and 29 below.

to bring with her to the marriage, another the portion that Edward II would settle on her. Edward II was unable to secure all he wanted from the French, but, as the second document shows, he nonetheless increased the monetary and geographical value of his bride's dower on the day before their wedding. The importance of the grant in French eyes is witnessed by the fact that the act survives only in two copies entered into registers of the French chancery. The third document, another French memorandum, dates from the period immediately following the wedding. Listing numerous points to be raised by envoys to England, either those attending the coronation of Edward and Isabelle on 25 February 1308 or those sent later in the spring, the memorandum witnesses Philip the Fair's continued interest in dynastic questions and the welfare of his daughter, whose arrival in England had been blighted by her husband's attachment to Piers Gaveston.

The marriage of Edward and Isabelle took place at Boulogne-sur-Mer on 25 January 1308. Arranged by Boniface VIII in 1298 to bring peace to the two kingdoms,² the union signally failed to accomplish this goal.³ Boniface's aspirations, shared by many others, were frustrated for two principal reasons. First, the king of England's tenure of the duchy of Guyenne from the king of France was a perpetual and inevitable source of conflict. No marital alliance was likely to dissipate the problems raised by the subordination to another monarch of a duke who was also king of a powerful nation. The eventual passage of the duchy to an heir bound by ties of blood to both king-duke and king was wishfully seen as a solution, but there was no realistic reason to think that such bonds could resolve the anomaly inherent in the feudal ties which witnessed the inferiority of one monarch to another — particularly when one prided himself on his inherent preeminence as most Christian king. No less important, the family bonds created by marriage added a domestic dimension to the sources of conflict which already existed.

Boniface's sanguine expectations were clearly based on trust that Edward's and Isabelle's union would be harmonious, that they and Philip the Fair's sons would produce successors, and that these heirs to the two thrones would

² Thomas Rymer and Robert Sanderson, eds., *Foedera, conventiones, litterae . . .*, ed. Adam Clarke and Frederick Holbrooke, 4 vols. (London, 1816–69), 1/2:894–95; see also the provisions of the Treaty of Montreuil (19 June 1299), *ibid.*, 1/2:906–7.

³ According to Walter of Guisborough, when in March 1307 the cardinal bishop of Santa Sabina appeared before the Parliament of Carlisle, he stressed the *bonum pacis* which the marriage would produce: *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, Previously Edited as the Chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*, ed. Harry Rothwell, Camden Series 89 (London, 1957), p. 370. Two later fourteenth-century chroniclers decried the marriage as the source of *multa scandala, infinita mala*, and *guerrarum dispendia*: Amaury Augier of Béziers, in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. Etienne Baluze and Guillaume Mollat, 4 vols. (Paris, 1914–27), 1:93; *Chronica monasterii de Melsa . . .*, ed. Edward Augustus Bond, 3 vols., RS 43 (London, 1866–68), 2:279. Similarly, the chronicle attributed to William Rishanger (to 1306) states that in 1299 Edward I married Philip the Fair's half sister Marguerite in hopes of attaining perpetual peace and recovering all his overseas rights but notes that "In nullo tamen, ut probavit exposit rei exitus, per hoc matrimonium promovit regnum suum": *Chronica monasterii S. Albani*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 6 vols., RS 28 (London, 1863–73), 2:192.

be bound by ties of mutual affection. The dynastic tragedies suffered by the Capetian line, which in 1328 made Edward III the logical successor to the throne of France, could hardly have been foreseen in 1298 or in 1308. In the short run, however, the strange affections and curious temperament of Edward I's son (which grew more pronounced with the passage of time) hardly promised the domestic concord which would have promoted peace between the two nations.⁴ Because of the marriage Philip the Fair necessarily became involved in the domestic difficulties created by Edward II's close relationship with Piers Gaveston.

The problems likely to arise after the marriage were foreshadowed before the wedding. They are reflected in articles, published below (No. 1), which were drafted by Philip the Fair's advisers for dispatch to the English court some months after the death of Edward I on 7 July 1307.⁵ Referring to numerous instances of disobedience in Gascony following Edward's death, the memorandum must have been drawn up in the fall or winter of 1307, when preparations for Edward II's marriage to Isabelle were under way.

Expecting the marriage to bring him political advantage in Gascony and financial profit through the handsome settlement he hoped Isabelle would bring with her, Edward had evidently appealed to his future father-in-law for grace and favor. Among other things, he had intimated that he wanted to exercise guardianship over the churches of Gascony; he had also complained about appeals from Gascon judges to the court of France. Further, he and his advisers had raised the question of Isabelle's marriage portion. Such tactics were ill-advised. Then as later, Philip the Fair was too shrewd — and in all likelihood too suspicious of Edward — to permit personal or familial considerations to jeopardize his own political and economic advantage. Edward's petition offered Philip and his counselors an occasion to reject the postulant and rebuke him for his inappropriate requests. The issues raised in the memorandum concerned Philip not only as sovereign, but also as father, and the king doubtless took a personal interest in the replies contained in the document.

⁴ According to the anonymous biographer of Edward II, the realm cherished great hopes of him while he was Prince of Wales, although all such expectations vanished when he became king: *Vita Edwardi secundi monachi cuiusdam Malmesberiensis* . . . , ed. N. Denholm-Young (London, 1957), p. 40. The difficult side of Edward's character had, however, been revealed as early as 1304, and his attachment to Piers Gaveston had resulted in Piers's exile early in 1307 and the favorite's immediate recall after Edward I's death: Jeffrey Scott Hamilton, "Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, 1307–1312," Ph.D. diss., Emory University (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982), pp. 35, 38–41, 46–53, 57–73; idem, "Dry Run for Deposition: Queen Isabella and the Death of Piers Gaveston," unpublished paper; Doherty, "Isabella," pp. 21–44; Hilda Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon, 1284–1307*, Publications of the University of Manchester 295, Historical Series 83 (Manchester, 1946), pp. 96–127, and also, for his later problems, pp. 129–30; and eadem, "The Eccentricities of Edward II," *English Historical Review* 48 (1933), 264–67.

⁵ AN, J 654, no. 8, an excerpt from which is given in Doherty, "Isabella," p. 332; see also p. 24. These *articuli* were items for discussion and response, often employed as the basis of negotiation during the fourteenth century: see the report of Philip the Fair's envoys to the papal court dated 24 December (1310) in MGH Const 4/1, ed. Jakob Schwalm (Hannover, 1906), pp. 469–70, no. 514; and also Charles-Victor Langlois, "Lettres missives, suppliques, pétitions, doléances," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 36 (Paris, 1927), p. 552.

Edward had apparently been bold and tactless enough to suggest that his bride was bringing precious little with her to their union, and indeed no marriage portion was specified in the agreements that had been negotiated. Philip the Fair's own position on the question had been made clear in March 1307, when Peter the Spaniard, cardinal bishop of Santa Sabina, appeared before the Parliament gathered in Edward I's presence at Carlisle. There the king, his son, and all assembled agreed to the marriage between the young Edward and Isabelle, "since the king of France had granted to the prince and his daughter all the lands which once pertained to the crown of England, reserving to himself only the homages due from the lands."⁶ But more was now asked.

To the French, such demands smacked of greed; they sparked the eloquence of Philip the Fair's advisers. Adhering to the position adopted at the Parliament of Carlisle, the memorandum stated that the king of France was giving with his daughter the duchy of Aquitaine and all Edward's continental lands, which had been duly forfeited. This was her portion, and the king of England should be pleased to have it. Had it not been for the marriage and the French king's hopes to see a grandchild hold the lands, he would never have considered relinquishing them. This territory, which had burdened the king of France with great expenses, could lawfully have been retained because of fines and forfeitures for disobedience. These had been remitted to Edward I to encourage the marriage,⁷ but since Edward's death they had again mounted up, and only Philip's kindheartedness kept him from demanding them. Further, penalties required in Boniface's pronouncement had never been paid, and other crushing sums could have been required. Philip the Fair, the memorandum declared, would be justified in proclaiming the duchy forfeit because of the insubordination manifested there.

⁶ ". . . le roy Dengleterre e le prince, erseueqes e euesqes, abbes e priours, countes e barouns, e tout le comun consayl le roi e tote le commune de la terre, si sunt assentuz au mariage par entre le prince e la fille au roi de Fraunce, issy qe totes les terres, qe ounges furent purtenanz a la courone Dengleterre, le roy de Fraunce ad graunte au prince e a sa fille, yssy qe il nient reserue a luy fors tauntsoulement les homages pur les dites terres": a newsletter from Carlisle, published in H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, "The Parliament of Carlisle, 1307: Some New Documents," *English Historical Review* 53 (1938), 436 and also 430–31 (repr. in H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* [London, 1981], no. XII); see also Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, pp. 119–21, and Doherty, "Isabella," pp. 14–18.

⁷ In 1307 (that is, between Easter, 26 March, and the death of Edward I on 7 July) Philip the Fair issued a letter canceling and remitting the fines incurred by Edward and his officials in Gascony, on condition that the terms of the peace treaty of 1303 be executed before the following Christmas. The favor was granted at the request of Clement V. For the letter, known through references in the *Gascon Calendar* and a letter which Philip issued in October 1310, see *The Gascon Calendar of 1322, Edited from Miscellaneous Books, Exchequer Treasury of Receipt, Volume 187, in the Public Record Office*, ed. George P. Cuttino, Camden Third Series 70 (London, 1939), nos. 61, 611 (hereafter *Gascon Calendar*); and *Gascon Register A (Series of 1318–1319) Edited from British Museum Cottonian MS. Julius E.i.*, ed. George P. Cuttino with Jean-Paul Trabut-Cussac, 3 vols. (London, 1975–76), 2:350–51, no. 68, and also 365, no. 78 (hereafter *Gascon Register A*); see n. 16 below. On the efforts of Clement V to accomplish peace between Edward I and Philip the Fair in 1306 and 1307, see Georges Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe IV le Bel* (Paris, 1910), pp. 63–64, 69–70.

Regarding Edward's requests, the memorandum asserted that they could scarcely be considered until the peace treaty concluded between Philip the Fair and Edward I in 1303 was confirmed and fully implemented. Edward's continental subjects should first demonstrate obedience to the sovereign jurisdiction of the king of France; all property illegally seized should first be restored. Edward's demand for the guardianship of churches was condemned as ugly and shameful, a threat to Philip the Fair's own prospects for salvation. For the king of France to abandon his responsibilities as guardian of churches would be to sin mortally against God and break the oath he had sworn at his coronation.⁸ As to the troublesome question of appeals from the duchy to the court of France,⁹ the memorandum blamed any problems purely and

⁸ The same argument was advanced in a French memorandum drawn up in 1309 or early 1310: AN, J 654, no. 14. Henry III had also employed it in January 1264 in complaints against the English barons presented to Louis IX: *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion*, ed. R. E. Treharne and I. J. Sanders (Oxford, 1973), pp. 256–57.

⁹ In July 1286 Philip the Fair granted Edward I for his lifetime important privileges regarding appeals from Edward's southern lands. No penalties or forfeitures would be imposed on Edward or his officials if the appeals were justified; if they were not, Edward's right to penalties or forfeitures was guaranteed; all appellants were to be referred back to the judges from whom they had appealed, who would have three months to take appropriate action. The privilege is published in a French version dated July 1286 in *Foedera*, 1/2:665–66, "Ex Litt. & Autogr. Edw. I in Turr. Lond." (see also BN, MS Moreau 638 [Bréquigny 5, Guyenne, 1280–1283], fol. 168 [copied from the Red Book of the Exchequer], and MS Moreau 689 [Bréquigny 65, Pièces historiques III, 1278–1287], fols. 265r–68v [two copies "Ex Bondellis in turre London'."] and in *The Red Book of the Exchequer (Liber rubeus de Scaccario)*, ed. Hubert Hall, 3 vols., RS 99 (London, 1896), 3:1055–56; see James Robert Carter, Jr., "British Museum Manuscript Cottonian Julius E. I. Folios 281 Recto–352 Verso," M.A. thesis, Emory University, 1968, pp. 55–56, and idem, "Gascon Archival Materials in a British Museum Manuscript," *Manuscripta* 16 (1972), 150, no. 121. It is published in an undated Latin version in *Les Olim . . .*, ed. Arthur-Auguste Beugnot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1839–44), 2:44–45, no. XXXV (see also p. 42, no. XVII). For both the French and Latin versions see Charles-Victor Langlois, *Textes relatifs à l'histoire du Parlement depuis les origines jusqu'en 1314*, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire 5 (Paris, 1888), pp. 130–32, no. XCVIII. On the privilege, see *ibid.*, p. 130, n. 1, and the references in *Gascon Calendar*, nos. 71, 555, 610, 1211 (all dating the document 1286). A copy of the privilege in French is found in *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race . . .*, ed. Eusèbe-Jacob de Laurière, 22 vols. and Supplement (Paris, 1723–1849), 1:119. Said to be taken from the royal register JJ 33, fol. 45, no. 63 (now missing from the Archives nationales), it bears the incorrect date 1283. This date, first accepted by Charles-Victor Langlois (*Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi* [Paris, 1887], pp. 281–82), was later rejected by him (*Textes*, p. 130, n. 1); cf. George P. Cuttino, *English Diplomatic Administration, 1259–1339*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1971), p. 9. Edward II persistently (and vainly) attempted to secure renewal and even expansion of this privilege for himself. For the summer of 1308 (when a six-month grace period was asked), see AN, J 654, no. 24; BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fols. 291r, 306v, 312v–13r; *Lettres de rois, reines et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV tirées des archives de Londres par Bréquigny*, ed. Jacques-Joseph Champollion-Figeac, 2 vols. (Paris, 1839–47), 2:48, no. XXIX (hereafter Bréquigny); Carter, "British Museum Manuscript," pp. 46, 105, 122. For 1310, see *Gascon Register A*, 2:356–57, no. 72. For 1312 (when Edward claimed that the privilege of having appeals referred back for three months had been granted *imperpetuum*), see AN, J 654, no. 7; BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fol. 309v; Carter, "British Museum Manuscript," p. 118; Bréquigny, 2:40, no. XXVII; Langlois, *Textes*, p. 188, no. CXXXVII; for the date, see below, nn. 15 and 32. For 1313 (a request for an extension to six months), see BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fols. 312v–13r; Carter, "British Museum Manuscript," p. 122. For 1314 (when Queen Isabelle asked that the

simply on the undisciplined nature of the Gascons and the duke's officials. Patronizingly, the memorandum counseled Philip the Fair's future son-in-law to remedy the situation by installing good officers, who, the memorandum implied, should be chosen according to such exemplary principles as Philip himself had enunciated in his Great Ordonnance of Reform of 1303.¹⁰ Working together, he and Edward could deal with all jurisdictional problems and could control and pacify the land; without Philip's sovereign presence the Gascons would prove more troublesome than the Scots. Anyone who suggested that Edward would be better off ruling Gascony alone was, the memorandum cautioned, giving bad advice.

Edward II's marriage to Isabelle in January 1308 did nothing to alter Philip the Fair's posture. Some progress in negotiations was made at Boulogne at the time of the wedding.¹¹ Edward did homage to Philip, the treaty of 1303 was confirmed, and a commission was established to settle mutual complaints arising from the recent war between France and England.¹² Philip himself gained one advantage for his daughter and, through her, for himself. On 24 January 1308, the day before the wedding, Edward increased the annual value of Isabelle's dower from the 18,000 *l.t.* stipulated in Boniface VIII's award to 20,000 *l.t.* Further, although on 25 July 1299 all of Isabelle's

privilege be extended to Ponthieu), see PRO, E 20 (Diplomatic Documents, Exchequer) /1530. For 1315 see PRO, C 47 (Diplomatic Documents, Chancery) /27/8/34. For 1321 (when an extension to six months was asked) see AN, J 654, nos. 8bis and 15ter.

¹⁰ Compare the remedies proposed in the memorandum with clauses 18, 23, and 27 of the ordinance of 1303, in *Ordonnances*, 1:360–62.

¹¹ On negotiations at Boulogne see also Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *Customary Aids and Royal Finance in Capetian France: The Marriage Aid of Philip the Fair* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), ch. 1, and n. 17 below.

¹² For the renewal of the peace treaty by Philip and Edward, see Pierre Chaplais, "Le duché-pairie de Guyenne: L'hommage et les services féodaux de 1303 à 1337," *Annales du Midi* 70 (1958), 143 (repr. in idem, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* [London, 1981], no. IV); see also Charles Johnson, "The Homage for Guienne in 1304," *English Historical Review* 23 (1908), 728–29. Just when Edward did homage to Philip is not clear: Chaplais, loc. cit.; Yves Renouard, ed., *Rôles gascons, 4: 1307–1317* (Paris, 1962), p. xiii, n. 4. According to the Continuator (to 1327) of Gervase of Canterbury's *Gesta regum*, Edward performed two homages (for Gascony and Ponthieu) on his marriage day; the *Annales Paulini* simply states that while he was in Boulogne he did homage "pro terris suis quas ab [rege Francie] tenuit": *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols., RS 73 (London, 1879–80), 2:322; *Annales Paulini*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II Edited from Manuscripts*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols., RS 76 (London, 1882–83), 1:258. The peace treaty had been confirmed and homage performed by 29 January: *Acta Aragonensia . . .*, ed. Heinrich Finke, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1908–22), 3:175, no. 76. For the bipartite commission, see the letter which the bishop of Norwich and the earl of Richmond addressed to Edward II on 18 October 1310, in Pierre Chaplais, "Règlement des conflits internationaux franco-anglais au XIVe siècle," *Le Moyen Age*, 4th ser., 6, vol. 57 (1951), 299–300, and also 281 (repr. in idem, *Essays*, no. IX); the document is published in its full context in *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice. Part I: Documents and Interpretation*, ed. Pierre Chaplais, 2 vols. (London, 1982), 2:727–29, at 728, no. 348(c). Further, a letter of credence for Thomas de Cobham, probably issued on 20 June 1311, refers to the projects "pur acomplissement des pees . . . et pur ladrescement des supprimez" which were discussed and agreed to at Boulogne and then confirmed by Philip the Fair at Poitiers: *ibid.*, 1:407, no. 232(c). For background, see Cuttino, *English Diplomatic Administration*, pp. 62–87.

prospective dower income was planned to be drawn from English lands, the peace of 1303 meant that the king of England once again disposed of continental lands on which, in accordance with the treaty of Montreuil-sur-Mer of 19 July 1299, half of Isabelle's dower was to be assigned. Thus, on 24 January Edward II promised to grant Isabelle half of her endowment on his holdings in the realm of France — Ponthieu and Montreuil-sur-Mer, and, if these lands were not sufficient, lands in the Agenais. Edward's commitment was important to Philip. The French king retained a copy of the letter, which is published below (No. 2). He had it carefully recorded in one of his registers; it was transcribed again in a formal register compiled for the chancellor Pierre d'Etampes.¹³

Edward's action did not satisfy Philip, who wanted more than this. The treaty of Montreuil-sur-Mer, which provided for the marriage of Isabelle and the young Edward as well as that of Philip's half sister Marguerite and Edward I, had implied that Philip himself would be receiving the dower lands in the brides' names. Philip pressed Edward to seal a letter in which the obligations regarding Isabelle's dower would be undertaken to Philip instead of to Isabelle herself, as was done in the letter of 24 January 1308. As Philip later let it be known, he had had an appropriate instrument drafted because he had heard from both French and English experts that after the marriage the husband could enter into no agreement with his wife concerning the dower or any other matter. But Edward refused to seal any such document.¹⁴ For

¹³ For the award of 1308, see AN, JJ 44, fol. 67, no. 103, and BN, MS lat. 10919 (formerly Register XXIX of the Trésor des Chartes), fol. 208, published below; on the second register, prepared for Pierre d'Etampes, chancellor from 1307 to 1324, see H.-François Delaborde, "Étude sur la constitution du Trésor des Chartes et sur les origines de la série des sacs dite aujourd'hui Supplément du Trésor des Chartes," in *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet et al., 5 vols. (Paris, 1863–1909), 5:xlviij–viiij. On the dower, see Doherty, "Isabella," pp. 11, 28. The treaty of 19 June 1299, drawn up before Edward I had recovered his continental lands, specified the value of the dower and stated that if Edward I or his son possessed lands in France up to the value of half the dower at the time of the marriage, "li roys de Fraunce por sa dite fille e en nom de ly avera, panra, e recevra la dite moytie en la dite terre quil ont ou quil auront ou roiaume de Fraunce par renable assise de terre, en quitant e en delaisant lassignacion que auroit este faite en Angleterre jusques a la quantite de la dite moytie": *Gascon Register A*, 2:654, no. 314; see also 660, no. 315; the treaty contains a similar provision regarding Marguerite's dower. For the lands which on 25 July 1299 were planned for assignment to Isabelle, see AN, J 655, no. 17^{quater}, the French counterpart (right-hand half) of a bipartite indenture ("La value des terres & des tenementz qe sont a assigner en non de dolkeire a dame Jsabel fille au Roi de ffrance / La quele Sire Edward fuiz al Roi Dengleterre prendra a femme. cest assauoir / pur dys & oyt Mile Liueeres de terre / de Tournoy / par le commandement le Roi al Eschekier a la feste Seint Jaque Lapostre. Lan du Regne du dit Roi Dengleterre vint & Septisme"). All the lands lay in England, and their value was approximately 4,500 pounds sterling, equivalent to 18,000 *l.t.*). The document was copied in the early-fourteenth-century chancery Register XXIX (BN, MS lat. 10919), fols. 205v–6v.

¹⁴ AN, J 654, no. 25, published below, and Doherty, "Isabella," p. 333, a segment of the document, where many readings differ from mine. As has been seen, Edward established the terms of Isabelle's assignment on the day before the wedding. Similarly, the dower assignment which Edward I made at Canterbury on 10 September 1299 to Marguerite, Philip the Fair's half sister, seems to have been made before their marriage; the assignment (which increased the value of the dower from 15,000 *l.t.* to 18,000 *l.t.*) refers to Marguerite not as queen but simply

his part, Philip rebuffed Edward's fresh petition for guardianship over churches in the duchy.¹⁵ Edward did obtain one valuable favor when Philip renewed the conditional remission of penalties in Gascony which his father had received in 1307.¹⁶ However, when he did homage to the king of France for his continental holdings, Edward found himself the recipient of a lengthy

as the sister of the king of France: *Foedera*, 1/2:912–13. The dates given by the chronicles for the marriage vary from 9 to 12 September, but the dower assignment indicates that the wedding did not take place before 10 September, and this is confirmed by an entry in *De antiquis legibus liber: Chronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum et quedam, que contingebant temporibus illis ab anno MCLXXVIII° ad annum MCCLXXIV°*, ed. Thomas Stapleton, Camden Society Publications 34 (London, 1846), p. 249 (10 September, Canterbury, "épousa l'awandite Meregrete"); see also *Flores historiarum* (to 1326), ed. Henry Richards Luard, 3 vols., RS 95 (London, 1890), 3:299 (10 September, Canterbury, "sibi matrimonialiter copulavit"); and *Annales prioratus de Wigornia (A.D. 1–1377)*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 5 vols., RS 36 (London, 1864–69), 4:542 (10 September, Canterbury, "cepit in conjugem"). Cf. the continuation (to 1327) of Gervase of Canterbury, ed. Stubbs, 2:317–18 (9 September, Canterbury, "celebravit sponsalia"); *Walter of Guisborough* (to 1312), p. 332 (10 September, London, "matrimonialis sollempnia"); the chronicle attributed to William Rishanger (to 1306), ed. Riley, p. 192 ("die quarto post Nativitatem Virginis gloriosae," "in ecclesia Metropolitana Angliae," "solemnitas matrimonii celebratur"); Doherty, "Isabella," p. 28. For Marguerite's dower, see also AN, J 655, no. 19, the French counterpart (right-hand half of a bipartite indenture) of an enumeration and valuation of the lands assigned to Marguerite on 25 July 1299, written in an English bastard hand different from that of the assignment made to Isabelle on the same day; copied in Register XXIX of the Trésor des Chartes (BN, MS lat. 10919), fols. 204r–5v; published in *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice*, ed. Chaplais, 2:496–97, no. 251.

¹⁵ In his answer to a petition presented by Edward II at Poitiers in the summer of 1308 (for which see nn. 16, 17, 32, and 43 below) Philip rejected a request, "ausi come na guaires fu pryé a Boloigne," that the duke and his successors should have rights of guardianship over the churches of the duchy: PRO, C 47/31/21 and C 47/29/6; BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fols. 294v, 309v; Bréquigny, 2:58, no. XXIX; Carter, "British Museum Manuscript," p. 117; idem, "Gascon Archival Materials," p. 151, nos. 24–25. Interceding with Philip on Edward's behalf at the Council of Vienne in 1312, Clement V raised this issue again and demanded that the king and his seneschals "non alias assumant gardias ecclesiarum [sic] cathedralium uel aliarum in baronia sen' [for seu?] infra baroniam dicti regis & ducis nec gardiatorem aliquem concedant eisdem quousque coram domino rege francie uocatis partibus & auditis eorum rationibus sit cognitum quod per ipsum regem propter usum antiquum [sic] & continuum seu priuilegium validum debeant gardiari & quod dictum ius commune declaratur eidem": BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i., fol. 326r; Carter, "British Museum Manuscript," p. 175. On Clement's intervention, see n. 32 below. After the Council of Vienne, on 24 August 1312, Philip wrote to Clement V claiming the right of *patronatus* over the property of the Templars: Pierre Dupuy, *Traitez concernant l'histoire de France, scauoir la condemnation des Templiers . . .* (Paris, 1700), pp. 210–12; see n. 32 below.

¹⁶ See n. 7 above. A petition which John de Hastings, seneschal of Gascony, submitted to Philip the Fair between 1309 and 1311 referred to the *grace* obtained by Edward when he married Isabelle, by which "touz les trespas faiz par lui ou par ses genz jusques a celui jour ou quanque a vous se pooit appartenir furent remis": AN, J 655, no. 26; on John de Hastings, see Renouard, ed., *Rôles gascons*, 4:xx. On the letter see also *Gascon Calendar*, no. 613. What term was set in this letter is unclear, but in the summer of 1308 Edward's agents asked Philip the Fair "que excès & desobeissances qui porroient estre mis sus li / ou sus les Ministres ou Subgez puis la derraine pais soient quict & relaisiez / Et touz proces & deffauz Se aucuns a instance de quelx qui soient en sont fait ou graantee soient rapelle & anulle": PRO, C 47/31/21, a fourteenth-century copy of the Poitiers articles referred to in the preceding note. Philip balked at granting any such blanket forgiveness to Edward's subjects, but he may have given Edward an extension of the

list of complaints.¹⁷ The French also apparently claimed a penalty of 100,000 marks because the English had not surrendered Bordeaux. The city's status was ambiguous — and, consequently, Edward II's right to it — since Philip the Fair had not yet pardoned Bordeaux the rebellion raised in 1303 against his authority. On 18 July 1308 forgiveness was finally granted, at the request

grace awarded in January 1308. At some point the privilege must have been extended; a French memorandum, probably written in 1309 (and surely before Easter [19 April] of 1310) refers to a conditional extension of forgiveness until 24 June following: AN, J 654, no. 14. For later extensions see *Gascon Register A*, 2:350–51, no. 68; *Gascon Calendar*, nos. 44, 62–66, 68; and *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice*, ed. Chaplais, 1:409, no. 232(e), a letter of Philip the Fair issued at Saint-Ouen on 13 August 1311, in which the king referred to the extension he had granted until the feast of Saint John the Baptist (24 June) just past. When Edward and Isabelle attended Pentecost festivities in Paris in 1313, Philip granted a remission without limit of time. For the letter, dated at Poissy on 2 July 1313, see *Foedera*, 2/1:220; AN, JJ 49, fol. 40r, no. 82; BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fol. 322r; Carter, “British Museum Manuscript,” pp. 156–57; *Gascon Calendar*, no. 69 (noté that no. 43 refers to decisions handed down by the Parlement of Paris in 1286, confirmed in favor of Edward II in 1313). This remission was renewed by Louis X in a letter issued at Paris on 15 June 1315, and by Philip V in 1319 at Pontoise: *Foedera*, 2/1:270; BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fol. 327v; Carter, “British Museum Manuscript,” p. 183; *Gascon Calendar*, no. 615, and cf. no. 72.

¹⁷ Four copies of these demands survive in the English archives. One of them, a simple copy of Philip's requests, is entitled “Articuli ex parte ffrancie Regis Bolonie propositi tempore homagii facti Anno gratie Millesimo . . .”: PRO, C 47/29/6/4. Three other copies contain responses formulated by advisers of the king of England: PRO, C 47/29/6/3 (with responses of Bernard Pelet, prior of Le Mas d'Agenais, professor of both laws, and one of Edward II's Gascon councillors, on whom see Renouard, ed., *Rôles gascons*, 4:xxv); PRO, C 47/29/6/5 (two copies with different sets of responses, both of which were copied in BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, published in *Gascon Register A*, 2:367–73, no. 78); and PRO, C 47/29/8/1, which appears to have served as the basis for the second set of articles and responses found in C 47/29/6/5, and on the dorse of which is found a list of points to be considered by English negotiators, drawn up after 1311. On the articles of Boulogne see Pierre Chaplais, “La souveraineté du roi de France et le pouvoir législatif en Guyenne au début du XIVe siècle,” *Le Moyen Age* 69 (1963), 453, n. 18 (reprinted in idem, *Essays*, no. V); and *Gascon Calendar*, no. 175; see also *Gascon Register A*, 1:14, no. 2, for a roll of two membranes containing articles proposed at Boulogne, which were delivered to the Exchequer on 10 June 1317. Note that the articles found in BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fol. 294v(–95r), to which Cuttino refers as a French text of the Boulogne articles (*Gascon Calendar*, no. 175), are actually articles presented by Philip the Fair to Edward's emissaries at Poitiers in the summer of 1308: Bréquigny, pp. 59–61, no. XXIX; Carter, “British Museum Manuscript,” pp. 53–55; idem, “Gascon Archival Materials,” p. 150, no. 22. They contain only twelve items, whereas twenty-one were enumerated in the Boulogne articles, and even when similar, they differ in content and phraseology from the Boulogne demands; most important, the introduction to the list follows the English articles presented at Poitiers in two partial, damaged fourteenth-century copies, PRO, C 47/29/6/1–1a, and C 47/31/21; I hope to publish these articles in the near future. Three privileges in BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fols. 298v–99r, have sometimes been linked to Boulogne and January 1308: *Gascon Calendar*, nos. 584 and 1891; Carter, “British Museum Manuscript,” pp. xix, 66–69; idem, “Gascon Archival Materials,” pp. 150–51, no. 23. This seems, however, impossible, since one of the three privileges (the other two deal with appeals) granted the king of England the right of guardianship over churches which he vainly sought at the time of his marriage; this privilege was finally awarded, owing to the intervention of Clement V on Edward's behalf, at or shortly after the Council of Vienne in 1312: BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fol. 326; see Carter, “British Museum Manuscript,” pp. 175–76, and idem, “Gascon Archival Materials,” p. 154, no. 76. On Clement's intervention, see n. 32 below.

of the Bordelais pope, Clement V, but the English continued to be apprehensive concerning the strict legality of their position in the city.¹⁸

The personal bonds between Edward and Philip created by the marriage placed severe strains on their relationship, chiefly because of Edward's devotion to Piers Gaveston, on whom the English king was said to have bestowed the magnificent wedding gifts presented by his father-in-law.¹⁹ The French king and his daughter inevitably became enmeshed in the conflict between Edward and his barons which centered on the favorite. Philip may not have been involved in (or even known of) the agreement "to guard the king's honor and the rights of his crown" which the English magnates who attended the wedding in Boulogne drew up on 31 January 1308,²⁰ but he surely learned of the opposition to Gaveston manifested at the coronation on 25 February. There Piers appeared "ut potius diceretur deus Martis quam homo terrenus."²¹ Piers's pretensions and Edward's devotion to him were witnessed by Isabelle's uncles, Charles of Valois and Louis of Evreux, as well as a number of other high-ranking French nobles and Philip the Fair's chamberlain, Enguerran de Marigny.²² The French magnates may well have joined

¹⁸ "Jtem ex alia causa dicta civitas Burdel'. poni potest ad manum Regis ffranc' que continetur in treugis inter Reges anglie & ffranc'. quondam initis contra quarum vices & effectus dicta civitas Surpresa erat per gentes Regis Angl'. & nondum erat Regi ffranc'. restituta prout secundum tenorem dictarum treugarum sibi restitui deberet, & quia dicte treuge vallate sunt pena centum Milium Marcarum, dictus Rex ffranc'. eam petere potest racione non restitutionis dicte civitatis commissam, & petita erat Bolonie ex parte Regis ffranc' a patre domini nostri Regis anno regni Sui primo dictaque peticio ad Supplicationem ejusdem domini nostri huc usque posita fuit & est in Suspensio" (italics added): BN, MS Moreau 693 (Bréquigny 69, Pièces historiques VII, 1311–1313), fol. 270, an eighteenth-century copy of a memorandum of the time of Edward III attached to a copy of the summons to arms which Philip the Fair issued to Edward II on 28 June 1313. On the rebellion and Bordeaux's status, see J.-P. Trabut-Cussac, "Bordeaux sous Philippe le Bel," in *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, ed. Yves Renouard, vol. 2 of *Histoire de Bordeaux*, ed. Charles Higounet (Bordeaux, 1965), pp. 207–12; idem, *L'administration anglaise en Gascogne sous Henry III et Edouard I de 1254 à 1307*, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes 20 (Paris, 1972), pp. 111, 127–37, and particularly pp. 133–34 for the oath taken on 16 January 1307 to Bordeaux by Prince Edward's proctors and the city's oath of fidelity to the prince.

¹⁹ "Rex Franciae dedit regi Angliae genero suo annulum regni sui, cubile suum quam pulcrum oculis non vidit aliud, destrarios electos et alia donaria multa nimis. Quae omnia rex Angliae concito Petro misit": *Annales Paulini*, p. 258. See also Doherty, "Isabella," p. 26, and BL, MS Cott. Nero D X, fol. 108v.

²⁰ J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307–1324: Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 25–28 and, for the document, p. 316; J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307–1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 72–73; see also Hamilton, "Piers Gaveston," p. 78.

²¹ *Flores historiarum*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 3 vols., RS 95 (London, 1890), 3:141–42.

²² BN, MS Moreau 692 (Bréquigny 68, Pièces historiques VI, 1306–1310), fol. 47; see Jean Favier, *Un conseiller de Philippe le Bel, Enguerran de Marigny*, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes 16 (Paris, 1963), p. 121, although note that the day when Philip the Fair's letter was issued, Friday following Candlemas, fell on 9 February in 1308. This letter shows that Philip sent Charles of Valois, Guy, count of Saint-Pol, and Enguerran as his special emissaries. The *Annales Paulini* lists among those present Louis of Evreux, the duke and duchess of Brabant, and the count of Savoy; later chronicles embroidered this account: *Annales Paulini*, 1:258.

leading English nobles in demanding Piers's removal from court.²³ According to the *Annales Paulini*, Isabelle's uncles, "seeing that the king frequented Piers's couch more than the queen's," returned indignant to the French court.²⁴ Isabelle was at most twelve years old when she was married, but, young as she was by our standards, she may have anticipated receiving Edward immediately as her husband.²⁵ The comment in the *Annales Paulini* concerning her uncles' reaction to Edward's infatuation with Gaveston suggests that this was their expectation.

Philip the Fair had cause for concern in the months following the marriage. Piers Gaveston was still at court and Edward was still defending him. Edward had done nothing to effect the assignment of Isabelle's dower — in striking contrast with the comportment of Edward I, who, immediately before his marriage to Philip's half sister Marguerite, had bestowed on her lands in England worth 18,000 *l.t.* a year.²⁶ He may well have concluded that, as Thomas Walsingham later said, Isabelle's lack "of necessary things" was attributable to Piers. According to Walsingham, Isabelle's situation led her "tearfully to complain to her father that she was destitute of the honor due her," and this in turn aroused Philip's hostility to the English for tolerating such abuses.²⁷ Further, no clear provision had been made for the children

²³ *Annales Paulini*, 1:260. See Robert Fawtier, "Un parlement franco-anglais en 1308," *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel* . . . , 2 vols. (Paris, 1955), 1:422–24 (repr. in idem, *Autour de la France capétienne: Personnages et institutions*, ed. Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone [London, 1987], no. XV); Maddicott, *Lancaster*, p. 74.

²⁴ "Karolus et Lodowicus patri reginae, cernentes quod rex plus exercebat Petri triclinium quam reginae, cum indignatione ad Franciam remigarunt": *Annales Paulini*, 1:262.

²⁵ Paul Charles Doherty, "The Date of the Birth of Isabella, Queen of England (1308–58)," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 48 (1975), 246–48; idem, "Isabella," pp. 27–28. I am indebted to Mary K. Keen and Maurice Keen for their counsel on this point. John Carmi Parsons's research on the queens and princesses of England suggests that the age of fourteen or fifteen was considered far more appropriate than the canonically sanctioned age of twelve for a royal bride fully to assume her marital duties; although for political reasons a marriage might (as in Isabelle's case) be consummated when the bride was twelve, he believes that a waiting period then ensued until the young woman was considered fully capable of childbearing.

²⁶ See n. 14 above. For Edward's rights over Ponthieu, which came to him from his mother, see Charles Dufresne, sieur du Cange, "Histoire des comtes de Ponthieu et de Montreuil," ed. A. Le Sueur, in *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation d'Abbeville* 24 (1917), 191–92; François-C. Louandre, *Histoire d'Abbeville et du comté de Ponthieu jusqu'en 1789*, 3rd ed. (Abbeville, 1883–84), 1:184–86; Hilda Johnstone, "The County of Ponthieu, 1279–1307," *English Historical Review* 29 (1914), 440–41. Edward II may once have intended Piers Gaveston to have Ponthieu. According to Walter of Guisborough, Edward had asked his father to grant the county to Piers, and it was there that Piers spent his first exile: *Walter of Guisborough*, pp. 382–83; Hamilton, "Piers Gaveston," pp. 48–49.

²⁷ ". . . et in tantum expilavit Regem, ut non haberet unde solveret expensa consueta vel necessaria domus suae. Non solum Rex rei familiaris penuria, Petri stultitia, laboravit, vel magis avaritia; sed Regina tantum rebus necessariis artabatur, ut Regi Franciae, patri suo, lacrymabiliter quereretur se honore debito destitutam. Ob quam causam, Rex Franciae cunctos Anglicos, sibi notos, pro talium abusione tolerantia durius increpavit": *Chronica monasterii S. Albani: Thomae Walsingham, quondam monachi S. Albani, Historia Anglicana* (to 1422), ed. Riley, RS 28, 1/1:125. This passage appears in a section whose chronology is not entirely clear, but Walsingham seems to be discussing the period immediately preceding or following Gaveston's first exile in 1308.

whom Isabelle would, in the course of time, bear to Edward. Finally, there were the perennial difficulties spawned by the English tenure of Gascony. The animosity between Edward and Philip in the spring of 1308 was scarcely hidden. The rival parties involved in the contested election of the abbot of Westminster both attempted to exploit the situation to gain the support of Isabelle and her father; the opponents of Thomas de Kedyngton hoped that Isabelle's "hatred of Piers" would lead her to favor their candidate.²⁸

Some of the questions at issue between Edward and Philip in the months following the marriage are addressed in a copy of instructions given to French emissaries to the English court, published below (No. 3).²⁹ The memorandum deals with three principal topics: the provisions to be made for future children, Isabelle's dower, and, finally, various problems in Gascony. The collated copy of the document preserved in the royal archives seems, on paleographic grounds, to have been made during the reign of Philip V (1316–22).³⁰ This suggests the French court's continued interest in the issues it raised. The original memorandum was surely composed after the wedding and very likely before Edward assigned Isabelle her dower. It mentions the demands made of Edward at Boulogne, and specifically the letter concerning the dower which Philip had wanted Edward to seal, but it makes no reference to the negotiations between the English and the French that occurred at Poitiers in the summer of 1308. The document does not allude to the outrage aroused by Piers's behavior at the coronation, and the sensitive dynastic concerns which it reflects suggest that the articles may have been entrusted to such high-ranking and influential emissaries as Philip dispatched to the ceremony — Charles of Valois, Guy of Saint-Pol, and Enguerran de Marigny.

The initial section of the memorandum deals with the royal succession. It insists on Philip the Fair's concern, "par affection," for the future of his daughter and prospective grandchildren. This concern was in all likelihood sincere. Before the marriage Philip's only reason for returning Edward's continental lands on the occasion of the marriage was said to be his hope that the children the union would produce would possess the territory. Philip wanted Edward to make provision for such children, and particularly younger sons and daughters. He was especially concerned about the daughters. If Isabelle died without sons, what would be done about the daughters? Would the eldest be queen? In light of the French dynastic crisis of 1328, the question is particularly interesting, suggesting as it does that Philip the Fair

See Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 83, who connects the comment with the months following Isabelle's marriage to Edward II; see also Doherty, "Isabella," pp. 28–29.

²⁸ Ernest Harold Pearce, *Walter de Wenlock, Abbot of Westminster* (London, 1920), pp. 218–24; Hilda Johnstone, "Isabella, the She-Wolf of France," *History*, n.s. 21 (1936–37), 210–11; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 84–86; Doherty, "Isabella," p. 31.

²⁹ AN, J 654, no. 25. Doherty discusses this document (cited as "J. 655, no. 25") and publishes a segment of it in "Isabella," pp. 29, 333. He believes that its contents were communicated to Edward "shortly after Edward and Isabella returned to England" from their wedding.

³⁰ I am grateful for advice on this point to Jean Guerout, who, in a letter dated 7 September 1987, stressed the importance of the distinctive form of the letter *g*, characteristic of the scribes working under Philip V.

had no qualms at the thought of a woman's succeeding to the throne — at least in England. As the memorandum states, these questions touched Edward more closely than Philip the Fair, yet the king of England never seems to have responded directly to them. Nor does he appear to have acceded to Philip's demand that he seal a letter regarding Isabelle's dower in the form dictated by Philip, which would in effect have created a contract between Edward and the king of France.

The final portion of the memorandum dealt with peace treaties, Gascony, and the Templars. Its tone is paternalistic. The king of France is presented as cajoling, exhorting, but also menacing. The issues put Edward on notice that the demands advanced before the marriage had not been forgotten. The pleasure of God (concerned for those harmed in the war between France and England), the kings' honor and reputation, the welfare of their subjects, the royal duty to serve as examples to others — all were invoked as goads to prod Edward to action.

The French envoys were first to require that all clear provisions of the peace treaties be executed, and particularly that, as Boniface VIII had decreed, damages inflicted during truces be remedied. This article recalled the demands Philip had made before the marriage and demonstrated his determination to see implemented the commission to settle mutual complaints that had been established at Boulogne.

Next, Edward was asked to issue letters and dispatch officials to deal with the questions concerning Gascony to which he had been asked to respond at Boulogne. He was to be informed that Philip the Fair considered it his duty as justiciar and sovereign to deal with Gascony, but that he would greatly prefer to see Edward take action on his own initiative.

Finally, the memorandum raised the issue of the Templars and their property, a question already broached at Boulogne.³¹ As the memorandum acknowledged, this issue was less clear-cut than the others, but the stand taken by the French was uncompromising. No peer of France or any other baron, the memorandum claimed, had the right to seize or guard the Templars and their property. In contrast, the king of France, obligated to deal with matters of faith, was bound to hold the Templars' goods for them (if they could clear themselves of the charges leveled against them) or (if they could not) for the Holy Land, for whose conservation the property had been donated to the order. Philip was not claiming any heritable property in the duchy but rather, as in all lordships of the kingdom, the Templars' movables and their persons, over which he, as prince, had rights by virtue of his sovereignty and obligations as guardian.³² The memorandum ended with a flourish. No one should

³¹ See *Gascon Register A*, p. 368, article V (and also 372), the list of items presented to Edward II at Boulogne, where the issue was raised as "non obediendo in facto Templariorum." The affair of the Templars greatly concerned Philip the Fair at the time of Isabelle's marriage: see the letter he wrote to Jaime II of Aragon on 29 January 1308 (which shows that Enguerran de Floyran, who had denounced the order to Philip, was with the king at Boulogne), in *Acta Aragonensia*, 3:173–75, no. 76.

³² Similarly, Hugues de Pairaud, visitor of the Templars in France, testified in Paris on 25 November 1309 that "bona dicti ordinis . . . in subsidium Terre sancte . . . ab inicio fuerant

wonder at this assertion of royal right, since the king of France was no simple lay judge but was, rather, consecrated to the exercise of power and jurisdiction. Barons were pure lay justices, and the Templars and their movables were totally exempt from their authority.³³ The haughty bravado with which the memorandum advanced Philip the Fair's claims over the Templars goes far to explain his success in deferring for so long resolution of this issue in Gascony and elsewhere. The lofty, preceptive, and undisguisedly superior tone is typical of the French king.³⁴ As in the case of the first memorandum, the instructions' attention to essentially familial questions suggests Philip the Fair's personal involvement in their formulation.

deputata": *Procès des Templiers*, ed. Jules Michelet, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841–51), 1:29. In the articles which Philip the Fair presented to the English at Poitiers in the summer of 1308 the English responded to the demand that they obey the royal mandates and ordonnances concerning the Templars and their property by saying "de templariis & bonis eorum . . . se non teneri cum ad ipsum ducem cognicio temporalitatis eorum pertineat & pertinuerit ab antiquo nec dominus rex franc' nunquam aliqua guardia usus fuerit in eisdem": BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fol. 294v; Bréquigny, 2:59, no. XXIX; see n. 17 above. When Clement V interceded with Philip the Fair on Edward II's behalf at the Council of Vienne in the spring of 1312, one of the requests he made in his proposal ("[A]d tranquillitatem terre Regis anglie ducis aquitanie humilis & vexationem curie francie ac subditorum dicti Regis & ducis vitandam") was "quod bona templariorum capta in terra Regis & ducis restituantur eidem": BL MS Cott. Julius E.i, fols. 324r–27r, at fol. 327r; Carter, "British Museum Manuscript," p. 178; idem, "Gascon Archival Materials," p. 154, no. 76. For references to the *remedia* presented by Clement and accepted by Philip the Fair at Vienne, see BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fol. 312r (supplications presented to Philip the Fair by Edward II in May or June 1313, the first article of which says that Philip acceded at Vienne to requests the pope had made "ad tranquillitatem terre Regis anglie et cetera"); Carter, "British Museum Manuscript," p. 120; idem, "Gascon Archival Materials," p. 152, no. 49; see also *Gascon Calendar*, no. 583 ("Remedia que ultimo ordinata fuerunt in curia Romana summo pontifici in scriptis tradita contra aliqua de gravaminibus illatis hactenus per curiam Francie duci Aquitanie in ipso ducatu") and no. 1914 ("Remedia ultimo ordinata in curia Romana et summo pontifici in scriptis tradita contra aliqua de gravaminibus illatis hactenus in curia Francie duci Aquitanie in ipso ducatu"). The list may be the same as one listed among the papers of Guillaume de Plaisians ("Remedia que petuntur a gentibus regni Anglie que possent adhiberi ad tranquillitatem Aquitanie et cetera"): Charles-Victor Langlois, "Les papiers de Guillaume de Nogaret et de Guillaume de Plaisians au Trésor des Chartes," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 39/1 (1909), 247, no. 627, followed by (no. 628) "Quidam articuli per regem Anglie traditi."

³³ This distinction is implied in a statement which Matthew Paris attributed to *nuncii* of the future Louis VIII in 1216, when they were attempting to establish that John of England could indeed be condemned by the court of France despite the fact that he was *rex inunctus*: "Consuetudo est in regno Francorum, quod rex habet omnimodam iurisdictionem in homines suos ligios; et rex Anglie erat suus homo ligius tamquam comes et dux; ergo licet esset alias rex inunctus, tamen tanquam comes et dux erat de iurisdictione domini regis Francorum. . . . Alioquin si rex Angliae, quia rex erat inunctus, non posset iudicari ad mortem, impune posset intrare regnum Franciae et interficere barones Franciae, sicut interfecit Arthurum." See Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols., RS 57 (London, 1872–83), 2:657, on which see Hellmut Kämpf, *Pierre Dubois und die geistigen Grundlagen des französischen Nationalbewusstseins um 1300*, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 54 (Leipzig, 1935), p. 23.

³⁴ See Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Prince Is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair," *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), 282–334, and eadem, "Persona et Gesta: The Image and Deeds of the Thirteenth-Century Capetians. The Case of Philip the Fair," *Viator* 19 (1988), forthcoming.

There is no evidence that the questions raised in the memorandum were discussed at the time of the coronation, and the instructions may have been drawn up not for Philip's delegates to that ceremony but rather for a later embassy, dispatched to England in the spring of 1308. Philip's envoys were Pierre de Courpalay, abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés,³⁵ and three knights.³⁶ Newsletters of 12 and 14 May 1308 provide the only sure information about their mission. The first reports that the emissaries were sent "pro statu Petri de Gaveston deteriorando."³⁷ The second, much fuller, says that news which the envoys carried was harsh (*aspera*) as regarded the king and joyful (*leta*) as concerned the barons, his enemies. Philip the Fair had let it be known that unless Edward permitted Piers Gaveston (whom the king of France considered his enemy) to leave the realm of England, Philip would pursue all who supported Piers as his own mortal foes. The newsletter added that the king of France had sent much wine to Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and to Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, leading members of the baronial coalition.³⁸ That the newsletters should have stressed the political aspects of the French mission is not surprising; this does not exclude the possibility that Philip the Fair instructed his envoys to raise other questions — and specifically those enumerated in the undated instructions. Although the memorandum does not allude to the sensitive issues mentioned in the newsletters, this is not conclusive proof that it was prepared for another delegation, since in all likelihood such matters would have been entrusted orally to the envoys.

Whether it was Pierre and the three knights or the delegates to the coronation who pressed the issues set forth in the undated memorandum, the pointed questions it contained must have facilitated the task of Pierre's mission and helped guarantee its success. The memorandum's demand that the English king respond to the issues raised at Boulogne may also account for the energy with which English officials wrestled with the problems delineated

³⁵ Pierre had become abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1306; for his later career, which involved the prosecution of the Templars and work in the Chamber of Accounts, as well as numerous diplomatic and political missions, see Charles-Victor Langlois, "Pierre de Courpalay, abbé de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 35 (Paris, 1921), pp. 623–24; for his epitome of the history of France, see Henri-François Delaborde, "Opusculum historique de Pierre de Courpalay," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 15 (1888), 100–103. See also *Gallia Christiana*, 16 vols. (Paris, 1715–1865), 7:457–58.

³⁶ On this mission, see the newsletters dated 12 and 14 May 1308, perhaps preserved among the papers of Robert Darcy, one of the retainers of Piers Gaveston, now in Lincoln Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Muniments, D.ii/56/1, nos. 39 and 42, the first of which is published in Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 335–36, no. ii; see also pp. 83–84; I am grateful to Dr. Maddicott for communicating to me his hypotheses regarding the newsletters' provenance. On the embassy see also Doherty, "Isabella," pp. 30–32. The treasury journals of Philip the Fair record that on 7 March 1308 Raoul Rousselet, then canon of Dol, was given 160 *l.par.* of good money for his expenses in going to England "pro deferendo et custodiendo sigillum Regine Anglie, domine Ysabellis": *Les journaux du Trésor de Philippe IV le Bel*, ed. Jules Viard (Paris, 1940), no. 2898. This suggests the possibility that Isabelle's seal was made in France. For a different interpretation, see Doherty, "Isabella," pp. 31–32.

³⁷ Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 83.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 83–84.

in those articles.³⁹ But in May 1308 the presence in England of Pierre de Courpalay and the three knights surely helped achieve two concrete, immediate victories. On 14 May 1308 Edward assigned to Isabelle, to cover the expenses of her chamber, the income of the county of Ponthieu and of Montreuil-sur-Mer; he also granted her, as a “fuller grace” (*graciam ampliozem*), all debts owed to him from those territories. Neither award mentioned the marriage, and the grant of Ponthieu and Montreuil was made at Edward’s pleasure rather than for Isabelle’s lifetime. Nonetheless, it was made, and before the month was over French and English officials were surveying the lands so that they could be assigned to the young queen.⁴⁰ Four days later, on 18 May, Edward gave way to the opposition and agreed that Piers Gaveston should leave England by 25 June.⁴¹ On these two scores Philip the Fair no longer had grounds for complaint.

With the dower assigned and Piers Gaveston condemned to exile, Edward II was in a position to take a stronger stand in dealing with his father-in-law. By mid-June 1308 he was attempting to secure the intervention and support of both Clement V and Philip the Fair in his struggle with the magnates of England.⁴² Edward also seized the initiative as regarded Gascony. Sometime in the summer of 1308 Philip, then in Poitiers,⁴³ received from his son-in-law a series of requests, asking him for responses on a variety of issues regarding the duchy.⁴⁴ Philip apparently answered the English supplication while he was still at Poitiers. To some of the articles his replies were favorable, although his answers in sum constituted no resounding victory for Edward. Witnessing that he was not retreating from his earlier position, Philip seems to have presented the English envoys with twelve questions regarding Gascony, closely related to a number of the twenty-one issues raised in January 1308 at Boulogne and perhaps focusing on those to which no satisfactory response had as yet been given.⁴⁵

The French articles made no reference to Isabelle’s endowment, nor to the question of provisions to be made for her children, probably because the

³⁹ See n. 17 above.

⁴⁰ *Foedera*, 2/1:44; PRO, C 66/130, membrane 8; *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward II, 1307–1313* (London, 1894), p. 74. Compare the more favorable terms on which the assignment of the dower of Marguerite of France was made in 1299: *Foedera*, 1/2:912–13; see n. 14 above. For the evaluations see Du Cange, “Histoire,” ed. Le Sueur, p. 192. Du Cange’s account is based on documents formerly in Paris, AN, J 237, nos. 120 and 122 (now lost), on which see AN, JJ 586 (Pierre Dupuy and Theodore Godefroy, “Inventaire du Trésor des Chartes du Roy”), 3:141v–42r; and also Johnstone, “Isabella, the She-Wolf,” p. 211.

⁴¹ Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston*, pp. 86–90; see also Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 85–88, who gives the date 24 June.

⁴² Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston*, pp. 126–32.

⁴³ The forthcoming itinerary of Philip the Fair, prepared by Robert-Henri Bautier, Elisabeth Lalou, and François Maillard, shows that Philip was at Poitiers from 26 May to 20 July 1308.

⁴⁴ Two copies of the petition, with different responses, are found in BL, MS Cott. Julius E.i, fols. 291r–94v and 306v–9v; the first copy is edited in Bréquigny, 1:48–58, no. XXIX; for the second see Carter, “British Museum Manuscript,” pp. 105–17, and see pp. 46–52 for his analysis of the first copy; for other copies in the English archives, see *Gascon Calendar*, no. 169; for a copy of the original petition, see AN, J 654, no. 24; see also n. 17 above.

⁴⁵ On these articles, see above, n. 17.

assignment of Isabelle's dower on Ponthieu and Montreuil and the exile of Gaveston had, at least momentarily, satisfied Philip the Fair. Instead, the negotiations at Poitiers in 1308 largely concerned Gascony. Of all the issues raised in the two French memoranda of 1307 and 1308 those touching the duchy were most enduringly and fundamentally important. The marital relations of Edward II and Isabelle sometimes exacerbated and occasionally alleviated the tensions between the two kingdoms. In the end, however, it was the problems created by the duchy which effectively doomed Boniface VIII's plans to effect Anglo-French amity through their union.

DOCUMENTS

1. An undated French memorandum responding to English claims and requests for grace and favor after the death of Edward I and preceding Isabelle's marriage to Edward II

A: AN, J 654 (Angleterre), no. 8, a parchment roll consisting of two membranes, sewn together with blue thread. The roll is 242 mm. wide by 629/638 mm. long. The first membrane measures 242/241 mm. wide by 407/414 mm. long, the second 244/242 mm. wide by 227/224 mm. long. The left side of the first membrane is turned back 41 mm. for sewing to the second. On the left the top of the second membrane overlaps the bottom of the first by 5 mm.; there is no overlap on the right. The membranes are unlined except for faint stylus lines 17 mm. from the left edge of the first membrane and 15 mm. from the left edge of the second; a horizontal stylus line is found 37 mm. from the top of the first membrane and 27 mm. from the top of the second. The document is written in a single early-fourteenth-century French bastard chancery script. The edition below preserves the divisions, punctuation, and capitalization of the original; some words, run together in the document, have been separated. On the dorse of the first membrane is written in an early-fourteenth-century hand: "Quedam consideranda in reformatione pacis Regis Anglie."

B: BN, MS nouv. acq. fr. 7005 (Brienne 34, Meslanges, 1190–1625), fols. 67r–70v. Seventeenth-century copy.

¶ Soient aulse / li Rois de angleterre Monseigneur et ses Genz / que nest pas conuenable chose / ne acourdant a Raison / de demander en present graces / au Roi de france Monseigneur / iuques atant que li diz Rois de angleterre ses fuiz / tant comme / lui touche / & a li appartient a present / puet / & doit appartenir / et faire de present / accomplisse & parface / ce quil doit et est tenuz / a parfaire et accomplir / especiaument / es choses / qui sensuiuent /

¶ Premièrement / que il Ratefie / appreuue et / conferme o serement / les pais / les conuencions / des Triuues et des pais / pour son pere / faites & pour¹ li auec le Roi de france² et que de ce il donne ses lettres / les quelles contiegnent les choses deuant dites / et que les choses les quelles ne sont pas encores accomplies de fait / saccomplissent orendroit dune partie et dautre les quelles choses que [*sic*] sont accomplir [*sic*] deuers li sont granz & plusieurs /

¶ Jtem que il si comme, il est tenuz a faire face commandement a touz / Officiers /

¹ The two preceding words are written over an erasure.

² *auec* . . . *France* inserted.

Barons / Nobles / communaltez / & a touz ses autres subgiez dou Duché daquitainne / et des autres terres que il ha dedanz le Royaume de france / que il sur la feaute en la quelle il sont tenuz a li / au Roi de france Monseigneur & a ses Genz obeissent / en cas de Souuerainnete & de ressort / ausi comme il estoient tenu a faire deuant le temps / de la Guerre Meue entre les deus Rois / et que les droiz de la Souuerainnete Real soient [sic] Garde [sic] ausi comme deuant /³ . .

¶ Jtem que toutes surprises faites dou dit temps iuques ici par les Genz dou dit Roi / ou par ses progeniteurs / es terres desus dites soient restituées⁴ / a estat deu / dune part & dautre / ou quel estat elles estoient ou temps deuant dit . . et sur les dites choses acomplir soient donnees certains executeurs⁵

¶ Jtem que touz / attemptz / et toutes autres choses / faites & attemptees en preiudice dou Ressort / du Roi Monseigneur soient mis a estat deu⁶ des quels ia pluseurs

¶ Jtem auisse soi [sic] li Rois de france Monseigneur et sa gent / & aissent le Roi dengleterre & sa gent⁷ que / il donne / au Roi dengleterre [sic] / pour le Mariage de sa fille / par la pais traitee / avec le Roi dengleterre derrainement mort / Tout le . . Duché daquitainne / et toutes les terres / que li Rois dengleterre ha de ca la Mer / les quelles estoient forfaites / au Roi de france Monseigneur par certaines causes euidenz / Si sache et regarde li diz Rois dengleterre et ses Genz / et tout son conseil / sil dient que li diz Rois / ne prent Riens en Mariage / fait o la fille dou Roi de france Monseigneur / quar certaine et vraie chose est / que il y prent / toute la dite terre / la quele / especialment / pour les granz coustages / Charges / et Missions / que li Rois de france Messire ha Soustenu / et souffert pour li / par pais ou autrement il neust deslessee / se ce ne fust par la cause dou Mariage de sa dite fille / en esperance que les enfanz qui en naistront / doivent [sic] auoir et tenir la dite terre / la quelle ha plus couste / au dit Roi de france Monseigneur / que elle / ne pourroit estre vendue / a pris dargent /

¶ Jtem Soient auisse / li Rois dengleterre / et les Tracteurs / dune partie et dautre / que toutes les emendes / ou forfaitures de toute la dite terre / commises / ou duche daquitainne / par les desobeissances / et les excès⁸ faites depar le Roi dengleterre par ses Genz / apres ce que pais / fut fermee / entre le Roi de france Monseigneur et le dit Roi dengleterre pere iadis de cestui Roi & apres la fealte faite au Roi de france par le conte de Nicole en⁹ non dou Roi dengleterre /¹⁰ ces choses au pere de cestui Roi¹¹ furent donnees / et remises seur certaine condicion sanz preiudice dauitru / et dou droit del heritage¹² / la quelle grace fu moult grant faite pour la cause / et par grace /¹³ dou dit Mariage acomplir a la Requite dou pape

¶ Jtem Soient auisse que apres la mort dou dit Roi dengleterre tant de desobeissances semblables sont commises ou dit duche que a paines souffiroit / touts [sic] la terre de

³ et que certains executeurs soient deputez seur ce canceled.

⁴ The final e is inserted.

⁵ The phrase et sur . . . executeurs was added after the punctuation following deuant dit was inserted.

⁶ Inserted at the end of and below the line.

⁷ et sa . . . sa gent inserted.

⁸ s written over an erasure.

⁹ & apres . . . en written over an erasure.

¹⁰ A letter, following, is erased. For the fealty, performed on 20 May 1303, see *Foedera*, 1/2:955.

¹¹ non . . . cestui Roi inserted above the line.

¹² del herita written over an erasure.

¹³ et par grace / written over an erasure.

Gascoingne / a paier les emendes / se li Rois de france ne se pourtoit moult gracieusement / enuers le Roi dengleterre son fuiz / Maesment [*sic*] par Raison de forfaiture de la terre / la quelle de Rigueur se pourroit demander /

¶ Jtem Soient / aulse / que ou compromis. entres [*sic*] les Rois pieca faiz en Boniface / furent promises granz paines / les quelles tant par raison dou compromis / comme de la prononciacion dou dit Boniface / non Gardez par le Roi dengleterre moult de foiz et en maintes Manieres sont commises / as quelles paier / moult granz quantitez dargent / y seroient necessaires¹⁴ se li Rois de france Messire ne se pourtoit / et auoit gracieusement enuers le Roi dengleterre son fuiz /

¶ Jtem Soient aulse / que des choses promises / tant en lettres de Triuues / comme dautres comprises en diuerses pais / outre les paines commises et les terres exceptees / en Moebles tant seulement / et leur estimacion // Si tres granz est lestimacions [*sic*] / que se li Rois de france Messire ne se pourtoit gracieusement enuers le Roi dengleterre son fuiz / tropt [*sic*] seroit granz a faire la Restitucion / si comme les Genz dou dit Roi Monseigneur sont appareillees de monstrier empresent . .

¶ Jtem Soient aulse / que laide chose et grant vitupere seroit / au Roi Monseigneur . que grace fust demandee / ou octroiee de li / seur son Ressort et la Garde des yglises / les quelles il ne puet deseurer ou departir ne aloigner¹⁵ de li ne faire preiudice que il ne pechast mourtelment / contre dieu / les yglises & le pueple / et contre le serement quil fist en sa courounacion / la quelle chose nauiegne ia que il le face . .¹⁶

¶ Jtem Soient aulse / Sur ce que aucuns depar le Roi dengleterre¹⁷ aucunefoiz disont [*sic*] / que soit ostee la occasion de la / discorde / la quelle ha acoustume a venir pluseurs foiz / pour Raison des appellanz . en la terre de Gaiscoigne / Et Sacheint [*sic*] de voir / que icelles discourdes / ne vindrent onques / ne ne viennent for que par deus choses tant Seulement /¹⁸ Premierement / pour ce que en aucuns lieux de Gascoigne / li pueples est si effrenez sanz discipline / & correction / que il ne puet estre contrainz / ne mis / ne tenuz en bon droit estat et paissible [*sic*] / si ce nest par voie de Justice / et par grant possaince [*sic*] de prince // La Seconde chose si est / pour ce que les Officiers / dou seigneur du pais / ont este plus effrene [*sic*] / et mal corrige et discipline / et ne depourtoient¹⁹ honeur / ne Reuerence /²⁰ /²¹ a leur Souuerain ne a la iustice / dont nest il pas Merueille / si de telles choses / escandes [*sic*] en sont aucune foiz venuz / Si est chose necessaire que a eschier si granz perils remede conuenable ysoit mis delez le conseil de dieu / qui dit par la Bouche dou prophete / que iustice & pais se sont entrasemblees / les quelles / ne puent estre lune sanz lautre²² // pouruoie donques li Rois dengleterre / au Gouuernement du pais / de bons iustes / attrempez / et discret [*sic*] Officiers / qui aiment iustice / et sanz corrupcion de Mauues Gaaing / de haigne / ou de grace la metteint [*sic*] diligemment / a execucion / ne ne soient pas Nez du pais / au mains cil qui auront granz offices et granz choses a Gouuerner car cil // en nulle maniere / ne pourroient eschier faire²³ grace a²⁴

¹⁴ *moult . . . necessaires* written over an erasure.

¹⁵ *ne aloigner* inserted.

¹⁶ The first membrane ends here.

¹⁷ Four letters following (apparently *veut*) have been effaced and a line has been drawn through the space.

¹⁸ *La premiere chose est tele* canceled.

¹⁹ *de* inserted.

²⁰ *a dieu* canceled.

²¹ Two or three letters effaced.

²² Isa. 32.17; see also Ps. 37.32, 71/72.3, 84/85.10; Prov. 16.7–8.

²³ Inserted above an erasure.

²⁴ Written over an erasure.

leurs²⁵ / amis / et autre chose pour²⁶ / maluoillance des²⁷ autres // et que li dit [*sic*] officiers / aiment et gardeint [*sic*] / la amitie & la²⁸ coniuccion / des Rois et des seigneurs / et en ceste Maniere sera pourueu a lun des perils . . et a lautre puet²⁹ estre³⁰ pourueu en ceste Maniere quant au pueple / que li dui / Seigneur cest assauoir li Rois dengleterre si comme seigneur sanz Meaan³¹ / par sa iurisdiction / et le Roi de france tant comme Souuerain par voie de Ressort / et de Souuerainete de auctorite principal / pouruoient ou pais de bon Gouuernement / & osteint [*sic*] touz Mauues vsages / la quelle chose li dui Roi ensemble pourront bien faire / ou autrement pour la condicion du pais / par lun deus iustice / ne si pourra faire ne maintenir si comme il appartient /. et se puet ordener que les causes du Ressort soient briefment deliurees³² . .

¶ Jtem / Soient auisse / li dit Roi / seur ce / que si nestoit le Ressort et la Souuerainete [*sic*] dou Roi de france souuent auendroit & est auenu pluseurs foiz / que pluseurs Nobles et villes / se reuelerient [*sic*] contre le duc daquitaine / et par Guerre se defendrient [*sic*] contre li / si que il auroit / plus a faire aueques eus / que avec les escoz // Mes avec la Main dou Souuerain / la quelle est au confort / et a la descharge de la Main au dit Duc / puet / il et porra estre comme³³ seignour [*sic*]³⁴ / prisiez / amez et doutez & faire Justice si comme il appartient / et qui conseille le dit Duc / que li Rois de france Messire en aloingne sa Main / li conseille Mau. selon ce quil Semble /.

²⁵ *s* inserted.

²⁶ *autre chose pour* inserted over an erasure.

²⁷ *aut*, following and at the end of the line, canceled.

²⁸ *amitie & la* inserted.

²⁹ Written over an erasure.

³⁰ Inserted.

³¹ *sanz Meaa'* written over an erasure.

³² This word is written over an erasure.

³³ This word is inserted.

³⁴ A letter, probably *s*, is effaced.

2. Edward II's assignment of the dower of Isabelle of France, 24 January 1308

A: Original lost.

B: (1) AN, JJ 44, fol. 67, no. 103.¹ My edition is based on this copy, whose punctuation and capitalization I preserve.

(2) BN, MS lat. 10919 (formerly Registre XXIX of the Trésor des Chartes), fol. 208.

Littera Eduuardi Regis Anglie de Assignacione terre Sue / pontiui facte ysabelli sponse sue filie domini Regis pro parte dotalicij Sui

Eddward Par la grace de dieu Roy Dangleterre / seigneur Dillande / & Dux de Acquitaine faisons a sauoir a touz / que comme nous / a nostre chiere Espouse / ysabel fille de tres excellent [*sic*] prince // Philippe par meisme cele grace Roy de france / nostre tres chier pere & seigneur . fussions tenu selon la prononciation du pape boniface dassigner dolkaire de dis & huit Mil' lb' de Petiz tournois / et nous

¹ See Robert Fawtier, with Jean Glénisson and Jean Guerout, *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, 1: *Règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1958), no. 995. This register includes letters from the years 1305 through 1308.

oultre ce de nostre grace especial ayons grante a la dite nostre espouse deus Mile lb' de Petiz tournois. en accroissement du dit Dolkaire / Nous de les dites vint Mile lb' li grantons & assignons .dis. Mile lb' de bons petiz tournois chascun an. en Dolkaire en nostre Contee de Pontif. et en nostre terre denuiron Monstereul / et en leur appartenances selonc leal Estimation de la valeur des Rentes desles [sic] dites Contee & terre & leur appartenances / Et se meesmes les rentes des dites Contee & terre & appartenances ne valoyent la dite extimation [de dis]² Mil lb' de Rente par an . Nous li soumes tenuz a parfaire en nostre terre Daigenois es lieux conuenables Jusques a la dite Somme des diz Mil' lb' de Petiz tournois. Et se les dites Rentes desdites Conte de Pontieu et terre Denuiron Monstereul & appartenances estoient trouez par la dite Estimation plus valoir que la soume des dites dis M. lb' / nous volons que li seurplus soit assignez & demeurege a la dite ysabel en deduction & abatement des autres dis Mill' lb'. les quels autres dis. Mil' lb' de bons Petiz tournois Nous sumes tenuz a asseoir establir & assigner a la dite ysabel / en nostre Royaume Dangleterre en lieux soffissans bons et Conuenables / fors. pris & rabatu ce que les dites Contee de Pontiu & la terre denuiron Mostereul & appartenances auant dites vaudroyent plus que les dites Dis Mil' lb' assignees a resceure des dites Contee & terre Et a cestes choses parfaire & acomplir & tenir . et fermement garder et loyalment en bonne foy / obligeons a la dite ysabel nous & nos biens meubles & non Meubles ou quil soyent trouez / nous nos hoirs & nos successeurs / En tesmoin de la quel chose a ceste lettre nous auons fait metre nostre seel / Donnees a Bouloigne le xxiiij. Jour de Januier. Mil CCC & vij et de nostre Regne premier

² Substituted from BN, MS lat. 10919, fol. 208r for *des dites*.

3. An undated, collated copy of issues to be raised by emissaries sent to England by Philip the Fair

A: Original lost.

B: AN, J 654 (Angleterre), no. 25. A single, irregularly cut membrane of parchment, 265 mm. wide and 491/493 mm. long. Unlined except for stylus lines on the left margin, 22 mm. from the edge, and a horizontal line at the top, 25 mm. from the edge. The document is written in a single French bastard chancery hand typical of the reign of Philip V (1316–22). The edition below preserves the punctuation and capitalization of the original; some words, run together in the document, have been separated. Endorsed in a fourteenth-century hand: “.Memoriale de Negocjo ang’.”

¶ Memorandum¹ sur les besoingnes qui sunt a deliurer en angleterre

¶ Premerement de parler au Roy dangleterre de pourueoir a ses enfanz les quiex se il plect a dieu il aura de ma dame la Reynne fille du Roy de france / et fait a regarder ou cas la ou il aroit pluseurs fiex & filles comment il voudroit estre pourueu as fils puis nez & as filles / ¶ Jtem fait a regarder encor plus ou cas se ma dame moroit senz fils / et il i eust filles pluseurs / comment seroit pourueu aus puis nees / ¶ Jtem se la premiere estoit Reynne / ¶ Jtem fait encor [sic] a regarder / ou cas se ma dame moroit senz fil marler [sic] et il i auoit vne fille ou - pluseurs et li Rois dangleterre auoit fil marle de sa secõde femme qui seroit Rois / comment seroit pourueu / en ce cas a la fille ou as filles du premier mariage / et cestes choses commant [sic] que elles touchent le . . . Roy de france par affection plus touchent encore le Roy dangleterre

¹ Literally *Memor*'.

/ de plus pres a ordener en que au Roy de france / & fera sa geste le Roi dangleterre se il i pouruoit en touz cas a ses enfenz qui de lui uendront pour eschuiuer les perils / qui en pueent venir /

¶ Jtem que aucunes genz meitent en doute en france & en angleterre / que puis le mariage fait / le mari ne puet a sa femme faire conuenances sur dot ou sur autre choses [sic] durant le Mariage / li Rois de france nostre seigneur auoit ordene ou fait ordener pour ceste doute eschuiuer la lettre du douayre en la quele li Rois dangleterre se obliroit au Roy de france sur le doayre ma dame sa fille / mes la gent du dit Roy dangleterre / nont pas volu seeller icelle lettre / mes vne autre par la quele li diz Rois dangleterre soblige² a nostre deuant dite dame sa femme / par quoi seroit mestier que la lettre se fesist en la fourme ordenee / par le Roy nostre seigneur pour eschuiuer ceste doute & tout peril /

¶ Jtem comme il appartient mont a chascun [sic] des Roys garder les pais faites entre eus & leur ancesseurs les queles il ont Jurees acomplir tenir & garder / premierement pour le plaisir de dieu qui ne sen puisse courretier mesmement en tant comme il touche autrui / Cest assavoir ceus qui ont pris dommages pour eus & pour leur guerres / et apres pour garder leur honneur / leur bonne Renommee / & leur loiaute / apres pour garder la pais des cuers / de leur subgiez / et apres pour donner bon exemple a autres Rois & Royaumes en samblans cas fait a Resgarder & ordener de parole & de lettres & meitre a exequcion hastiuement de fait / que les promesses faites de vne partie & dautre en cele pais soient acomplies et gardees dune partie & dautre sur les choses qui sensuiuent /

¶ Premièrement que les choses cleres soient de present deliures [sic] aussi comme seint les choses qui sensuiuent cest assavoir que selonc ce que Bonifaces pronunca les meffes dune partie & dautre triue pendant soient amandez & adreciez mesmement a ceus qui ont prins le dommage de ca & de la / cest assavoir que les choses estanz non gastees ou non consumees & de celles qui seroient consumees lestimacion soient rendues dune part & dautre / a ceus sur les quiex les choses ont este prises /

¶ Jtem que sur lobbeissance du Duchee daquitaine &³ sur les autres choses qui furent liurees en articles a boloingne de par nostre seigneur le . . . Roy de france au . . . Roy dangleterre ou a ses genz / soient deliurees par lettres et de fait en tel maniere que doute ne trauail ne sen puisse suiure / Et Ja soit ce que le Roy de france puisse & a lui appartient par sa iustice & par sa souuerainete meitre conseil⁴ en ces choses / plus li plect pour lonneur de son fil et lamour quil li porte que son fil le face par soi meemes / et en tele maniere le commande par lettres ouuertes & pendanz que doute ne sen puisse suiure / et que il outre lettres enuoie tiels genz en gascoingne & de tele auctorite qui facent les choses acomplir ainsi comme se appartient que toutes genz puissent cognoistre lamour & le vnite des volentez des Rois car en autre maniere conuendroit que li Rois nostre sires face icelles choses acomplir de sa auctorite de la quele chose il li peseroit se faire le conuenoit /

¶ Jtem outre les articles touz clers ce est vns principals articles des templiers quant a la prise des personnes [sic] et des biens & la garde de iceus comme nuls pers de france ne autres barons / ne puissent ne ne doiuent en cest cas / auoir ne la prise ne la garde comme il soient du tout exemps de eus / Ne le duc daquitaine ne a plus de auctorite en la duchee daquitaine que ont li autre per dou Royaume / de france en leur baronnies / Mais au Roy de france appartient par sa Real dignite a meitre la main ou cas de la foy en toutes personnes exemptes ou non exemptes / & de prandre

² This word is inserted.

³ One letter (*q?*) is effaced.

⁴ *meitre conseil* inserted.

& tenir a fin de garde touz leur biens meubles & heritages a garder pour eus se purgier se pueent / ou pour la terre sainte en ce cas pour le quel tuit li bien ont este donne aus templiers. Et ce fait li Rois de france senz preiudice de la Jurisdicion [*sic*] de chascum baron la quele appartient a eus es heritages des templiers assis en leur Justices / pour le quel li Rois a ordene que cil qui garderont les biens des templiers obeissent aus barons pour les heritages assis en leur Justices / Mais quant as Meubles ne as persones li baron nont riens a Regarder mes appartient au Roy comme a Prince par sa souvereinnete & pour la garde / et doit chascuns resgarder ne ne se doit merueillier se li Rois qui nest mie pur lais iuges ains est consecrez a Jurisdiction et pouoir autre que li baron qui sunt purement Justices laies des quieux li Templier & li bien meuble diceux sunt du tout exempt /

collatio fit

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