SOME NEW DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE
EARLY YEARS OF THE HUNDRED YEARS
WAR (1353-1356).¹

BY DR. FRIEDRICH BOCK.

ONE who has read Victor Hugo's description of the seven
forests of Brittany,² with their caves (in which the Breton
insurgents took refuge during the French Revolution), and of
the men living there like troglodytes and beasts, after the enemy had
established his superiority, may easily apply the same description to
an earlier century, when the country was overshadowed by "les larves
de la légende et les monstres de l'histoire," among which Hugo counts
"la maison française de Blois" and "la maison anglaise de Montfort."
Tales from the fourteenth century like that of the "Battle of the
Thirty"³ help our imagination to picture the cruelties of the civil con-
tests in Brittany at the beginning of the Hundred Years War. The
dispute between Charles de Blois and Jean de Montfort, supported
respectively by the French and English Kings, was one of the reasons
for Edward III's coming to France. So these civil contests are not
only important for Brittany but are a conspicuous link in the chain of
great political events of the fourteenth century.

¹ During the whole time that I was preparing and writing this paper I had
the valuable assistance of Mr. Charles Johnson, to whom I owe most deeply-
felt thanks. We often discussed problems, and he gave me so many suggestions
that I consider this essay his work as well as mine. Dr. Moses Tyson of John
Rylands Library was kind enough to look over my manuscript before it was
given to the press. Mr. Crompton of the Public Record Office checked some
documents for me. To both I have to express my deeply-felt thanks. In
solving some questions in the French manuscripts Dr. Martin Weinbaum,
Lecturer in the Berlin University, has lent me his friendly aid.
² *Quatre-vingt treize,* 3rd part, *En Vendée.*
³ See f. i. *The Political History of England,* III, 382, where we find
a general outline of these struggles; cf. *Combat de trente Bretons contre
trente Anglais en 1350; Les Chroniques de Jean Froissart* (J. A. Buchon,
Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises), XIV, pp. 303-321.
Charles de Blois himself is an interesting and pathetic figure. He was married to Jeanne de Penthièvre, the heiress of Brittany, and was dragged into the political whirlpool. In 1347 he was defeated and captured by his English antagonists at La Roche-Derrien, and was taken to England, where he had to stay till 1356. In 1362 he began to fight again, and was slain "le viaire sus ses enmemies," as Froissart says, at Auray in 1364.\footnote{Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, 168; ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, VII, 51; Huizinga, Herfstij der Middeleeuwen, Haarlem, 1921, p. 315.} Some years later, in 1371, he was canonised\footnote{Monuments du procès de canonisation du bienheureux Charles de Blois, St. Brieuc, 1921.}— a brave warrior and a saint. It is not surprising that Huizinga, in his great book on the waning of the Middle Ages, has drawn our attention to this figure.\footnote{Huizinga, Herfstij der Middeleeuwen, p. 314 sq. Probably a lively biography could be compiled out of the material in the Monuments, giving many features of the everyday life of the fourteenth century. A portrait of Charles is reproduced in the Monuments.} A few years ago M. Déprez gave us, with his accustomed skill, a picture of the political transactions during Charles’ captivity,\footnote{La guerelle de Bretagne, Mémoires de la société d’histoire et d’archéologie de Bretagne, tome VII, 1926, pp. 25-60.} and during the last year M. B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé has written on the same subject in his book on Papal policy in relation to Brittany.\footnote{Les papes et les ducs de Bretagne (Bibl. des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 133, Paris, 1928), I, 266 sqq.} It is not my intention, therefore, to rewrite the history of Charles. I only wish to throw some further light on his life during the years 1353-1356 by means of new documents concerning two treaties; firstly, that between Edward III and Charles de Blois, dated Westminster, March 1, 1353 (1352) (till now known only on the evidence of Robert of Avesbury),\footnote{Rob. Avesbury, De gestis mirabilibus regis Edwardi Tertii (ed. E. M. Thompson, Rolls Series), p. 418; Pocquet, p. 317.} and, secondly, the treaty between Edward III and the French King, dated Guines, April 6, 1354. The first helps us to see the political side of the "Iliade héroïque et chevaleresque" of Brittany quite clearly, the second (together with certain previously unknown secret instructions to Edward’s ambassadors at the Papal court) reveals to us more clearly the English King as an able politician, and also his aims in France, and the means used to attain these aims, in which Brittany plays only a minor part.
After the captivity of her husband, Jeanne de Penthièvre intended as early as 1347 to form an alliance between Brittany and England, and to marry her eldest son to one of King Edward’s daughters.\(^1\) Communications upon this matter were made to Edward by the Pope, but the King turned a deaf ear.\(^2\) His aim was to secure a general peace with France under favourable conditions, similar to those of the Treaty of 1359-1360. Proctors from England and France carried on negotiations in Calais, but only short armistices, several times renewed till August, 1351,\(^3\) were settled. Nothing was said about Charles de Blois in these armistices, but he probably knew that he would have to pay a large ransom for his deliverance. At the beginning of the peace negotiations in the summer of 1351 Charles was taken to Calais and was allowed to see his wife, and I am inclined to think Edward’s motive of this undertaking was not so much chivalrous\(^4\) as practical. He then wanted to win over Brittany and thus exercise a stronger pressure on France. It is possible that the visit to Calais was made for the preliminary discussion of the terms of Charles’ ransom and that from these discussions emerged the scheme of the treaty, which was formally arranged by English and Breton proctors at Westminster on March 1, 1353. We know of this treaty through Robert of Avesbury, but the contents were unknown, and Avesbury does not give the exact date.\(^5\) Déprez gives some facts relating to it from the political correspondence with the Papal court and cites the amount of the ransom, which he puts too high, from the deposition of Charles’ surgeon, George de Lesnen, during the canonisation.\(^6\) Déprez thinks the treaty is irrevocably lost, even wilfully destroyed.\(^7\) It may be so, but fortunately we have a copy in a manuscript written during the second half of the fourteenth century, possibly by an official of the royal administration, which I was fortunate enough to find during my stay in London in 1929, and which is now preserved in Manchester

\(^1\) Déprez, Querelle, 26.
\(^2\) Ib. 27.
\(^3\) See the details in Déprez, Querelle, 28-30.
\(^4\) Déprez, Querelle, 35: “Edward III eut même une pensée généreuse dont il n’était pas coutumier.”
\(^5\) Avesbury, ed. Thompson, p. 418; cf. Pocquet, p. 317; Déprez, 39 sqq.
\(^6\) Déprez, 41: *Monuments du procès de canonisation*, p. 28.
\(^7\) Déprez, 42.
as John Rylands Library, Latin MS. 404.¹ Let us try to indicate briefly the contents of the various clauses of this hitherto unknown treaty between Edward III and Charles de Blois.²

Gautier, Bishop of Vannes,³ Jean, Lord of Beaumanoir, Evain Charruel, and Robert de Saint-Père, Knights, Raffroi, Archdeacon of Rennes, and Oliver de Moizell, plenipotentiaries of Jeanne, Duchess of Brittany, and of the prelates, barons, and the whole country of Brittany, are delegated to treat for the deliverance of Charles de Blois and for an alliance with the English King. The King has consented to the discussion of this matter with the Breton plenipotentiaries in his Council, and they have come to terms on the following points:—

(1) A perpetual peace and alliance is established between King Edward and Brittany, and war is to cease in that country, and also in the viscounty of Limoges.

(2) The King of England, at the request of the Duke and Duchess, will assist them with arms in any defensive or offensive war. In the event of such a request the Duke will in turn assist the King against the French or others without any exception, whenever required. If the King requires help before such a request is made by the Duke, the Duke will come to his help in person with his troops at his own expense, saving his allegiance and engagements to any third parties.

(3) So long as Brittany is not at war with France, neither the English nor French are to enter either that country or the Limousin.

(4) English ships are allowed to enter the harbours of Brittany and to buy victuals and other necessary goods in that country, but

¹ For Latin MS. 404 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, see E.H.R. Vol. XLV (1930), 353-372. There are certain registers, written in the chancery of William of Hainault (cf. Th. van Riemsdijk, de Tresorie en Kanselarij van de Graven van Holland, 1908), preserved in the “Allgemeen Rijksarchief” at the Hague, of which I saw E.L. 40 and E.L. 23. Both manuscripts are in size and in other details similar to Latin MS. 404, as also is the surviving part of the register of the Emperor Louis IV (1314-1347), now preserved in the Hauptstaatsarchiv at Munich.

² Cf. Appendix, p. 84.

³ Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica, 1913, p. 520; Gautier de Saint-Pern, counsellor of Charles, cf. Pocquet, 337. The same commission gets a sauf-conduit on Dec. 30, 1352, cf. Rymer, III, pt. i, 250, 4, where the list of names is not given correctly; Déprez, Querelle, 37, Charruel is one of the “Thirty;” Pocquet, 340.
without purveyance rights of the English King ("pour lour deniers painantz").

(5) The English merchants have the right to trade in Brittany, and the Bretons to do likewise in England. In case of complaints the local justices are competent to act. The merchants may carry arms for their self defence.

(6) John, eldest son of Charles de Blois, and Margaret, daughter of King Edward, are to be married.

(a) If the said John dies after his accession as Duke of Brittany, his wife is to get the third part of all his possessions in Brittany, as well as elsewhere. If he dies before succeeding to the title, his wife will get an annuity of £2,000 sterling (10,000 livres de bons petitz tournois, accountant 5 tournois a un esterling currant en Engleterre) in land rents and revenues.

(b) The Duke Charles is to procure a dispensation for this marriage at the Papal court.

(c) If Princess Margaret dies before the marriage has taken place, she is to be replaced by her younger sister, and similarly the younger brother Guy has to fill the place of John if he survives his brother. In this case also the dispensation must be purchased by the Duke of Brittany.

(7) For his deliverance from prison and for the restitution of the Breton towns and fortifications Charles has to pay 300,000 "escutz dor" (£50,000 sterling), "chescun escu valant quarante bons esterlings dargent courrantz en Engleterre" to King Edward or his heirs.

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1 See Friedrich von Schroeetter, Wörterbuch der Münzkunde, 1930, under "sterling," where the weights of sterling under Edward III are given, and also under "écu," and C. G. Crump and C. Johnson, Tables of Bullion (Numismatic Chronicle, 4th series, Vol. XII, 1913, p. 200 sqq.).

2 The dispensation of marriage by the Pope was procured on May 6, 1353, see Poquet, p. 317. Jean, the eldest son of Charles and Jeanne de Penthièvre, was born at Jugon, February 5, 1345; Poquet, I, 286.

3 According to this treaty Papal dispensations for the marriages were procured on May 13, 1354; Poquet's details (p. 321) must be corrected: the arrangement of this marriage was made earlier than he thinks, namely in the treaty of March 1.

4 Poquet, p. 314: "en considération de cette alliance (between Margaret, daughter of Charles of Blois, and Charles of Spain, Constable of France) Jean II . . . s'engageait à payer la rançon de Charles de Blois. Cet accord et ce mariage étaient probablement choses faites en Mars 1352." I cannot
(a) If there is peace between Brittany and France the sum is payable in instalments over 6 years, due Michaelmas and Easter each year. The first sum falls due at Michaelmas 1353, the second at Easter 1354, making an annual sum of 50,000 écus.

(b) If there is open war in consequence of this alliance, the payment shall be extended over 8 years at the rate of 40,000 écus a year. In addition the Duke releases John de Beauchamp, quit of all claims for ransom.

(8) The English King will deliver the whole country of Brittany and Limoges, which he possesses in his own name and in the name of John de Montfort, to Charles de Blois, except the lands to be reserved for the above-named infant; and if anybody is not willing to obey, the King will assist the Duke to eject him at his own expense.

(9) John de Montfort on, or before, coming of age is to receive in rents each year £1,400 sterling, "7,000 livres de bons petitz tournois, cynk tournois valent un esterling dengleterre"; 1,000 pounds of this sum are to be contributed by the revenues of Guérande, the heritage left him by his father. If the county of Montfort is given back to John, its revenues are to be counted towards the 6,000 pounds. As long as John is in his minority, a keeper (gardein) appointed by the King is to govern Guérande and to receive 2,000 pounds a year from the Duke of Brittany, whilst the remainder of the 6,000 pounds is to be found by the King. When these points are settled, the child of Montfort will renounce his rights to Brittany.

(10) The titles of property in Brittany are to be restored as they were before the war. If Englishmen are married to Breton heiresses, they must not be disturbed in their rights, and an amnesty is to be granted to all adherents of Montfort. The securities for the Treaties are procured under the ancient Breton forms.

(11) The Breton proctors have sworn to procure letters of assent make out the reason for this date given by M. Pocquet. It is possible that this scheme was ventilated between the French King and Charles de Blois. In Charles' treaty with the English King there is no mention of it, and the instalments are also to be paid in case of open war between France and Brittany.

1 See §§ 2 and 3 of the treaty. 2 It lies at the mouth of the Loire. 3 Montfort-l'Amaury, dep. Seine et Oise, see L. Mirot, Manuel de géographie historique de la France, p. 134.
from the "estates" of Brittany \(^1\) and also the consent of the Papal court, besides the letters of the Duke and the Duchess.

(12) John, Guy, and Mary, children of Charles de Blois, are to be sent as hostages to England, whilst the King's daughter Margaret is to live with the Duchess of Brittany.

(13) King Edward sends proctors to Brittany and the Limousin to see that everything is completed, the oaths sworn, and the consenting letters sealed with close observance of the formalities. After this they have authority to deliver the towns and castles to Charles de Blois. The King is allowed to keep John, the Duke's son, with him for eight or ten years, "ou tant come il lui pèrra."

(14) King Edward and his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, promise to observe this treaty, and a large number of English witnesses have sworn to see to the keeping of the treaty.\(^2\)

This document shows clearly that Edward III abandoned the rights of Jean de Montfort in spite of his tutorship, and that he was willing to recognise Charles de Blois as Duke of Brittany, and to cause Jean to renounce his rights to the duchy. The King was about to enter into an alliance with Charles de Blois and to make use of his assistance against the French King in the same way as he had used the help of his German allies some ten years earlier. Edward adopted this new policy after many negotiations for the general peace, which, however, never led to more than an armistice several times renewed. Thus Edward detached the Breton question, and "la querelle de Bretagne" was regulated by a treaty and alliance, to which the nobles,\(^3\) the clergy, and the communes of Brittany gave their consent. But the text of this treaty was not yet ratified, and before that stage was reached more negotiations between the proctors were necessary.

Many negotiations had preceded this treaty since 1351. On March 26, 1352, Charles de Blois was allowed to go to his own country, although not alone. The King sent two trusty persons with

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\(^1\) About the "Trois Etats" of the duchy see Pocquet, I, 315. Perhaps Edward's wish to get as much security as possible was the reason for uniting "les Etats de Dinan." Pocquet, however, thinks of the English Parliament as their model.

\(^2\) The list of names (Appendix, p. 90) is important for the administrative history of these years, many of them are given in Tout, Chapters, III; e.g. Winwick, III, 225 sq.; about the "primacy of England," see ib., p. 206.

\(^3\) Déprez, Querelle, 42.
him, Michael de Northburgh, keeper of the King's privy seal, and Robert de Herle, captain of Calais. The instructions to the proctors mention only the ransom and financial points relating to its fulfilment, so we can understand why Déprez considers only these financial transactions and postulates a treaty only about the ransom. It seems as if Charles returned to England as early as May 1352; but the negotiations had not ceased, for the same proctors mentioned in the treaty of March 1, 1353, received safe-conduct to England on December 30, 1352. Then a commission differing only in two names, had safe-conduct on March 10, 1353. We know that the two sons of Charles de Blois were in England in “custodia nostra” on June 18, 1353. We have already mentioned that Papal dispensations were procured for John de Blois on May 6, 1353, and for Guy on May 13, 1354. In the same year safe-conduct was given to the Count of Rohan to visit Charles de Blois. There can be no doubt that this treaty was really ratified by both parties and its conditions put in force, and it is possible that the ratification was accomplished not later than 1353, and that the payment of five marks to the clerk,

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1 Rymer, III, pt. i, 241, 3; Déprez, 37; Pocquet, 1, 314.
2 Cf. the notice from the Exch. Accounts, bundle 313, n. 10, mentioned by Déprez, 37, n. 48: Jean Avenel is sent to France “ad querendum Carolum de Blois;” cf. Mirot-Déprez, Les Ambassades Anglaises, Bibl. de l’École des Chartes, 1898, p. 573, No. CXLIV.
3 Rymer, III, pt. i, 250, 4; C.P.R. 1350/54, p. 469; Déprez, 37; their testimonial letter is dated November 29, 1352, cf. Pocquet, I, 316, after the text in H. Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l’histoire . . . de Bretagne, I (Paris, 1742), col. 1486; see also C.P.R. 1350/54, pp. 375, 492: safe-conduct on December 10, 1352, and September 20, 1353, for the King’s clerk, John Coupegorge, in coming to England and then returning to Brittany.
4 Rymer, III, 254, 1; Déprez, 37.
5 Rymer, III, 259, 2; Déprez, 40.
6 See p. 64 Déprez, 41 and Pocquet, 317 sqq., where are given more details of the negotiations with Avignon.
7 Répertoire Sommaire des documents manuscrit de l’histoire de Bretagne, t. 1, 1914, par H. du Halgouet, p. 81; the ambassador was perhaps Jean, Vicomte de Rohan; Déprez, 43; Pocquet, 338: “Famille toute dévouée à Charles de Blois.”
8 In the treaty of August 9, 1356, we read about the treaty of March 1, 1353: “articles estoient trez accordez et affermez . . . sur nostre deliverance de prison . . . et sur amours et perpetuelles alliances . . . si come es. lettres patentes seales dune part et dautre . . . est contenuz.”
William Stok, is connected with this matter. But why did King Edward not adhere to it? For it is quite clear from another treaty between Edward III and Charles de Blois, the treaty of London, dated August 9, 1356, that he, and not Charles de Blois, gave it up. As to this new treaty of 1356 we may pass over it quickly, since we have an exact analysis by Déprez, and only draw attention to the main points. In this second treaty nothing is said about an alliance, or about a marriage between the children, or about the restitution of Brittany by Edward to Charles: only the possibility that Charles may be slain by the party of his opponent, John de Montfort, is mentioned. We recall the gloomy picture of the eighteenth century suggested above, for in the fourteenth century we have the same merciless civil war, some features of which are depicted by Déprez.

In the treaty of 1356 the main point is the ransom of Charles. This is the very heavy sum of 700,000 "florins del escutz d'or," but the sum is to be reduced by half if the instalments are paid punctually, so that the difference from the sum of 1352 is not very large, and the greater figure seems to be a security for punctual payments. The last instalment must be paid on September 29, 1361. John and Guy, the two sons of Charles, are left as hostages, but after the first payment John is to be allowed to leave England. If the treaty is broken,

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1 Déprez, Querelle, 16; Pocquet, I, 317, n. 1.
2 Déprez, 50 sgg. The original of the treaty is preserved in Publ. Rec. Office, Dipl. Doc. Exchequer, no. 74. It is not well preserved, the writing is worn and partly unreadable. We have, however, a copy in Rylands Lat. MS. 404; cf. E.H.R., XLV, p. 368, No. 113. The wording is quite the same, allowing for the change of persons as the document of Edward III, dated August 10; see Rymer, III, 337. After line 9 from the bottom: . . . "ville persone et enfame a toutz iours" is an addition: Charles, for the sake of greater security, submits himself and his country to the jurisdiction of the Papal court, chamber, and auditor, if he should try to break the treaty.
3 Déprez, Querelle, 56, sgg., see also C.P.R. 1354/58, pp. 178 and 219: Edward's grant to the Abbot of Bonrepos, in Brittany, begging his bread in England.
4 As to the value, cf. Déprez, 51.
5 "Volons . . . que, si le ditmonsieur Charles face prestement paier es lieu et termes desusditz la moite de la somme, quelle il est tenuz et chargez par ses dites lettres de paier en chescun des termes avantditz, que l'autre moite de chescun terme lors lui soit de tout pardonez," Rymer, III, 336. Charles's document has "Et ensemement come il nous eit grantez . . . que si nous faisons prestement . . . pardonnez."
Charles has to return to England. We have already mentioned that the treaty of March 1, 1353, sealed by Edward III, and in the possession of Charles, must be delivered in London.\(^1\) In the same month Charles left London for ever with his young daughter.\(^2\)

Medieval writers have sought for an explanation of the abandonment of the treaty of 1353 and for altering the conditions so considerably as was done in the treaty of 1356. I think M. Pocquet is quite right in regarding the reasons given by Robert of Avesbury as only incidental ones, and that he is also right in stating that Henry of Lancaster was not opposed to Charles de Blois, and that it was not Henry who caused the rupture of the more favourable treaty.\(^3\) M. Pocquet\(^4\) takes the question psychologically and asks: who was the loser by the treaty of 1353? He answers quite correctly: the French King only. He believes, therefore, that the French King used his influence with the Pope to delay the bulls of dispensation. That may be so, but they were procured before the treaty of 1353 was annulled. M. Pocquet mentions the connection of another incident with the rupture of the treaty of marriage, namely the assassination of Charles d'Espagne, Constable of France. Charles d'Espagne was about to marry Margaret, daughter of Charles de Blois; therefore the French King, so he says, had promised to pay the ransom for Charles de Blois. After the assassination of Charles d'Espagne, the French King had no interest in keeping his promise, and therefore Edward annulled the treaty with Charles de Blois, because he thought the ransom was now lost.\(^5\)

It is not quite clear, however, why Edward in 1354 should break a treaty for fear of losing the ransom which was even increased in

\(^1\) Cf. details in Dépreez, 52. For the consequences of the broken treaty left in Charles’ hands, see Pocquet, I, 320 sq. Charles restored his copy on July 13, 1357 (Rymer, III, 360, 2).  
\(^2\) Dépreez, 53.  
\(^3\) Avesbury (ed. E. M. Thompson, London, 1889, p. 419 sq.) makes a statement that Charles’ followers slaughtered an English garrison in Brittany and thus incensed the English King, which is often repeated (cf. R. Pauli, Geschichte von England, IV, 423). This enterprise can only have been an accidental cause of the treaty being annulled.  
\(^4\) Pocquet, I, 318 sqq.  
\(^5\) Pocquet states (after Lesnen): “Car précisément dans les mois qui suivirent cette date (the assassination took place on January 8, 1354) le roi Edouard, désespérant de voir rentrer dans ces caisses la rançon de Charles de Blois, rompit un autre projet de mariage échafaudé entre lui et son prisonnier,” see op. cit., p. 314 sq.
amount and at least partially paid by Brittany two years later. We remember that no mention is made of a payment by the French King in the treaty of 1353. Edward must have had other reasons. But before we try to understand this remarkable alteration in the King's behaviour towards Charles de Blois, let us glance over the English negotiations with France during these years, for which new documents are furnished by Rylands Latin MS. 404.

After the famous conquest of Calais an armistice was initiated on September 28, 1347, and prolonged from time to time. Pope Clement VI tried in vain to make a lasting peace between the two adversaries. His successor, Innocent VI, was more fortunate in this respect, and a treaty was formulated by English and French pleni potentiaries, of which till now only the date was known and some items surmised from the evidence of the Papal registers. Fortunately, a copy of the treaty is preserved in Rylands Latin MS. 404.

Now let us consider the contents of this treaty of Guines, of April 6, 1354.

By the mediation of (Guy), Cardinal of Boulogne, the following treaty is concluded by the English and French pleni potentiaries. The names of the English are: William (Batemane), Bishop of Norwich.

1 Cf. p. 64 sq.
3 Rymer, Ill, 136, 4.
4 Déprez, Querelles, 28 sqq.
5 G. Mollat, Innocent VI et les tentatives de paix, Revue d'hist. eccl., Louvain, 1909, p. 729-743; the date is not given exactly by E. Cosneau in Les grandes traités de la Guerre de Cent Ans (Paris, 1889), p. 1, where the treaty is mentioned.
6 Mollat in his sagacious essay on Innocent VI et les tentatives de paix, cf. the preceding note.
8 Cf. Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, ed. altera, pp. 18, 316. The initiative was with the French King, cf. Mollat, Innocent VI, p. 730. The negotiations began in the spring of 1353 (ib., 731). Touching the partiality of the Cardinal—he was a near relative of the French King—see ib., 736; Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, 1 (1909), 38.
9 Eubel, 371; he was English Ambassador at Avignon in 1345, see Pocquet, I, 295.
William (Clynton), Earl of Huntingdon,\(^1\) Michael de Northburgh, keeper of the privy seal, legum doctor, canon of the churches of London and York,\(^2\) Renaud de Cobham, captain of Calais.\(^3\)

The names of the French are: Peter (de Foresta), Archbishop of Rouen,\(^4\) William (Bertrand), Bishop of Beauvais,\(^5\) Robert (le Cocq), Bishop of Laon,\(^6\) Robert, Count of Rossy,\(^7\) Pierre (?) de Châtillon,\(^8\) Robert de Lorris (Sire d'Ermenonville), Chamberlain of the King.\(^9\)

1. The French King is to cede as an allodium all the possessions which are named in a note ("cedula") sent to the Pope, namely, (a) The duchy of Aquitaine or\(^{10}\) Guyenne, (b) The counties of Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Ponthieu, and Limoges—if found

\(^1\) Rymer, III, 260, 5; Doyle, Official baronage, II, 225; Tout, Chapters, III, 106.

\(^2\) Rymer, III, 268, 4, and 260, 5.

\(^3\) For the reasons of the absence of the Duke of Lancaster see Delachenal, Premières Négociations de Charles le Mauvais, Bibl. de l'école des Chartes, 1900, 264.

\(^4\) Eubel, Hierarchia, 2, 426.

\(^5\) Ib., 132.

\(^6\) Ib., 296. Our manuscript has in error "William" of Laon, probably repeating the name of the preceding Bishop. The correct name, Robert, is to be found in the treaty of armistice, dated March 10, 1353, see Rymer, III, 254, 2. His name occurs in a treaty of April 6, 1354, i.e. the same date as our treaty, cf. Rymer, III, 276, 4. For Robert's interesting life see Delachenal, Charles V, I, 115, 134.

\(^7\) In the manuscript: "A. Conte de Rossy"; Rymer, III, 276, 4, has "Robert Conte de Roncy = Roucy" (Aisne, cant. Neuchâtel-sur-Aisne).

\(^8\) In Latin MS. 404, Piers de Chastillou. In Rymer, III, 276, 4, we read Gauchier de Chasteillon, seigneur de la Ferte (i.e. La Ferté-Somme). The same occurs in 1360, ib., 536; ob. 1377: see Anselme, Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France, etc., VIII (1730), p. 875. I have to thank Mr. Charles Johnson for this identification.

\(^9\) Rymer, III, 276, 4. Mollat, Innocent VI, 730: This "favorit" was in Avignon in January, 1353. See Lorris' part in the negotiations of Valognes in Delachenal, Charles V, I, 109.

\(^10\) The ancient form of the name Aquitaine is explained by the name Guyenne; "seu" means here "or," though we have it meaning "et" in the same document; cf. p. 73, 8. Edward III has the title of duc d'Aquitaine, or duc d'Aquitaine. As to Guayenne, cf. the map following p. 132 in L. Mirot, Manuel de Géographie Historique de la France, 1930—the other above-mentioned names are in the index. The Latin style of the document indicates that the scribe was acquainted with the phraseology of the papal court. It possibly received the final wording by the scribe of Guy de Boulogne.
out that it does not belong to the duchy.1 (c) Calais, Marck, Oye, Cologne, Sangatte, Guines.

2. The boundaries of Aquitaine-Guyenne are those acquired by Charles de Valois.2 To define these boundaries, each King has to name two trusty persons before the following October. If this committee does not come to an agreement, the case is to be brought before an arbitrator. The arbitration must take place before Innocent VI (in his private capacity of Stephen Alberti) as an arbitrator, before, or during, the following December.

3. Two younger sons of the English King are to marry two daughters of the French King, on coming of age. Each is to receive a dowry of 100,000 ancient “écus d’or.”

4. All alienations made or charges created by the King of France in Aquitaine-Guyenne must be revoked and the full rights restored to the English King.

5. Alliance and friendship is to be established between the two Kings, and every engagement acting against this alliance is to be cancelled.3

6. Spoliations made during the war on both sides are to be made

1 “In casu quo non fuerit de Ducatu.” As to Ponthieu, Edward III will compensate his mother for it. Ponthieu and Montreuil were granted to Edward’s mother for life on September 24, 1334, cf. Dipl. Docs. Exch. 62. (Lists and Indexes, 49, p. 12; Rymer, II, pt. ii, 893, 2.)

2 Charles de Valois overran and conquered Guyenne on behalf of his uncle, Charles IV, in 1324 (Capitulation de la Récule), see Mirot, Manuel, p. 124 sq. On March 31, 1324, a truce was concluded (J. Dumont, Corps Universel Dipl. du Droit des Gens, Amsterdam, 1726, Vol. II, p. 66, No. CVII). The final Treaty of Peace was made on May 31, 1325, at Paris; Rymer, II, 137, cf. E. Déprez, Les Préliminaires de la guerre de cent ans (1902, Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome Fasc. 86), p. 19. Dumont prints the text of the truce (No. CVII.) from MS. of the State Library in Berlin. The latter is MS. Gall. fol. 86: Traictes, Memoires, Actes et autres pieces, concernant les Royaumes de France et d’Angleterre depuis 1193 jusques a 1333 (cf. Mitteilungen aus der Königl. Bibliothek, Vol. IV. Berlin, 1918: Kurses Verzeichniss der romanischen Handschriften, p. 6). It is a folio MS. on paper, in handwriting of the seventeenth century, bound in red leather. The printed text of Dumont is correct. MS. Gall. fol. 87 is the same for the years 1340-1498, fol. 88 is the same for 1514-1564, fol. 89 is the same for 1572-1628, fol. 90 is the same for 1495-1630.

3 Compare Edward’s Treaty with Charles de Blois, March 1, 1353.
good, but the English conquests in France are to remain in the hands of the English as above provided.

7. The terms of the Treaty are to be proclaimed by the Pope, and both parties are to send sufficient proctors before October 1 to treat in his presence.

8. The English plenipotentiaries sent to the Pope on this occasion must have the power of renouncing all rights to the French Crown; and the French plenipotentiaries that of granting the above-named possessions as an allood, without any legal restrictions (homagium seu (= et) resortum).

9. Both parties promise under oath, that proctors will be sent to the Papal court before the first of October next and the Cardinal of Boulogne promises that everything will be carried out, that the treaty will be kept secret, and that the ambassadors will pursue no secret aims, either at the Papal court or elsewhere.

10. A truce recently initiated is to last till April 1, 1355. (This truce was prolonged to October, 1, 1355.)

Although the truce was completed at once and entered on the English Chancery Rolls, the peace treaty had to be discussed again before the Pope. The English plenipotentiaries received their procuration for this purpose, especially the power of renouncing the claim to the French Crown, on the 28th of August. On the same day the English clergy and nobles promised to observe the treaty which the proctors were about to conclude, but it seems that this procuration letter was not used, though the reason for the delay is not known to us.

Anyhow, on October 30, another procuration was given to seven proctors, among whom we find only three of the ambassadors named on August 28. This procuration is shorter than the first and has only the usual formula without any particular instructions. The

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1 See the special treaty of armistice in Rymer, III, 276, 4.
2 Rymer, III, 283, 2 and III, 284, 1. The Pope has to act only as a private person, as an arbitrator, see Mollat, *Innocent VI et les Tentatives de Paix*, Revue d'Hist. eccles. X (1909), p. 739; ib., concerning the announcement of the English proctors in Avignon.
3 Rymer, III, 284, 2 and 3.
4 One would like to know how the delay was brought into accordance with § 9 of the Treaty of April 6, which contains the promise of both parties to send proctors before the first of October, 1354.
6 Rymer, III, 289, 4.
sentence about the Pope acting as a private person is omitted. We only learn from the procuratio, that the King, in accordance with the dictum of the Treaty of Guines, sends proctors to treat for final peace with French ambassadors, and especially touching the right to the French Crown, and to discuss the boundaries of the possessions to be ceded by the French King. Apart from the date, it is strictly in accordance with the dicta of the treaty of April 6. The remarkable thing is, as we have long known, that the Duke of Lancaster, though his name does not occur in the second procuratio (of October 30), was at Avignon during the end of 1354. A document in Latin MS. 404 solves this problem. On the same day, October 30, a secret instruction was given by King and Council to two confidants of the King, namely to the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Arundel, whose names occurred in the procuratio of August 28. The two latter, however, do not act as officials, and certainly they had no Latin procuratio like that given to the seven proctors on the same day. If forced by necessity they had to show a short "credence secréte," a document saying very little, the word "secrète" only meaning that it was not so very secret. It was drawn up so as not to reveal too much if it had to be shown, and soon some "confidants" may have seen it, "secretly" of course. We learn from it the humble language Lancaster had to use when he first met the Pope on Christmas day at the State Banquet. The contents of the "credence secrète" are as follows:

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1 See §§ 2, 7, and 8 of the Treaty of April 6, p. 92 sq.
4 Lat. MS. 404, fol. 56.
6 "La lettre de credence ne la credence sur cestes matieres ne soient, monstrees au saint prier" (Appendix p. 94 [5]). They have not to "show their credentials nor make it public that they are sent as officials."
7 Lat. MS. 404, fol. 56v, Appendix, p. 94.
8 Mollat, *Innocent VI et les Tentatives de Paix*, p. 740; K. H. Schäfer *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer*, Vat. Quellen III, 1914, p. 558. Researches for more details kindly undertaken by Dr. C. Erdmann of the Preussisches Historisches Institut in Rome were without result.
1. The ambassadors are to tell the Pope that the King recognises God's goodness to him and desires to exert his strength against God's enemies.

2. Of his free will, without coercion, he will give up some of his hereditary rights in order to secure peace with France.

3. If peace can be made on the terms offered, he is well content; if not, matters shall stand as though no offer had been made.

4. On account of his deep affection for the Pope he has chosen him as arbitrator in the unsettled question of the boundaries.

5. The "lettre de credence" and the "credences sur cestes matières" are to be shown only of necessity.

There is another document preserved in the same manuscript\(^1\) namely, a "charge" given to Lancaster and Arundel, which is really a secret instruction informing the two ambassadors how far they might go in abandoning English territorial claims. This document would have been dangerous if it had become known, as the contents show:

1. The ambassadors have to commend the King and Queen and their children to the Pope.

2. They have to confirm the Treaty of Guines, but the wording here is noteworthy: the duchy of Guyenne and the other possessions named in the oft-mentioned cedula sent to the Pope through the King's confessor are to be given to the English King as compensation for the French Crown, no mention is made of this in the treaty itself.

3. The contents of this cedula, namely the possessions claimed by the English, are given in the following order:

\(a\) The duchies of Aquitaine-Guyenne, and Normandy,

\(b\) The counties of Ponthieu, Angers and Anjou, Poitiers and Poitou, Le Mans and Maine, Tours and Touraine, Angoulême and Angoumois, Cahors, and Quercy, Limoges and Limousin, and all the countries conquered since the beginning of the war.

4. To get a "bonne pièces" they may give up Normandy, Cahors, Quercy, and Angoulême, unless the last three are found to be part of the ancient duchy of Guyenne, in which case they are not to be given up. Cahors, Quercy and Angoulême are to be claimed as demesne, unless it appears that the King's ancestors only had feudal superiority.

5. If the plenipotentiaries have to renounce Angoulême and Angoumois, they must try to obtain other inland territories as

\(^1\) Latin MS. 404, fol. 56, Appendix p. 94.
compensation ("bonne pees"). But they are not to push matters so far as to cause the break up of the whole conference.

6. Concerning the boundaries of the possessions to be ceded by the French, the proctors have first to try to come to an agreement with the French ambassadors before they make use of their power of appointing the Pope as an arbitrator. If that does happen they must try to complete the whole business before the first of April next.

7. They have to procure every kind of security from the French, since the English King is ready to give any form of security demanded.

8. They may prolong the armistice till Whitsuntide next.

Why did the King send these two embassies? We hear no more of the official proctors. They may have played their parts in committees as usual. But Lancaster and Arundel, certainly the main persons in this diplomatic scheme, had every liberty to come and go as they liked, to interview important persons on their own account, to show their "secret instruction," and to retire into privacy if they found it necessary. So they had the opportunity to smooth the way everywhere, even if necessary by bribery, acting of course as "private persons." There is an extra sum of 2000 marks in Lancaster's original account delivered to the Exchequer after his return,¹ in addition to his very high daily expenses. It may be that this sum was used for some such secret method of procuring friends in Avignon. On the whole we have an opportunity to

¹ Publ. Rec. Office, E.101, bundle 313, No. 25, Appendix, p. 96. Mirot and Déprez, Ambassades Anglaises, Bibl. de l'école des chartes, LIX, 1898, p. 575, No. CLXXXII, have the wrong date 1355-56. The heading of the membrane has "anno regni E... XXIX"; on Nov. 3, 29 Ed. III, Lancaster is at Dover, but as on the dorse we find the note "intranitur primo die Julii a° XXIX," it is evident that the Exchequer year is meant, and the 29th Exchequer year lasts from Michaelmas 1354 to Michaelmas 1355. The figures of the account may be given here:

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which is paid in May, 1355.
penetrate the secrecy of fourteenth century diplomacy in a way which is seldom possible, because these secret instructions were not entered on the Chancery Rolls. It reveals to us the diplomatic skill of Edward III, and reminds us of quite modern diplomatic transactions.

In spite of all these endeavours and abundant means the Duke did not succeed, because the French ambassadors broke the treaty of April 6 and did not renounce the suzerainty of Guyenne, as it seems with the connivance of the Pope or at least that of Guy de Boulogne. There seems to be a similar alliance between Pope and French King, as that through which the Emperor Louis IV of Germany had failed in his endeavour to come to terms with the Papal court a score of years earlier. Edward, however, had to go to war once more till he secured the conquered possessions in France by means of a treaty and put an end to the divided allegiance of his subjects in Southern France. There was soon fighting again in two theatres of war; in the northern region the Duke of Lancaster held command, in the southern region the Prince of Wales was in charge. A decisive victory was gained at Poitiers on September 19, 1356. Before this battle, on August 1, the Prince of Wales secured a procuration to reopen peace negotiations with France in quite formal terms. This procuration was renewed on December 15. Two days later a secret instruction was given to the Black Prince by a special ambassador, Nigel or Niel Loreng. This secret instruction (charge) also is preserved in Rylands Latin MS. 404, and states:

1. The King gives his consent that at the request of the French peace negotiations may be reopened a fortnight after Christmas. The English plenipotentiary is to be the Prince of Wales.

2. Until the French conditions are exactly known, negotiations must be dilatory in character,—the main English point is the “permanent liberty” of their possessions in France.

1 Baker, l.c., 124. On June 1, 1355, Edward speaks of the French ambassadors in strong terms: they were sent “in dolo” to the Pope, while the King was “vulpina calliditate, unum agens et aliud similans” (see Rymer, III, 303, 3). We can easily understand why Edward fought for the sovereign right in Guyenne, when we consider the causes of friction arising from the right of the English vassals to appeal to the Court of France as is to be seen in Rothwell’s and Black’s articles in E.H.R., XIII, 572, and XVII, 518.

2 Rymer, III, 333, 5.

3 Ibid., 334: “Consimiles litterae fiunt sub data XV diei Decembria.”

4 Fol. 56b-57b, Appendix, p. 97.
3. On account of the dilatory character of the proceedings another term has to be fixed, if possible at Guines (*lieu acoustume*), between Easter and Whitsuntide next.

4. If the French are not inclined to grant "permanent liberty;" an effort must be made to get *(a)* liberty for a certain period, *(b)* territorial compensations, *(c)* compensations in money, and *(d)* compensation by marriage. The intentions of the French should be sounded during these dilatory negotiations by the discussion of those points.

5. An armistice is to be initiated, possibly till S. John (24 June) next, but excluding Brittany and Normandy, if the Duke of Lancaster does not inform the Prince of Wales that he wishes to be included.\(^1\) In this case Philip of Navarre\(^2\) and his adherents must be included as well as William of Bavaria, and his possessions, namely Hainault, Holland and Zeeland, and Aymer de Belvoir,\(^3\) but not the Scotch,\(^4\) who are to have special negotiations with England at London.

6. On the occasion of the negotiations the cardinal\(^5\) must be informed of the Papal encroachments and of the malice of the Bishop of Ely\(^6\) and of the census demanded for England and Ireland, so that he may try to annul the censures against King Edward.

7. The English plenipotentiaries must procure information as to the boundaries of Guyenne in order to be able to settle former discrepancies.

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\(^{1}\) On 15 Dec., 1356, Lancaster was made plenipotentiary to treat for Brittany and Normandy.

\(^{2}\) Philip is the brother of Charles of Navarre. When the latter was arrested by the French in April, 1356, Philip invited the English to Normandy, *Tout, Pol. Hist.*, III, 387. On June 18 Lancaster landed at La Hogue to aid the Norman rebels and to establish John of Montfort in Brittany, *ib.* For Charles II (le Mauvais), see Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. I, p. 74 sqq.


\(^{4}\) See *ib.*, 328.

\(^{5}\) Cardinal Talleyrand, who was with the French army and negotiated with the English before the Battle of Poitiers; see *Tout, Eoi. Hist.*, III, 389. Soon after Poitiers Talleyrand reopened negotiations with Edward, Prince of Wales, *ib.*, 392.

\(^{6}\) Concerning the case between the Bishop of Ely and the daughter of Lancaster, see *Tout, Chapters*, III, 207. I could not find any other information of this case being discussed at Avignon, or of the King being threatened with ecclesiastical censures.
8. The King orders the Prince of Wales to come to London with his royal prisoner.¹

The negotiations lasted till March 24, 1359, when the Treaty of London was concluded.² This treaty had the same fate as the treaty of April 6, 1354, and was not ratified. The final treaty was concluded at Brétigny on May 8, 1360.³

It is interesting to see how Edward realised all his territorial claims, even those possessions which he was willing to renounce in 1354, according to the secret instruction to his ambassadors. The suzerainty of Guyenne was granted to him for: “ce que le roy tient en Guienne et Gascoigne,” he possesses “ce que en demaine en demaine, ce que en fié en fié.”⁴ It would lead us too far afield to discuss every detail of this final treaty. The facts are clear enough to show the tenacity with which Edward pursued his political claims in France till he attained his object, namely the overthrow of the French suzerainty in Guyenne.⁵ Our new documents therefore confirm the fact that Edward III went to war with France because of his determined political claims and not as the bellicose adventurer depicted by some historians. We have to take this into account in searching for the clue to Edward’s behaviour to Charles de Blois.

As an analysis of the political documents shows, after the seizure of Calais the strategical objective of Edward was to make peace with France on terms securing him large districts in France and to secure their possession by a general treaty. As I see it, the claims relating to Brittany were only a tactical objective in order to attain the strategical one. The treaty of March 1, 1353, with Charles de Blois, was primarily a means towards securing a treaty with France. Whichever of the two claimants could help him to achieve the main

¹ On May 24, the Prince led King John through the streets of London, Tout, Pol. Hist., III, 393.
² E. Cosneau, Les grand traités (1889), p. 1; another copy is in Rylands Latin MS. 404, ff 59b-64b; cf. E.H.R., XLV, p. 370, No. 128.
³ Cosneau, 33.
⁴ Cosneau, 40.
⁵ Edward’s tenacity on this point confirms the thesis of Déprez, Preliminaires de la guerre de cent ans (Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 86 (1902)), that the main reason of the 100 Years’ War was found in Southern France, where the English King was the vassal of the French, cf. pp. 4, 48, 55, 64. See also M. Gavrilovitch, Traité de Paris de 1259 (Bibl. de l’École des Hautes Études, 1899).
object was the one to be made use of in the political intrigue, and the terms of the treaty of 1353 must accordingly have been most alarming to the French King. It is no wonder, therefore, that the initiator of the peace treaty of April 6, 1354, was the French King, who induced the Pope to open the negotiations. The French King knew the danger of an alliance between England and Brittany, and therefore used his influence with the Pope to frustrate Charles' endeavours to procure dispensations for the marriage. This helped to induce the French King to agree to a general treaty, namely the Treaty of Guines, with Edward. It is not clear whether King John ever had any intention of ratifying it, or whether he intended from the first to play false. Anyhow, as soon as Edward thought his possessions secured by a treaty giving him the sovereign rights over his French subjects, Charles de Blois was only of importance to him on account of his ransom. Before the Treaty of Guines was concluded on March 18, he replaced his lieutenant in Brittany, Jean Avenel, by Thomas Holland, with the object of renewing the war. Edward's daughter, who had been promised to Charles' son, was shortly afterwards married to Jean de Montfort. When the treaty of 1354 was not ratified, and England once more came to blows with France, the Prince of Navarre became an English partisan in northern France, and shortly after the treaty of August 9, 1356, Lancaster introduced the young Montfort into Brittany.

Charles is not mentioned in the truce of March 23, 1357. He is now, it seems, abandoned by every one, and is left faced with the payment of his heavy ransom. After a delay of several days, mentioned in the quittance, two proctors of Charles delivered the treaty of 1353, sealed with the seals of the King, the Prince of Wales, and other of the English party at London, together with the first portion

1 Cf. p. 85 sq., §§ 2, 3, 4, 5.  
2 Cf. p. 70, n. 8.  
3 For the value of Brittany to Edward, see Pocquet, I, 302.  
4 Ibid., 320.  
5 Pocquet, 320; Rymer, III, 274, 3.  
6 Pocquet, 321.  
7 For the negotiations with Charles in Avignon and the remarkable "plan," see Delachenal, Charles V, I, 90.  
8 Pocquet, I, 339.  
9 Rymer, III, 384; Pocquet, I, 340, 3.  
10 Rymer, III, 360, 2 (July 13, 1357).
of the ransom, namely 50,000 gold florins paid in 25,000 nobles. This was really only half of the first instalment, with the reduction allowed by the treaty if payment was made without delay.

The same sum was paid as the second instalment in London on November 1, 1357. On November 18 we learn that Charles' two sons were still captives in English hands. Charles sent proctors to England on February 28, 1358, and on March 1 an order for truce with Brittany was issued.

Edward gave safe-conduct to proctors of Charles de Blois "cum pecunia pro redemptione sua," but we do not know if this money ever arrived in England, as there is no entry on the receipt roll. On May 23 other ambassadors are mentioned, but we do not know what message they carried. During these years the English were ruling in Brittany. When the general peace at last was concluded, Charles de Blois was invited to come to Calais, but he refused to attend the conference. On March 24, 1361, Edward appointed plenipotentiaries who, together with proctors of the French King, were again on April 24, 1362, at Saint-Omer, to go into the case of Montfort and Blois. We only hear, however, of the prolongation of the truce in

1 The quittance is printed in Rymer III, 360, 3. The entry in the receipt roll (E. 401, 441) is under July 26, as follows:

Inde habet acquittanciam de magno sigillo de dat' Vto die Julii hoc anno
De Karolo de Bloys VIII III XXXIII lii VI ii VIII d de precio Lm florenorum de scuto precio pecii XL d regi solendo in festo S. Johannis Baptiste proxime preterito in parte solucionis redemptionis sue.—sol.

2 The quittance is printed in Rymer, III, 382, 2. The entry in the Receipt roll (E. 401, 443) is under October 31, as follows:

Inde habet litteras regis acquittancie de magno sigillo sub dato pri
dici Notembris
de Karola de Blois VIII III XXXIII lii VI ii VIII d de precio Lm florenorum de scuto precio pecii XL d regi solendo in festo omnium sanctorum proxime futuro in parte solucionis redemptionis sue.

3 Rymer, III, 383, 3. 4 Ib., 389, 1.
5 Ib., 2. 6 Ib., 395, 2.
7 Nothing was to be found on the receipt rolls for 1358 (E. 401, 446 and 449).
8 Rymer, III, 426, 2. 9 See Rymer, 432, 3; 4 £6, 3
10 Rymer, III, 499, 2; 508, 2-4. 11 Pocquet, I, 342.
12 Rymer, III, 612, 3; the safe-conduct for Charles, ib., 628, 3, to come to Saint-Omer (Pas de Calais) on April 24, 1362; see also ib. 634, 4.
Brittany till Michaelmas 1363. Since it was impossible to come to an understanding, open war again broke out between Montfort and Blois, and Charles was slain before the castle of Aurai, on September 29, 1364.

I have passed briefly over the last events up to the death of Charles de Blois, as they are not closely connected with the documents (printed below) to which this essay is intended to serve as an introduction. It now remains for me to say a few words about the manuscript in which these documents are preserved, namely Rylands Latin MS. 404. Though I thought on first examining the MS. that it was written by an official scribe not long after 1360, I left open the question as to the office in which it was written, whether in the Chancery, the Privy Seal, or the Exchequer. On this point the analysis of our new documents may help us. The treaty of 1354, which was never ratified, was not entered on the Chancery Rolls. Further we cannot expect to find there the secret instructions to Lancaster. What was the source from which they were copied into our manuscript some 6 to 10 years after their issue? Were the originals returned by the ambassadors? There is good reason to suppose this was the case. Copies, drafts or enrolments of them must then have remained in the Privy Seal, and they or the originals must have been copied in our manuscript. If I am not mistaken further evidence of this is given on a small roll, consisting only of one membrane, which is preserved in Westminster Abbey. We find copied on this roll the document from the Emperor Lewis IV, dated June 25, 1341, and Edward’s answer to the Emperor, dated July 14, 1341. The roll is written in a contemporary official hand, and may have been the copy used for the same texts found in MS. Dd., 3, 53 of the University Library of Cambridge. The Privy Seal of course had the greatest interest in all these documents, both in those analysed above as well as in those of 1341, and

1 Rymer, III, 662, 1; 677, 2.
3 E.H.R., XLV, p. 357.
5 W.A. MS. 12,200. I have to thank the Assistant Keeper, Mr. L. E. Tanner, M.A., for his help in examining this document.
6 Rymer, II, 1166, 2.
7 Ib., 1167, 5.
8 At the end of the Roll W.A. MS. 12,200, the writer expressed his warm personal feeling towards his King by adding: “Angelus descendit de celo” (Matt. xxviii. 2).
they probably made copies of them or kept the drafts,—the sources of
the most valuable documents of our Latin MS. 404. Taking these
facts into consideration, the greatest probability is that Latin MS. 404
was written in the Privy Seal.¹

¹I hope that Dr. Perroy of Edinburgh University will soon give us more
details of this interesting matter, from material gathered on a larger scale, e.g.
from MS. Laing, 351.
APPENDIX.

I.

TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN EDWARD III AND CHARLES DE BLOIS.

Westminster, March 1, 1353 (1352).

(John Rylands Library Latin MS. fo. 444-464.)

Quedam compo~icz'o et alligancz'a perpetua facta inter regem Anglie et nobilem virum dominum Karolum de Bles' tunc prisonarium suum Que tamen alligancz'a non tenuit (!) nec fuerat executa sicut apparere poterit per quasdam alias convencioncs immediate subsecuentes.¹

Conue chose soit a touz que come honourable piere en dieu sire Gautier par la grace de dieu Euesque de Vennes et monsieur Johan sire de Beau- manoir Euein Charruel, Robert de seint pere, chialers, Raffroi Arciediacre de Rennes et Oliuer de Moizelle messages enuoiez a tres haut et puissant Prince, sire² Edward par meisme la grace Roi dengleterre par la noble dame johane, duchesse de Bretaigne, prelatz Barons et la commune du dit pais pour treter et acorder sur la deliuerance le noble Prince monsieur Charles³ ducs de Bretaigne et damour et dalliances perpetueles entre les ditz Roi et duk' et duchesse, leur heirs subgitz et pais eient supplie au dit Roi que pleise a sa roiale mageste encliner a cel tretee, le Roi veillant de sa benoirete sur ce faire ce qe serra plesant a dieu acordant a reson et buscaigable pour comune profit des pais auandtitz si chargea les sages de son conseil de treter diligealment et resonablement ouesque les ditz messages sur la dite matiere, quele matiere tretee et debatue ouesque bone et meure deliberacion entre le conseil du Roi dune part et les ditz ducs et messages dautre parte et reportez au Roi, il a la reuer- ence de dieu et pour commun profit par conseil et assent des grantz et sages estantz pres de lui. Et le ducs et messages auandtitz assentirent et acorderent a les choses ensi tretees en la manere que sensuist :

¹ This note is given in the right-hand margin. ² Above the line.
³ Prince monsieur Charles over an erasure in the original. Mr. Charles Johnson has marked this, following the indication given in § 14 of this document.
appourtenantes a ycelle ne de la viscontee de Lymoges ne se armeront contre
le Roi ses heirs subgitz ou alliez et aussi ils ne feront eide ne confort ne ne
douront conseil en priue ne en appert a ses enemys ou contraires au damage
de la guerre du Roi ses heirs subgitz ou alliez ne contre cestes alliances par
quecunque cause en nul temps auenir. Et en meisme la manere le dit Roi ses
heirs et subgitz ne se armeront contre les ditz Duk' et Duchesse leur heirs
ou subgitz quecuncques, nene feront eide ne confort nene douront conseil en
priue ne en appert as enemys ou contraires des ditz Duc', Duchesse, leur heirs
ou subgitz quecuncques, contre cestes alliances en nul temps auenir.

[2] Item si auiegne que aucuns de quel estat ou condicion qils soient
mouent guerre ou facent empeschement as ditz Duc' ou Duchesse leur heirs
subgitz ou au pais de Breaigne ou que les ditz Duk' et Duchesse ou leur
heirs ou pais mouent guerre enuers autres, acordez est que le Roi et ses heirs
da la requeste du duk' ou de la duchesse ou leur heirs ou pais de Breaigne leur
eideront de couenable poair des gentz solonc ce que adones lestat des ditz
Roi ses heirs et subgitz et la busoigne demanderont. Et apres ce que le Roi
ou ses heirs lour auront ensi eidez de fait a lour requeste come desus est dit
que de celle heure enauant les ditz Duk' et Duchesse leur heirs subgitz et pais
se armeront pour le Roi et eideront lui ses heirs et subgitz toutes les foit que
busoigne serra perpetuellement contre touz Franceis et autres nulle persone
forsprize ouesque gentz et poair solonc ce que lestat des ditz Duc' et Duchesse
leur heirs et pais et la busoigne demanderont. Et que en meisme la manere
de celle heure enauant le Roi ses heirs et subgitz soient tenuz de eider as
ditz Duc' et Duchesse leur heirs et pais auantditz.

Item si auiegune auant le temps que les ditz Duk' et Duchesse leur heirs
subgitz et pais se deuient armer pour le Roi contre touz come auant est dit
que le Roi ou ses heirs eient busoigne de eide des gentz darmes, le dit Duc' lui
seruira en propre personne de sa fraunche volentee tant comme il se purra armer
ouesque couenable poair des gentz darmes et darchers a ses propres costages
et missions en quel lieu que le Roi voudra aler sauuant
sa
ligiance et son
honour duers autres. Purueuz toute foit que del heure que le Roi ou ses
heirs auront eide as ditz Duc' ou a ses heirs come desus est dit, que lors les
ditz Duk' et Duchesse, leur heirs et pais soient tenuz de eider au Roi ses heirs
subgitz et pais contre touz Franceis et autres en manere auandite.

[3] Item acordez est que les ditz Duk' et Duchesse leur heirs et subgitz
ne soeffreront les Franceis leur eidantz ou alliez guerroier le Roi ses heirs
subgitz ou alliez par Breaigne ne par la viscontee de Limoges, et en meisme
la manere que le Roi ne ses heirs ou subgitz ne feront guerre as Franceis
parmy le pais de Breaigne ne par la viscontee de Limoges tantque la guerre
soit meue parentre les Franceis et les Bretons; Mes apres celle guerre meue,
lise au Roi ses heirs et leur gentz frauchement arriuer en Breaigne et passer
par la terre et aussi par la viscontee de Limoges ouesque leur host pour
guerroier le Franceis si bien en confort du pais de Breaigne come pour
lexploit de leur propres guerres [f. 44b] come desus est dit.

1 Above the line.
2 ou subgitz quecuncques on erasure in the original, cf. p. 84, n. 3.
3 Above the line.
[4] Item sil auiegne que desore en auant le Roi ou ses heirs ou lour gentz viegnent ouesque host ou en autre manere par mere sur la costiere de Bretaigne soient suffertz bonement dy arriuer et demorir pour eulx refrescher des vitais et autres choses necessaires pour lour deniers painzt. Et soient receuez et tretez en amiable manere sans empeschement ou destourber.

[5] Item que tous Marchantz et autres personnes de quelle parte qils soient del obeissance ou poair le Roi puissent perpetuelement seurement venir en Bretaigne et aillours dedeinz le poair, les ditz Duk' et Duchesse et y demorir et departir franchement quant leur plerra par terre et par meer fensant pesiblement leur busoignes et painzt costumes et autres deuoirs de la partie. Et en meisme la manere facent les Bretons subgitz et alliez des ditz Duk' et Duchesse toutes partes dedeinz le poair le Roi sanz estre empeschez, et aussi les niês et autres vessaux de meer dune parte et dautre puissent venir et demorir en touz portz et lieux sur la costiere d'Engleterre et de Bretaigne et aillours deinz le poair le ditz Roi et duc' et duchesse. Et les gentz dune partie et dautre entrecommunier et marchander toutes partes en manere comme len soleit faire en temps de peys sanz ce que meismes les gentz leur biens et niês soient arrestez empeschez ou damages par cause de trespas ou contract' ou guerre fait en temps passez. Et si nul grief ou damage soit fait ou done par tielx Marchantz ou autres gentz ou subgis quecunques dune partie q' ensi este fait hastyement et couenablement redrescez. Et par cause des tielx debatz mezuz ou aemouer entre elx ne soit ceste alliance emfraine. Et est lentencion que les Marchantz et Mariners et autres q'i passeront par la meer dune part et dautre pourront bien auoir et porter lour armures pour lour seurete nemie Dour damage doner ou mal faire.

[6] Item acordez est que mariage se face entre Johan filz eisne des ditz Duc' et Duchesse et dame Margarete fuille le dit Roi; [a] cissint quant le dit Johan apres le matrimoigne partait entre lui et la ditte fuille decede apres q'il soient Duc' de Bretaigne, que la dite fuille que lors serra Duchesse de Bretaigne eit son dowair solonc la coutume du pais de Bretaigne, c'est assauoir le tierz de tout dont le dit Johan duc' son Baron feust seisi en quecunque pais. Et en cas que le dit Johan apres le matrimoigne faits entre lui et la dite fuille decede avant q'il soient Duc', que la dite fuille eit dês mill liures de terre et de rente des bons petitz tournois pour son dowair, accountant cynk tournois a vn esterling' current en Engleterre, et que celles terre et rente soient assignees et nomees en certaines lieux couenables dedeinz la dite duchee de Bretaigne et en la viscomtee de Limoges. [c] Et le dit Duc' se ferra fort et serra tenu de impetrer dispensacion de la Court de Rome a ses propres coustages pour le dit matrimoigne accomplir et a ce faire mettra il sa diligence ouesque tout le hast q'il purra. [b] Item sil auiegne que dieu defende que la dite dame Margarete decede avant que esposailles et matrimoigne se facent entre le dit Johan et elle adonques le dit Johan prendra lautre petite fille le Roi souz meismes les condicions. Et aussi si le dit Johan que dieu ne voille decede avant qe les esposailles et matrimoigne se facent entre lui et la dite dame Margarete,

1 quecunques dune parte over erasure in original, cf. p. 84, n. 3.
2 An erasure between autres qi in original.
3 Above the line.
adonqes Guion son puisne friere sil lui souruie eit meisme la dite dame Margarete souz les condicions auantdites. Et sil auie ne que la dite dame Margarete deceh apres les esposailles faites entre le et le dit Johan auant que matrimoigne soit fait entre eux ensi qil ne se pourra marier a lautre petite fuille sans dispensacion, le dit duc et ses heirs se feront fortz de pourchacrer et impetrer dispensacion de la Court de Rome pour le dit meisme mariage faire et acomplir. Et lors prendra le dit Johan ycelle autre petite fille le Roi soere de la dite dame Margarete souz les condicions susdites et en cest cas et en touz autres cas surdiz si bien quant a mariage du dit Johan come de Guion son frere ousque les dites fuilles le Roi come dessus est dit ; le dit duc’ et ses heirs serront tenuz et se feront fortz de pourchacrer dispensacion de la dite court de Rome a lour propres coustages.

[7] Item quant a la deliuerance du dit duc de prison, si veult le Roi pour attraire et affermier deuers lui lamour du dit Duk’ de ses gentz et de son pais faire graciosement ousque [f. 45a] le dit Duc’. Et est acordez que pour la deliuerance le Duc’ et pour le rendre des Chastelx fortilesces villes et terres qui sont prises de guerre et tenuz en noun le Roi en la manere contenue en lartide proschein suant, le dit duc’ paiera au dit Roi ou a ses heirs trois cenk Mille escutz dor fin de loial pois et coigne, chescun escu valant quarante bons esterlings dargent courrantz en Engleterre en sis anz proscheins auenir par oweles porcions, [a] si ouerte guerre ne soit en dit temps entre le pais de Bretaigne et les Franceis, cest assauoir chescun au cinquante Mille escutz a deux termes de lan le premier terme commenceant a la feste de seint Michel proschein auenir et le secund terme a la Pasque proschein ensuant. Et ensi dan en an durantz les sis anz auantditz. [b] Et en cas que ouerte guerre soit es parties de Bretaigne par. cause de ceste alliance, le Roi cant consideration as grantz coustages et frez que le dit Duc’ et ses gentz feront par celle cause voet et grante que le paiement de la dite summe se face en oyt anz cest assauoir en chescun des sept anz quarante Mille escutz et en loctisme an vint Mille escutz as termes susnomez par oweles porcions, et outre ce cestes choses acordees le dit Duc’ ad deliuere et quitez monsieur Johan de Beauchamp’ son prisoner franchemement et quitement de sa prisone. Et sur ce lui fera auoir lettres suffisantz si bien de lui meisme come de touz autres as quelx il est obligez par quexunque manere par cause de sa prisone.

[8] Item cestes choses affermees et assurees le Roi en la manere desouz escrite fera rendre de fait as Duc’ et Duchesse et a lour subgitz tous les chastelx fortilesces, villes et terres que le dit Roi ses subgitz lieges et obeissantz tignent ore en Bretaigne et en la viscontee de Limoges en noun du Roi et de Johan de Montfort, Exceptees les terres que seront ordinees et assignees au dit enfant de Montfort, Et fera ouster tous ses obeissantz des chastelx fortescles villes et terres auantdites. Et si nui qil tient aucuns des ditz Chastelx ou fortescles et villes ne voille obeir au Roi ou a ses mandementz en celle partie, le Roi entouier poair a ses coustages de eider as ditz Duc’ et pais de Bretaigne de les oster par forte main.

[9] Item pour appaiser le debat ou dissencion qil y a entre les ditz Duc’ et duchesse et le dit Johan filz et heir du Counte de Montfort, si est acordez

1 Above the line.
que les ditz duc’ et duchesse ou leur heirs douront et assigneront au dit enfant et a ses heirs sept Mille liures par an en terres et rentes des bons petitz tournois cynk tournois valentz vn esterling dengleterre, cest assauoir toute la terre que son pire tynt en Guerrande ouesque toutes les appourtenances en value de Mille liures de la dite Monoie a tenir heritably en des ditz Duk’ et Duchesse et leur heirs aussi entierement et en meisme la manere come son pere la tynt. Et les sys Mille liures residues a prendre en autres places couenables en Breataigne tantque il soit pourueu de terre a la value en lieux couenables a tenir heritably des ditz Duc’ et Duchesse et leur heirs. Et serreront tenuz les ditz Duc’ et Duchesse et leur heirs de doner et assigner audit enfant par lassent et aggreement du Roi terres et rentes a la value des auantditz sys Mille liures de tournoys par an quant il vendra a son age; en cas qils ne le aueroient fait deuant, ou ce qen faudra en case que partie lui feust assignee deuant, a tenir des ditz Duc’ et Duchesse et leur heirs. Et serra faite lassiete en lieu suffissantz prisez a la coutume du pais. Et en cas que le contee de Montfort soit deliuree au dit enfant et qil en puisse ioier pesiblement, soit deuant la dite assiete ou apres. Il lauera et prendra pourtant come ele vaut en partie de satisfaccion de les sys Mille liures annuelles auantdites, Et ce qen faudra lui facent les ditz Duc’ et Duchesse1 ou leur heirs parfournir ailleurs es lieux couenables. Et aussi est acordez que le Roi par cause que le dit enfant est en sa garde et gouernement enuoiera vn couenable Gardein es parties de Bretaigne pour auoir la garde de la dite terre de Guerrande od les appourtenances et pour prendre et rescueuir les profitz et reuennes dycelle en noun de lenfant, tantque a son age, le quel age est de vint et vn an solonc la coutume du pais de Bretaigne et aussi de receuoir le paiement de deux Mille liures de tournois par an de la dite summe anuelle de sys Mille liures tantque a lage de meisme lenfant. Et quant a les quatre Mille liures residues le Roi de sa grace et franche volente ad grantez de acquiter ent les ditz Duc’ et Duchesse et leur heirs deuers le dit enfant tantque a son age dessusdit. Et toutes les alliances parentre le Roi et les Duc et Duchesse et leur pais assures et affermee le dit enfant de Montfort fera renunciacion en manere que deuera suffir pour les ditz Duc’ [f. 45b] Duchesse et leur heirs.

[10] Item acordez est que les terres confisquees et prises en la mein du dit Duc’ ou ses subgitz ou adherenz en Breataigne et en la viscontee de Limoges par cause de ceste guerre ou adherance a la partie le contee de Montfort soient rendues a celx as quelx elles appartenoient auant la guerre ou a leur heirs ou a celx as quelx elles deuroient appartenir en cas que guerre ne eust este, Ja soit ce que Englois soient mariez a aucuns as quelx aucunes des dites terres appartenent et que nuls de ceux de quel estat ou condition qils soient qont este deuers le Roi ou de la partie de Montfort en ceste guerre de Breataigne ne soient desherite empeschez ne molestez par les ditz Duc’ et Duchesse ou leur heirs ne par nul de leur subgis par la dite cause par colour de forfaiture rebellion ne en autre manere, einz qils puissent franchement ioier de leur heritages et autres biens quecumques es parties de Breataigne et aillours en le poair le Duc’ et Duchesse sanz destorbance ou empeschement.

1 Et ce qen faudra lui facent les ditz Duc’ et Duchesse, over erasure in the original; cf. p. 84, n. 3.
Item acordez est que les choses susdites assurees, les seaux de la mer et briefs de Bretaigne que les ducs de Bretaigne soloient mettre à Burdeux et aillours celles parties soient mis desore par le dit duc et duchesse et leur heirs en manere come soleit estre fait auncienement avant la guerre comencée.

Item pour les choses susdites affermer et pleinement acomplir et garder sanz enfieindre en nul point le dit duc et le honorable piere en dieu leuesque et les autres Messages auandtitz si bien pour eux et en lour noun propre, come en noun de la dite Duchesse et touz autres des quelx ils sont messages et procoururs. Et aussi monsieurs Pieres Foucant et Henri de Pledrain Chiualers, Mestre Alein de Burgon, dean de Poubels, Tristan de Pestinien et Alein de Carenrais, escuiers de la partie du dit Duc ont iure corporelement sur seintz ewangils de tenir et acomplir en quantque a eux attient et chescun de eux en bone foi sanz fraude et mal engyn toutes les choses dessus acordees, et que eux et chescun deux en quantque en lui est mettron leur poair loial que la dite Duchesse et touz les prelatz Barons et communallitez de bones villes de Bretaigne et de la viscontee de Limoges lureront corporelement sur seintz en presence de notair publiques quils tendront parfourneront et acomplieront en bone foi sanz mal engin en quantque a eux attient toutes les choses auandites sanz venir a rencontre en nul temps auenier. Et que sur ce facent touz les prelatz et Barons lettres patentes sealees de lour sealx et instrumentz publiques souz mains et signes de notairs et les manderont au Roi. Et les communs des bones villes assemblez feront meisme le serement ouertement deuant le duc ou son commissaire et en presence des notaires et sur ce dys ou douze des plus suffissantz de chescune ville feront leur letters ouesque instrumentz publiques come dit est, et si ont les ditz Duc et messages purement et simplement et de leur franche volente si bien en lour nouns propres come de ceux de quelx ils sont procurours renuncie a toutes excepciones de droit et de fait de double et de paour que pourra cheir en home constant et de prisne et de fraude et tricherie et toutes autres remedes que leur pourront valoir en defaisance ou empeschement des choses susdites. Et quils se feront fortz a tout leur loial poair que la dite Duchesse prelaz nobles et communs auanditz feront an telle renunciation sanz fraude ou mal engin. Et aussi mettront leur loial poair que toutes les choses susdites seront confirmées par la court de Rome.

1 [12] Et pour greignour seurete des paiementz et dautres choses susdites le dit duc mandera hastiement Dour ses deux filz Johan et Cuion auanditz et pour Marie sa fuiile et les ferabenir en Englande a demorer y en la arde du Roi, cest assauoir le dit Johan en hostage pour lacomplisement du dit mariage et des autres alliances susdites, Et les ditz Guion et Marie en hostage pour le dit Duc et pour paiement de sa ranceon, et serront as coustages du Duc et du pais de Bretaigne tant come ils demorront hostages, Et cestes choses faites, le dit duc sur meismes les hostages ira vers son pais a parfournir cestes alliances et les choses susdites, et mesnera ouesque lui la dite dame Margarete pour demorir od la duchesse.

13 Et adonqes le Roi enuoiera ouesque lui aucuns des soens tielx come lui pierra pour veoir que les alliances soient parfournees es dites parties et pour estre presens a lenseller des lettres et a la faisance des instrumentz

1 Above the line.
auantditz et pour les remander au Roi et maintenant quant les dites alliances seront assurees et affermées [f. 46a] et que celx qui serroient ensi enuoyiez depar le Roi aueront les lettres seales et les instrumentz deuers elx, ils aueront adonges poair suffissant de faire liuerer as ditz Duc' et Duchesse les chasteix, fortelescnes, villes et terres auantditz en la fourrne susdite es parties de Bretaigne.

Et puis irront a la visconte de Lymoges pour prendre les seuretes et pour rendre les chasteix illoeques. Et est lentencion que siils feuissent aucuns rebelles ou desobieissantz de la partie du dit Duc', qu'ne se vousissent mie acorder a ceste alliance ou si aucuns y feuissent absentz hors du païs, ou si aucuns des Barons y feuissent de meindre age qu'ne pourroient faire serement, pour tant ne serroient mie meismes les alliances enfrenteines nempeschez ne le rendre des villes ne des chasteix delaye paresni toutes foitz que la greignoure et la plus puissante partie du païs sacorde. Pourueu que ceulx qui sont absentz se obligent par serementz et par lettres de garder meismes les alliances a plus tost qu'ils retourneront en pays sanz fraude ou mal engyn. Et en meisme la manere feront ceux qu'ne sont de meindre age a plustost qu'ils vendront a tiel age qu'ils le puissent faire. Et en dementiers leur Gardeins et tutours feront meisme la seurete en noun de meismes les enfantz. Et aussi est acordez que apres le dit matrimoigne et les autres alliances surdites acomplies, le Roi puisse retenir le dit Johan fuiz du dit Duk' deuers lui et en sa campaigne par oyt anz ou dys ou tant come il lui plerra.

[14] Le Roi aussi et son eise fuiz monsieur Edward' Prince de Gales Duc' de Cornewaille et Conte de Cestre ont promis en bone foi et souz leur Chiualerie pour eux et pour leur heirs et subgitz de tenir et faire tenir et pleinement garder en quantque a eux attient toutes les choses susescriites et chescune dycelles sanz fraude et mal engyn. Et les reuerentz piers en dieu sire Johan Erceuesque Deuerwyk' Primat dengleterre, Chancellor, et William Euesque de Wyncestre Tresorer dengleterre, et friere Simon abbe' de Westmouster, et les honorables hommes sire Johan de Wynwyk' Tresorer de leglise Deuerwyk', et Thomas de Brembre Chanoigne de Nicole ont iurez sur seintz ewangils qils garderont fermement auantaue en eux est toutes les choses auandites et loialment mettront a leur eide et conseil qils pourront bonement qelles soient fermement gardez. En tesmoignance de toutes les choses dessusdites et chescune dycelles nous desusditz Charles duc*, leuesque de Vennes, Johan seigneur de Beaumanoir, et nous autres chiualers, procureurs et messages desditz avons mis et apposez noz sealx a estes presenteles lettres a demorer pardeuers le Roi auant dit et ses heirs.

Les rasures et entrelinaires dessus escritz sensuent : en la seconde lygne "prince monsieur Charles" en la septieme "et aussi ils" en la oytisme ligne 1 Above the line.
AN UNRATIFIED TREATY BETWEEN (EDWARD III) AND THE FRENCH KING (JOHN II).

Guine, April 6, 1354.

[John Rylands Library Latin MS. 404, fo. 55a-56a.)

[f. 55a] Copia tractatus pacis inter regem Anglie et Francie facti apud Cales' IV° die Aprilis anno domini MCCCCLIIIO. En noun de dieu. Cest l'accord du tretee de pees tenu et fait deuant le Chastel de Guynes entre le tres noble seigneur le Roi d'engleterre dune part et son aduersaire de France daub% par la mediation le Reuerent pieire en dieu le Cardinal de Boloigne et parmy les reuerentz pieres en dieu et nobles seigneurs Guilliam Euesque de Norwiz, Guilliam Conte de Huntyngdon', Michel de Norburgh' sire de lois secretair du Roi, et Renaud de Cobham capitain de Calais, pour le Roi nostre seigneur; et Piers Erceuesque de Roan, Guilliam Euesque de Beauuois, et Guilliam Euesque de Laon, · A · Conte de Rossy, Piers de Chastilloun sieur de la Ferete, et 'R · de Lorriz Chamberlein del dit aduersaire depar lui, le sisme iour davril lan de nostre seigneur Mille CCLIII.

[1] Premerement assentu est quod dominus Rex Anglie habebit in forma pacis omnia et singula contenta in quadam cedula, quam idem dominus Rex transmisit domino pape, et iuxta formam et modum in eadem contenta, videlicet quod habebit totum ducatum Aquitanie seu Cuyenne pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum libere et in allodio et absque quacumque superioritate homagio seu resorto, ita integrum et plenum sicuti vnquam aliqui Reges Anglie Duces Aquitanie dictum Ducatum in toto aut per partes tenuerunt vel habuerunt temporibus eorumdem.

Item cum dicto ducatu habebunt dominus Rex Anglie et heredes sui imperpetuum libere et in allodio vt prefertur: Comitatus Pictauenem Turonensem Andegauensem Cenomanensem Pontui et Lemouicensem in casu quo non fuerit de Ducatu; hoc tamen saluo, quod pro Comitatu Pontui dominus Rex Anglie quietabit dominum Francie erga dominam Reginam Anglie matrem suam, cuius est hereditas pro se et filius suis.

Item habebit dominus Rex villas et Castra Cales' de Merk' de Oye de Colne de Sandgate et de Gynes cum pertinenciis et nobilitatibus ac omnibus terris mariscis nemoribus aquis et locis intermedii necnon iuribus adjacentibus
seu annexis, que adquisuit per gueram et a tempore guerre citra, libere et in alodialium vt prefertur.

[2] Item quoad ducatum Aquitanie et bundas eiusdem consensum est et concordatum est per partes, quod in ducatu continentur patrie infraecripte, videlicet omnes terre ville Castra et loca que dominus Karolus de Valois adquisuit per gueram, et alia descripta in quadam alia cedula sigillata sigillo Cardinalis. De aliis vero partibus finibus et limitibus dicti ducatus, de quibus iam fuit altercatum et de quibus altercar poterit in futurum, concordatum est, quod ex parte cuisiilibet dominorum Regum eligantur due persone fidedigne scientes notables et pontentes, qui iurati bona fide inquirent insimul per testes per visum et per omnes alias euidencias quas poterunt, citra mensem Octobris proxime iam futuri cum diligencia de premissis plenariam veritatem; quorum electorum dictis, si concordauerint, dicti domini Reges stare pro se et hereditibus suis imperpetuum tenebuntur, si autem discordauerint aut infra mensem Octobris non inquisuerint, vt prefertur, aut non poterunt concordare, tunc sanctissimus papa dominus Innocencius, qui nunc est, sub nomine proprio Stephani Alberti, recepta plena bona et fidelii informatione iuxta dono conscientiam atque fidem veluti impar si sibi placuerit, mediabit et de dictis finibus bundis et limitibus iuxta dono suam conscientiam ordinabit statuet et discernet citra Kalendas Decembris proxime iam futuri, nisi dictus dominus papa ex causa voluerit dictum tempus, infra quod ipse haberet vt premissit ordinare, ad vnum mensem de consensu nunciorum dictorum dominorum Regum vterius prorogare et eiusdem domini Pape dicto ordinacioni et decreto dicti domini Reges pro se et hereditibus suis imperpetuum stare necessario tenebuntur, et pro limitibus huiusmodi, de quibus fuit ut premissit altercatum, dare et recipere quod idem dominus papa vt premissit ordinabit.


[4] Item si dominus rex Francie qui nunc est vel aliquis predecessorum suorum aliquas villas terras Castra loca feuda aut aliqua quecumque in dicto ducatu Aquitanie seu Gyenne donauerit vendiderit permutauerit aut quous modi alienauerit aut ea aliquo modo obligauerit seu onerauerit, huiusmodi donaciones vendiciones permutaciones alienaciones obligaciones et oneraciones seu onera penitus adnullabuntur reuocabuntur et cassabuntur, omnique predicta Rex Anglie recipiet libere, vt inde faciat id quod volet, et idem de Comitibus supradictis, qui non sunt de ducatu, si occasione guerre aliqua donauerit alienauerit vel quous modo onerauerit.

[5] Item quod fient lige alligaciones et amicicie perpetue firme et inviolables inter dictos Reges et regna ac terras districtus et dominia eorumdem contra omnes gentes, non obstantibus quibuscumque ligis alligacionibus et amiciciis contractis cum quibuscumque personis aliiis terris seu regnis iuramento seu alia quacumque firmitate valliatis, et quod super dictis iuramentis dispensacio a sede apostolica impetretur.

[6] Item quod omnes qui per Reges predictos seu eorum aliquem exheredati vel spoliati fuerint in regnus eorum occasione guerre, ad sua iura et
dominia libere ruertantur. Illa tamen que Rex Anglie in regno Francie per guerram adquisuit, et que per pacem istam sibi restituentur, sibi et heredibus suis remanent imperpetuum libere vt est dictum.

[7] Item ordinatum est, quod dominus papa pronunciabit omnia supradicta; qui in pronunciacione sua accipiet sibi colores quos voluerit et poterit pro honore dominorum Regum, et faciet dispensaciones et alia quibus partes in ista concordia indigebunt, et siet pronunciacion in presencia solemnium nuncio-rum dominorum Regum predicorum, quos dicti domini Reges mittent et mittere tenebuntur tam prelatos quam dominos temporales; et inter alios aliquos de genere eorundem citra mensem Octobris proxime iam futuri cum procuratoris bonis et sufficientibus pro se et filiis eorum necnon pro Prelatis Principibus ducibus Comitibus et Baronibus ac paribus dictorum regnorum necnon pro Ciuitatibus Burgis et Villis ac Comitatibus dictorum regnorum quos partes hinc inde nominare voluerint infra duos menses a data presencium numerandos ad concordandum et firmandum roborandum et vallandum omnia premissa per submissionem faciendam Camere domini pape et sedi apostolice, et quascumque sensuras ecclesiasticas et penas pecuniarias subeundas cum omni alia securitate et firmitate iuratoria et alia quam partes vel earum altera duxerint eligenda, dum tamen pars petens similem securitatem facere voluerit alteri parti. Erunt eciam dicti nuncii dominorum Regum in Romana Curia parati ad premissa omnia complenda et perficienda in presencia domini pape citra Kalendas Octobris predictas.


[9] Item nuncii parcium iurare, quod illi vel alii, quos domini Reges voluerint ordinare, erunt in Romana Curia citra dictum diem pro omnibus et singulis predictis compleundis et perficientis, et dominus Cardinalis promisit per fidem suam primo in manu Episcopi Norwicensis et postea in manu domini Comitis Huntyngdon', quod omnia predicta fierent et compleurentur, et quod nullus reuelaret predicta, nisi illis quibus domini Reges voluerint vel mandauerint, etc.

Item iurabunt nuncii in animas [f. 56a] dominorum et proprietarum, quod contra premissa nunquam quicquid in Curia Romana aut alias impetrabunt nec impetratis si que fuerint vteatur.

Item inite sunt treuge vsque ad primam diem Aprilis proxime futuri, et consensum, quod domini duces Comites et Barones vtriusque partis obligabunt se carceribus Londonie et Parisius, qui et prout alias se obligarunt infra mensem et sub sigillis eorum.
III.

A SECRET CREDENTIAL FOR THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AND THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Without date (Oct. 31, 1354).

(John Rylands Library Latin MS. 404, fol. 56b.)

[f. 56 b.] La credence secree que le Duc de Lancastre et le Conte darondelle dirront au seint piere le pape.

[1] Primerement ils lui deuient moustrer comment le Roi a lonour de dieu toutdys voet estre enclin a bone pees, sil la puisse auoir. Et comment le Roi reconoist les gracieuses eides socours et confortz, que nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist lui ad fait toutdys encontre ses enemys, et en toutes ses autres busoignes, et par tant il desir souereinement lui seruir, tant come il est ioesnes et puissant a travailler en destruccion des enemys dieu en queconqe manere qil purra meulz selonc son estat et poair et que dieu lui dorra la grace, queu chose il accepte de sa deuocion propre et ce qil ent ferra.

[2] Il le voet faire de sa franche et bone volente et nemie par voie de obligacion ne cohercion de nullui, et a celle entente, est il descenduz a cestui tretee de pees et relese tant de son droit heritage, et nemie en autre manere.

[3] Et en cas qils puisse pees auoir selonc le poair que les ditz Seigneurs et les autres messages ent ont, il lui plest bien et la desir par les causes dessusdites, et si noun, qadonqes soit en touz pointz, come vnqes neust tretee ne parle de las pees.

[4] Item ils deuient moustrer au seint piere que pour lentiere affeccion que le Roi ad en lui et toutdys ad eu et a la tresgrande droiture qil suppose fermement en lui, il vouche sauf et voet qil soit nounpeire des choses que purront cheir en debat de la limitacion des boundes en la forme que les ditz Seigneurs ont en charge ouesque les autres messages.

[5] Item que la lettre de credence ne la credence sur cestes matires ne soient moustrees au seint piere sinoun que necessite le requerge pour lexplot des busoignes susdites.

IV.

A SECRET INSTRUCTION GIVEN BY KING AND COUNCIL TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AND THE EARL OF ARUNDEL WHO ARE GOING TO THE PAPAL COURT.


(John Rylands Library Latin MS. 404, fo. 56*-56b.)

La charge donee par nostre seigneur le Roi le darrein iour doctobre lan de son regne XXVIII en la priue Chapelle dedeinz le Palais de Westmoustre as nobles hommes le Duc de Lancastre et le Conte darondelle envoieiz
en message le Roi a la Court de Rome pour le tretee de paes parentre lui et son aduersaire de France, presentz monsieur le Princeerceuesque deuerwyk' Chancellor, leuesque de Wynecestre Tresorer, leuesque de Duresme, les Contes de Warrewyk' et de Stafford', monsieur Berthelmeu de Burghershsh', monsieur Johan Beauchamp' et monsieur Johan Grey.

[1] Primerement ils deiuent recommander a nostre seint piere le Pape nostre seigneur le Roie, ma dame la Roine et leur enfantz.

[2] Item il plest au Roie, qils puissent acorder fournir et finalement affermir les choses que feurent darreinement accordees et tretees a Guynes, cest assauer que le Roie eit franc et en alo a lui et a ses heirs perpetuelle en recompensation de la corone de France toute la duchee de Guyenne si pleinement comme vnes nul Roie dengleterre la tenoit ensemblement que tout les autres paiz nomez en la cedule nadgaires enuoiee au Pape par le Con-
fessour en la forme que sensuit.

[3] Primerement toutes les duchees daquityne Guyenne et Normandie et la Contee de Pointoif' aussi entierment come nul des auncestres le Roie vnes les tenoit et oueske ce Aungers et Angeou Poiters et Poitou Maunz et Ymaine Tours et Turoyne Angoleme et Angomes Caourz et Caourzin Lymoges et Lymozin et toutes les terres Chasteux et villes acquizese puis la guerre commencede a auoir et tenir toutes les choses susdites au Roie et a ses heirs franchement come veisin et veisin.

[4] Et il plest au Roie en lonour de dieu et pour eschure la perdicion de Cristiens et pour la reuerence du seint piere en cas que bone pees se puiss prendre, de relesser Normandie Caourz Caourzin et la Contee dangoleme. Et tout soit ce que compris soit en meisme la cedule, que le Roie pour pees auoir, relesseroit Caourz Caourzin et la Contee dangoleme, nestoit mie lentencion du Roie ne vncore nest de lesser les ditz paiz, en cas qils feussen parcelle de la duchee de Guyenne dauncien temps, et ce poe bien apparer par la forme de la dite cedule en tant, que meisme la cedule nome primes toute la duchee entierment et puis outre cela nome les autres paiz dessusditz ouesques autres paiz estranges, nientcompris dedeinz la duchee.

Et est lentencion du Roie que homme demande les dites seigneuries de Caourz Caourzin et Angoleme en demesne, en cas que homme puiss sauoir que aucun de ses auncestres Rois dengleterre les auoit en demesne. Et en cas que ses auncestres ne y auoient forsque les homages et la souereintet, le Roie voet que homme les demande par meisme la manere que ses auncestres les auoient.

[5] Item en cas que homme ne poet auenir dauoir les ditz paiz par la voie dessusdite pour cause de la cedule que parla au contraire, et nomement Angoleme et Angomes, plest au Roie, que en ce cas homme face recompensacion pour les ditz paiz auoir douterterres vers le haut paiz ou la chose se purra faire a meindre damage du Roie, et en meindre daunger des Franceis pour temps auenir. Et en cas que lautre partie ne voille nullement acorder a ceste chose, le Roie ne voet mie que la busoigne soit rumpue par celle cause, depuis qil estoit ensi escrit en la cedule.

[6] Et quant a la limitation des terres [f. 56b] et des boundes de la duchee et de touz les autres paiz, voet le Roie que les seigneurs tretent primerement et acordent en droit des boundes aussi pres comme ils pourront deuant qils
moustrent leur poair de faire le Pape nounpiere, et si leur semble que soit affaire que certeines gentz soient assignez dune part et dautre de trier les terres et les boundes, Et sur ce le Roi de certeine science et de sa propre mocion et volente voet et ad commande, que les seigneurs en cas que debat y soit sur la limitacion des terres ou des boundes, puissent granter et assentir, que le pape nemie come Jugge mes comme moien personne soit nounpiere de trier et terminer tout les debatz touchantz la limitacion des terres et boundes dessusdites dedeinz certein temps come dedeinz vn mois après ce que les informacions en seront prises par les deputez dune part et dautre, et qils puissent cel poair grantre au pape ou devant lenuoier des triours pour trier les boundes ou apres, et a ce faire auront poair en especial.

Et est lentencion du Roi, que toute la busoigne soit fornire et finalement exploite devant le primer iour daurille prochein auvenir, et que le Roi ent soit certifiez devant cel temps, si homme poet.

[7] Item quant a les seuretees que se ferreront de parfournir et tenir la pees et lacort, le Roi voet que lautre partie face toute la seurete, que homme saura ordener ou deuiser, et au tiele saurete voet il faire de sa partie pour lier sa persone et ses heirs et toutes ses terres par dela.

[8] Item le Roi voet que les seigneurs puissent esloigner les treues tanque a la Pentecost' sils voient qil soit affaire selonc ce que les busoignes se taillent illoeqes.

V.

ACCOUNT OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER OF HIS JOURNEY TO AVIGNON, 1354/55.


Compotus Henrici ducis Lancast' euntis usque Aunione pro tractatu pacis etc. anno regni E(dwardi) tercii post conquestum XXIXo. In vadiis Henrici ducis Lancast' capientis per diem C s. euntis per preceptum domini regis usque Aunione pro tractatu pacis, ibidem a XXVIII die Octobr' usque XXVIIIa diei Marcii eundo morando et redeundo per CL dies.

Et in expensis diuersorum militum scutiferorum et seruientium ad arma conducentium dictum ducem et familia suam, eundo et redeundo per idem tempus in partibus transmariuis.

Et in passagio et repassagio equorum dicti ducis et familia sue inter Douere et Caleis.

Et eidem duci de dono domini regis pro diuersis expensis vltra vadiis suis in dicto viaggio faciendis, vt patet per litteras domini regis de garento.

Summa

DCCL II.

CCCXVI II.

XIII s. IIII d.

CXXVIII II.

MM marc'.

MMDXXVIII II.
Vnde rec(epit) per manus tes(aurarii) regis Anglie mense Octobr' super dicto viagio MM marc'.
Et per manus Nicholai atte Halle, Wilhelmi de Canston', Wilhelmi Denny, Wilhelmi Driher et aliorum burgensiam de villa de Douere super passagio equorum dicti duces presti' tercio die Non' à XXIX

Et per manus tes(aurarii) regis tercio die Marcii

Summa recepti

Et debet alloc(ari) dicto duci super billa sibi debita per dominum regem vt patet per duas litteras de garento directas tes(aurario) regis MDCLXVI

Vnde rec(epit) per manus thes(aurarii) regis mense Octobr' aº XXIX DCLXVI

Item prima die Julii eode.m anno M DCCCXXXI

Et sic debentur dicto duci DCCCXXXI de quibus satisfactum est ei [?] die Maii aº XXIX o

Dorso : Iste particule intrantur primo die Julii aº XXIX°

VI.

A SECRET INSTRUCTION TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Dec. 17, 1356.

(John Rylands Library Latin MS. 404, fo. 56a-57b.)

La charge donnee par nostre seigneur le Roi a monsieur Niel Loreng' et a ceux qui irront quesque lui vers monsieur le prince, le XVII iour de Decembre lan de grace Mille trois centz cynquante et sys.

By another hand : prestiit . . . XXIX.
[1] Primes, sur le point que le dit monsieur Niel ad moustre au Roi et a son conseil de la journée prise parentre mon dit seigneur le Prince et les Franceis pour treter a la [f. 57a] quinzeine de Noel prochein auvenir sil plest au Roi nostre dit seigneur le Roi a honur de dieu et pour bien de pees et pour eschure effusion de sang Cristien et aussint a la reuenerce et instance de nostre seint pierre le pape et de ses messages les Cardinalx et par cause que mon Seigneur le Prince a la requeste del aduersaire de France et des autres Grantz de sa partie ad molt requis.

[2] Sur ce nostre dit seigneur le Roi voet et est assentu que le dit tretée se tiegne et que mon dit Seigneur le Prince eit poair suffissant de treter tant en propre personne come par ses deputez le quel que lui plerra de pees finaile et de trewes parentre le Roi et son aduersaire, et que au dit tretée len doit taster lentencion des Franceis a plus pres que homme purra par toutes voies sanz riens affermer ou acorder finalment, demeurant toutes voies fermement sur le point dauior libertee perpetuelle oue toutes les terres que len purra ouseques; Et en cas que les Franceis se voillent acorder a cel point de libertee, adonges apres ce que homme leur aura taste a plus auant que len purra, len leur poet dire que tout soit ce que le Roi parmy la mediacion de monsieur le Prince et a linstance de lautre partie ad grante de treter de pees.

[3] Et par les causes susdites, nientrains homme ne y poet faire fin de la busoigne; tanque les choses lui soient moustrees pour saoir sa volente en certein, pour quoi il busoigne de prendre autre iournee dedeinz quele, il purra estre certifie de toute la busoigne et dire ent sa volente. Et semble que celle iournee purra estre assignee au lieu acostume de treter pres de Guynes et a tieu iour comme semblera a monsieur le Prince que soit aprendre entre la Pasque et la Pentecoste.

[4] Item en cas que les Franceis ne se voillent par nulle voie assentir au point de libertee perpetuelle, vncore homme ne doit par tant rompre le tretée outrement, mes len purra taster de libertee tantque a certein temps oue grande addition de terre par celle cause et oue grande somme dargent et mariages et sur ce assigner autre iour et lieu pour treter souz colour pour taster la volente du Roi sil se voille a tiele voie encliner, et sil ne voille, de ent certifier les Franceis a certein iour en le meen temps deuant le iour de tretee.

[5] Item semble que souz colour et par cause du dit tretée len poet prendre trewes tantque a la seint Johan et semble que celles trewes poent estre generales horspris les pays de Bretaigne et Normandie, car homme ne sciet ne ne poet saoir a present en quel estat le duc de Lancastre et les autres gentz du Roi en celles parties sont a present ne le quel ils vorroient auoir trewes ou nemie. Et aussint semble que en cas qils se puissent maintenir es dites parties contre les enemies que il vaudra plus par plusures causes que la guerre soit ouerte illoeqes que autrement, par quoi nostre seigneur le roi ad enuoie au dit duc et a monsieur Philippe de Nauarre aussint qils certilient monsieur le Prince le quel serra plus pour eux destre compris es dites trewes ou nown, Mes en cas que la dite certification ne viegne a mon dit Seigneur le Prince par temps semble pour le meilleur que plus tout homm lerra les ditz paiis de Bretaigne et Normandie outrement hors de trewes que les comprendra dedeinz, sanz ce que

1 Inserted above the line.
homme feusse certifie deuant quils les vorroient auoir. Mes nientmains pour sauer les paroles de la alliance faite parentre nostre Seigneur le Roi et le dit monsieur Philippe len doit affercer de comprendre es trewes par especial la persone du dit monsieur Philippe et ses adherentz sur tiele condicion sil le veille. Item est parle que es dites trewes soient compris par especial le duc Guilliam de Bauarrie et ses pais de Henau, Holande et Zelande, monsieur Aymer de Beauvoir ouesques les autres qi ont este compris de deinz les autres trewes prises deuant ces heures. Item que en le tretee de pees, les Escotz soient de tout oustez, et en cas qils purront estre oustez hors des trewes, tant vaudroit le plus et len poet dire comment ils prenent trewes de iour en autre par eux meisme et aussint ils ont tretez plusures foiz et donez general poair de treter de pees finale tout sanz les Franceis. Et ore a present ils ont pourchacez conduit du Roi pour certeins Euesques et autres personnes descoce pour venir a Londres bien par temps pour treter de pees finale par quoi semble que les Franceis par reson les deuiuent lesser hors de leur tretee.

[6] Item semble que sur le [57b] dit tretee fait a parler au Cardinal des attemptatz faitz en la Court de Rome de nouvel en grant prejude du Roi et de sa corone et de tout le Roialme et en defesance de ses leis et costumes et autrement que nad este fait et vsee en temps passe et aussint de leuesque dely et de sa malice. Et outre ce len poet parler del cense que la Court de Rome demande du Roialme dengleterre et dirlande. Et aussint que toute manere des censures si nulles soient enda antes contre le Roi en la dite Court soient defaites et adnullees selone ce que le dean de Cicestre eut est plus pleinement enformez.

[7] Item quant a les boundes de la duchee de Guyenne et les terres que ont este demandez deuant ces heures come parcelles de la duchee, homme nestoit mie a celle heure suffisamment enformez des dites boundes ne des terres susdites ne homme ne les conoist mie bien pardecea, par quoi il busoigne de prendre sur ce meilleur information es parties de Gascoigne pour chaunger et amender ce que len verra que soi affaire.

[8] Item considere lestat pardecea que len ne poet enuoier a present tien confort dargent et des gentz pardeca come il busoigneroit pour la demoere monsieur le Prince celles parties et aussint considerez toutplein des perils que purront auvenir a mon dit seigneur le Prince, en cas qil y demeurast desgarny que dieu defende, semble que bon serra que apres la seconde iournnee de tretee acordee et les trewes affermee, mon dit seigneur le Prince vigne en Engleterre et ladiersaire ovesque; Et qil ordeine certeines gentz a demeurer y pour la garde et gouvernement du paiis selone ce qil verra que meulz soit affaire.