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Edwardus Redivivus: the 'Afterlife' of Edward of Caernarvon

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Edwardus Redivivus: The ‘Afterlife’ of Edward of Caernarvon

By ROY MARTIN HAINES

The notion that the former king Edward II – Edward of Caernarvon as he came to be called after his deposition – lived on long after his reported murder in Berkeley Castle on the night of 21/22 September 1327 is still one to be conjured with, despite a basic improbability and all the evidence to the contrary.¹ The matter has never been satisfactorily resolved even allowing for the article by the late George Cuttino, written in conjunction with Thomas Lyman who was responsible for the architectural discussion.² Indeed, the impression given by the article is that the document could well be authentic and that its critics, *inter alios* Stubbs and Tout, have been unduly sceptical. My purpose here is to re-examine the evidence, dispel some misconceptions, and to essay a tentative solution of the enigma.

The events leading up to the king’s detention at Kenilworth under the aegis of Henry of Lancaster and his subsequent removal to Berkeley in the custodianship of Thomas de Berkeley and of John Maltravers or Mautravers, his brother-in-law, have often been detailed and require no further discussion at this point.³ Not surprisingly the government’s anxiety to keep the captive’s subsequent movements secret, so as to inhibit attempts at rescue, has meant that the investigator’s task is rendered especially difficult.

The evidence for Edward’s survival after September 1327 rests primarily upon a copy of a document of questionable provenance and authenticity to be found in the *Cartulaire de Maguelone* now in the Archives départementales d’Hérault at Montpellier. This cartulary, ‘Liber A’, according to the rubric of the initial folio contains ‘*recogniciones recepte per reverendum in Christo patrem dominum A[Arnaud de Verdale?] dei gracia episcopum Magalon. a personis infrascriptis suis et ecclesie predictae vassalis*’ but is usually said to have been compiled in 1368 during the episcopate of Gaucelm de Deaux.⁴ The material dates mainly from the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth.⁵ As suggested by the rubric, it is concerned with the temporal possessions of the bishopric. At folio 86 recto, however, there is what might be termed an anomalous entry (numbered 120 in pencil), the body of which runs to thirty-eight lines – filling the page – and is concluded by the valediction of *Manuel de Flisco* (Manuele di Fieschi), the supposed author. *Vacat* is written in the margin, a fact which has been generally overlooked. The entry is preceded on the dorse of folio 85 by one dated 1264 and followed on the dorse of folio 86 by a document of 1299. Other entries dated 1312 and 1317 are copied at folio 87 recto.

Various transcriptions and translations have been made since Germain published the text of the Fieschi document in 1877 and 1881.⁶ The latest is printed as Appendix 1 to the Cuttino/Lyman article.⁷ One would have only a few minor reservations, mainly orthographic, about this ‘fresh transcription’. It is adequate for the present purpose.⁸

Ostensibly, then, the original letter was written to King Edward III by Manuele di Fieschi, a papal notary, in his own hand. It claims to reveal what the sender had heard from the confession of the king’s father (*patris vestri*). The Latin is somewhat peculiar – and that by the standard of other entries in the register, while some of the personal and place names are oddly spelled. *Con* is written for *cum* and the style is far from fluent. Cuttino accepted the irregularities as ‘the

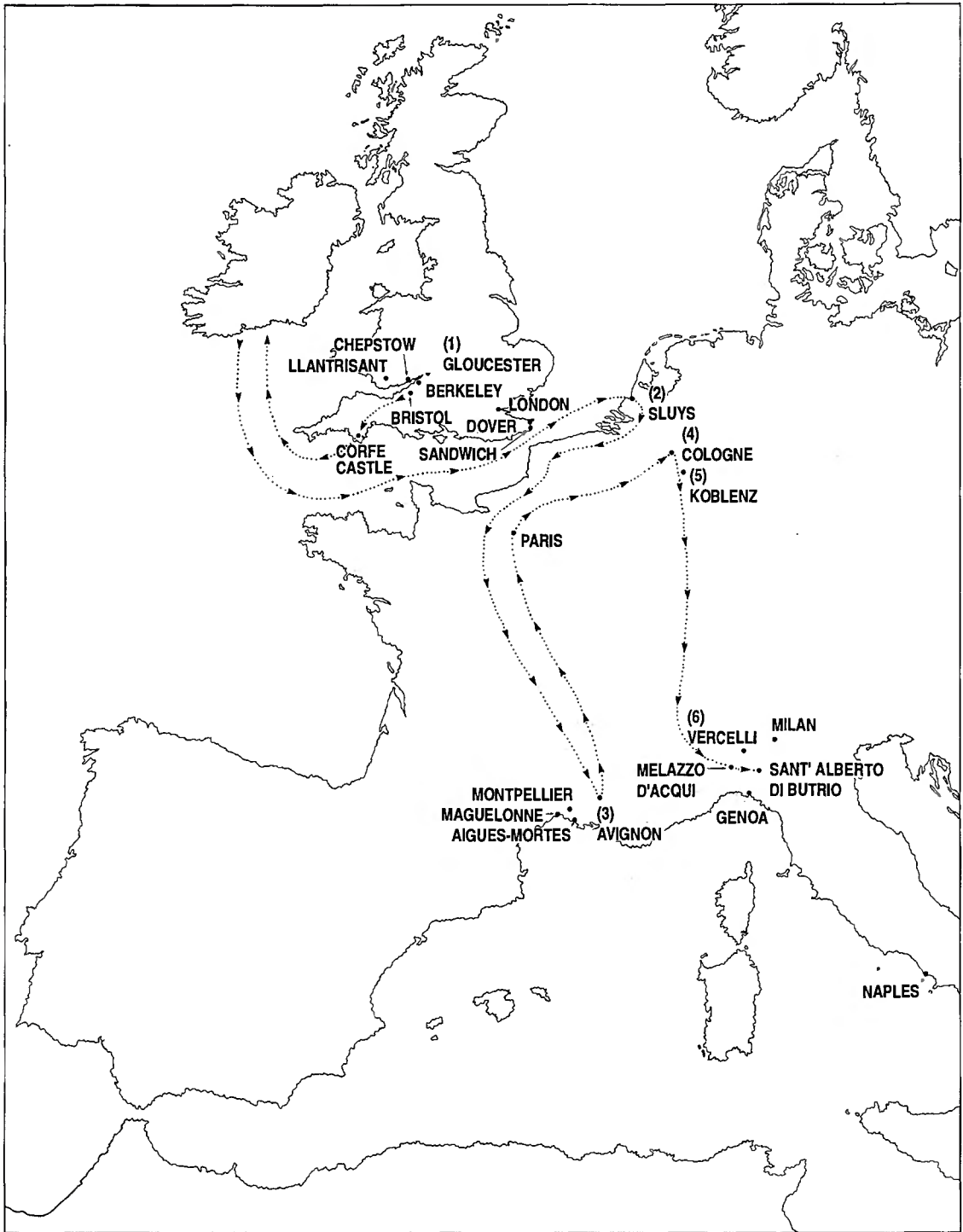


Fig. 1 The supposed journeys of Edward of Caernarvon (for key, see note on p. 67)

language . . . of an Italian writing medieval Latin'. A century earlier Theodore Bent – who was likewise impressed by its seeming authenticity – had asserted that elements of the orthography (*dirisit* for *direxit*, *peresit* for *perrexit*) occur 'exclusively at this period in the Latin documents of Genoa'.⁹ However, while the original may have emanated from Genoa there are problems about attributing such Latin to Fieschi. Had he been the writer of the letter he would have expected it to be translated for Edward III by one of his clerks. He is most unlikely, therefore, to have rendered Edward of Caernarvon's English (French?) in a local Italianate form. As a notary, a man not unversed in English protocol, he would surely have adopted an appropriate style. Or are we to suppose that the original letter was subsequently transposed into a more colloquial form? This would be to pile one conjecture upon another. Additionally it might be urged that Fieschi, who enjoyed, as we shall see, several English benefices and was a confidant of the Salisbury chapter, was unlikely to have been guilty of idiosyncratic spellings of proper names.

What is remarkable about the letter is the wealth of circumstantial detail it contains, much of it verifiable. To appreciate this, the astonishing story as narrated in the document must first be given, though in slightly modified form (see Fig. 1).¹⁰ The former king at his wife's urging (*monitu*, though *innotum matris* [sic] *vestre* would surely make better sense since Isabella was in hot pursuit) left his entourage (*familia*) in the Earl Marshal's castle at Chepstow. Fearful, he took a boat with Hugh Despenser, the earl of Arundel, and others, and made his way to Glamorgan. There he was captured with Despenser and Master Robert Baldock by Henry of Lancaster and brought to Kenilworth Castle, [the] others being [imprisoned] elsewhere. While there he relinquished the crown at the insistence of many. [Edward III's] coronation followed at the next feast of Candlemas [2 February 1327].¹¹ Finally [the former king] was sent to Berkeley Castle where the servant looking after him revealed that the knights Thomas de Gourney [Gurney] and Simon desberford [Bereford or Barford] were coming to kill him. [The servant] suggested that he should take his clothes to assist escape. At twilight Edward left prison and, not being recognised, at the final gate came upon the doorkeeper asleep. He speedily killed him, opened the door with the keys, and left with his custodian. The knights arrived to murder him; fearing the queen's anger and for their own persons, they extracted the porter's heart and put his corpse in a box, maliciously presenting the queen with the heart and body of the porter as though they were the king's. As the body of the king the porter was buried at Gloucester. After he left his [Berkeley] prison Edward was 'received' at Corfe Castle together with his custodian by Lord Thomas, the castellan; the lord – John Maltravers – being ignorant of this. There he was secretly kept for a year and a half. Afterwards, hearing that the earl of Kent had been beheaded because he had said that [his half-brother] was still alive, he took ship with his keeper and with

Fig. 1 (on p. 66) The supposed journeyings of Edward of Caernarvon.

Edward of Caernarvon's supposed route: . . . > . . . > . . . >

- (1) Burial of the body of King Edward II in St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, 20 December 1327.
- (2) The route adopted assumes that Edward of Caernarvon would have travelled from Ireland to Sandwich by sea rather than landing on the west coast and following a more dangerous overland route. The Fieschi letter merely states that he returned (*redivit*) to England and touched (*applicuit*) at Sandwich before crossing to Sluys.
- (3) Edward meets Pope John XXII at Avignon.
- (4) Edward makes a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Three Kings at Cologne. Interestingly the sole dedication to the Magi in England was to be the chapel, founded in 1504 and still surviving, attached to John Foster's hospital (almshouses) in Bristol.
- (5) Edward III made vicar of the Empire by Louis IV in September 1338.
- (6) Manuele de Fieschi promoted bishop of Vercelli in 1343.

the consent and counsel of the said Thomas crossed to Ireland, where he remained for nine months. Afraid of being recognised he adopted the habit of a hermit, returned to England and proceeded to the port of Sandwich. In the same habit he crossed to Sluys. Then he went to Normandy and from there, as many do, to Languedoc. Arriving at Avignon, he gave a florin to a papal servant by whom he sent a document to Pope John, who summoned him and kept him secretly and with honour for fifteen days. Finally, after various discussions, with [papal] permission he went to Paris, thence to Brabant. From there he travelled to Cologne so that out of devotion he might see the Three Kings. Leaving Cologne he crossed Germany, heading for Milan in Lombardy. From Milan he entered a hermitage of the castle of Melazzo, where he stayed for two and a half years. Because of war he moved to another hermitage at the castle of Cecima in Pavia diocese, where he remained for about two years, always a recluse, doing penance and praying God for [Edward III] and other sinners. The letter, as we have seen, concludes that *Manuel de Flisco*, notary of the lord pope, authenticated the document by affixing his seal.

There is one discernible chronological slip in this persuasive account. The erstwhile king is said to have remained secretly at Corfe for a year and a half and then, having heard of the earl of Kent's death, to have taken ship for Ireland. However, a year and a half after Edward's 'simulated' death would only be about 21 March 1329, whereas Earl Edmund died a year later, 19 March 1330.¹² In any case the former king would have had no difficulty in reaching Avignon well before John XXII's death on 4 December 1334. The time required for the remainder of the journey is a matter of conjecture. The Cuttino/Lyman table outlining the former king's conjectured itinerary suggests that he was in Lombardy by the summer of 1331.¹³ The *terminus ad quem* for the confession, whether fabricated or not, would have to be the date of Fieschi's election as bishop of Vercelli, 25/26 June 1343, when his 'style' would have been appropriately revised.¹⁴ Fieschi had letters of attorney, to last for two years on 8 June 1335, so it has been supposed that this determines the earliest possible date for the confession abroad.¹⁵ This does not take account of the Salisbury record that shows Fieschi to have been abroad in September 1333, at which time the chapter requested his assistance at the papal court in Avignon. Letters of attorney were issued for one year in December of that year and there is no indication of Fieschi's return prior to their subsequent reissue.¹⁶ Thus 1333 × 1343 might be taken to indicate the revised timespan during which in theory the confession could have been made to the future bishop of Vercelli.

The supposed author of the document, Manuele de Fieschi, was a scion of a prolific ecclesiastical family centred on Genoa, which is said to have produced two popes, Innocent IV and Adrian V, seventy-two cardinals, and a hundred bishops.¹⁷ No strangers to England, or at any rate to English benefices, ten members of the family are indexed in the revised *Le Neve*.¹⁸ Manuele himself was the son of Andrea di Fieschi, count of Lavania (Lavagna), a master of arts who, like many another medieval cleric of his day with a Western European perspective, was a pluralist in possession of several English benefices. He had acquired the prebend of Ampleforth in York Minster by an exchange with one in Arras, and was provided to the archdeaconry of Nottingham in 1329. Two years later he exchanged the archdeaconry for the prebend of Milton Manor in Lincoln Cathedral. At some time in the 1320s he obtained the prebend of Netheravon in Salisbury Cathedral where he is named as canon in 1329. He was still holding his prebends in York, Lincoln and Salisbury in April 1342 when his estate in them was ratified by the king.¹⁹ A relative of his, Giovanni di Fieschi, son of Nicolino (*Nicolinus*), was a fellow canon at Salisbury. Nicolino or Niccolò himself – the 'cardinal of Genoa' – made a member of Edward III's council at an annual retainer of £20 plus the customary robes, was in 1336 successfully negotiating on behalf of his compatriots for compensation with respect to a plundered galley. This had been attacked off the dunes near Sandwich by Hugh Despenser the younger at the time of his exile.

Edward III denied his father's connivance but, because of his interest in the Genoese as shipbuilders from whom his agent Nicolino was endeavouring to hire vessels, felt it prudent to come to an amicable settlement.²⁰ Carlo di Fieschi, a distant relative of Manuele, had been a counsellor of Edward II in 1315, when he was described as the king's *consanguineus*.²¹ With such connections Manuele was in as good a position as anyone to have access to information about such important events in Britain as the fate of Edward II. Alternatively, it might be suggested that a fabricator could well use Fieschi's name as likely to add authenticity to his forgery.

Some of the details of the confession may seem far-fetched, but in this matter truth can be shown to be at least as strange as fiction. That Edward II was afloat in a small boat in the Bristol Channel (*toutes fortz en la meer*) for the six days 19–25 October 1326, is attested by a chamber account in possession of the Society of Antiquaries, which states that he embarked at Chepstow and landed at Cardiff. The only expense recorded during that time was the 9*d.* paid to the Carmelite friar, Richard de Bliton, the younger Despenser's (and the king's?) confessor, for petitioning St. Anne for a favourable wind (*qe ele nous envoiast bon vent*).²² Whether the ship was becalmed (arguably unlikely in that area) or the victim of adverse gales is unclear. Geoffrey le Baker, a chronicler who has much to say about the fugitive at this time, is in basic agreement with the record evidence. He writes that Edward embarked at Chepstow with the intention of reaching Lundy Island but was forced by fierce storms to land in Glamorgan.²³ It is well-known, too, that Henry of Lancaster was despatched to capture the principals, that is the king, Hugh le Despenser the younger, the earl of Arundel, and Master Robert Baldock. This was accomplished by 16 November. Arundel was executed the following day, the younger Despenser was despatched about a week later with exceptional barbarity, while Baldock, entrusted to Adam Orleton, the Hereford diocesan, was dragged by a mob from that bishop's London residence and died from his maltreatment in the Fleet prison.²⁴ No hint of these reprisals of an angry queen is given by the Fieschi document, even though Isabella is portrayed as the instigator of the murder hence certain to be annoyed by its miscarriage.

Adam Murimuth and Baker (basically dependent upon Murimuth) as well as the author of the *Brut* chronicle are among those who claim that Edward of Caernarvon was at some time or other at Corfe.²⁵ The reason for his removal to the castle there would seem to have been quite other than that suggested in the Fieschi document. Among the 'Ancient Correspondence' in the Public Record Office there is a letter, dated 27 July 1327, which provides a reliable clue. Professor Tanqueray, relying upon the index, considered its author to have been the clerk, John Walwayn, who had grown old in royal service. Denholm-Young pointed out this error, which was to mislead a whole succession of scholars – Tout, Cuttino and myself among them – and at the same time showed that the elder Walwayn, possible author of the anonymous chronicle published as the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, was dead by that time. In fact the letter was sent by (or on behalf of) Thomas de Berkeley, one of the two official gaolers of the former king, the other being John Maltravers.²⁶ Berkeley was intent on warning the royal chancellor, John Hothum, bishop of Ely, of a conspiracy on the captive Edward's behalf involving persons in Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire. He also drew attention to an uprising further afield in Buckinghamshire and neighbouring counties of which he had learned from members of his household. The immediate threat was posed by a marauding band led by the brothers Stephen and Thomas Dunheved, the latter a Dominican friar and a papal chaplain, who was allegedly indifferent to the discipline of his provincial.²⁷ These 'rioters' exhibit a strong ecclesiastical flavour, indicating a degree of popular clerical support for the deposed king, particularly among the friars with whom he is known to have had a special relationship.²⁸ Apart from Dunheved there were two other friars, one of them a Dominican, as well as a Cistercian monk from Hailes and an Augustinian canon of Llanthony Secunda, a priory just outside Gloucester.²⁹

Lord Berkeley, who despite the emergency seems to have been adhering strictly to the letter of the law, argued that his advisors felt his commission to be insufficient to deal with those involved. On the first of the following month (August) he was specifically empowered to do so. But the striking information comes at the beginning of the letter. It is to the effect that the former king had been snatched from Berkeley and the castle itself sacked (*d'avoir ravi le pere nostre seignor le roi hors de nostre garde et le dit chastel robbe felonusement encountre la pees*). The commission to Lord Berkeley while citing the plundering of the castle judiciously – so it would seem – omits mention of the captive's escape. However, a mandate to the sheriff of Oxfordshire, dated 20 August 1327, is not so reticent. It records the indictment before Berkeley as keeper of the king's peace in that county and in Gloucestershire of one William de Aylemere – two rectors of this name are included in the earlier indictment³⁰ – for consenting to and abetting the snatching of the former king from Berkeley Castle and inciting the people to war against Edward III (*ad rapiendum dominum E. de Carnarvan, nuper regem Angliae, patrem nostrum, et ad levandum populum nostrum de guerra contra nos*).³¹

Friar Dunheved is a man of some interest: a confidential messenger of the former king who late in his reign had entrusted him with carrying letters to the younger Despenser in Wales.³² The Pauline annalist has an interesting story, also reported in the seemingly unrelated Lanercost Chronicle, and perhaps alluded to in William Dene's *Historia Roffensis*,³³ to the effect that he was sent to the Roman curia to secure a divorce between Edward and his queen, Isabella. Returning after his unsuccessful mission he found his master imprisoned and endeavoured to secure his release by means of a sworn conspiracy of powerful laymen and ecclesiastics. Allegedly he was captured at Dunsmore in Warwickshire, where his brother Stephen had some property, brought before the queen, and imprisoned at Pontefract in June [1327]. He attempted to organise an escape but this failed and he subsequently died in prison. His brother is said to have been captured in London about the same time.³⁴ The annalist, however, is inaccurate with respect to Dunheved's dates and the story about the divorce, though not unlikely on the face of it, by his own admission is hearsay (*ut dicebatur*).³⁵ Also, it needs to be remembered, the air at the time was rife with rumours of various kinds.

The most imposing feature of Berkeley Castle, despite its 'sighting' during the Civil War, remains the shell keep, which as at Farnham Castle embraces an earlier motte rather than being constructed on its summit. This is approached from the inner ward, somewhat unusually, by a rectangular forebuilding which was originally roofed in timber. At the top of the internal stairway a left turn from a stone platform leads into the keep through a 12th-century doorway modified in the 14th to provide a smaller entrance. This part of the keep, much altered internally, is now called the 'king's gallery'. On the left viewed through a grill in the thickness of the keep wall is a relatively light and airy chamber, 'King Edward's room', an upper guardroom lit on two sides by two-light windows with rectangular hood mouldings on the outside overlooking the inner ward. It would have been entered from the crenellated tower-like forebuilding by a narrow ledge above the stairway. The thickness of its wall and an adjoining staircase separate the king's room from the 'king's gallery'. It is in this gallery that we find a well-like shaft, said to be twenty-eight feet deep, within one of the semi-circular bastions of the keep.³⁶ This shaft is said to be identifiable as the malodorous charnel-hole referred to by Baker and subsequently by Higden in his *Polychronicon* – translated into English by John Trevisa, the late 14th-century vicar of Berkeley and the then Lord Berkeley's chaplain.³⁷ A Berkeley account roll shows that at some time, but whether before or after Edward of Caernarvon's (temporary?) escape is not clear, a smith was paid for bolts, bars and other ironwork for the king's chamber (*pro camera garderobe* [word lost] *patris regis*) as well as for providing four keys for the chamber door, that of the chapel in the tower for which windows were also made, and for an outer door

towards *la Canonbury* (in the town)³⁸ and the postern towards Alkington.³⁹ Additionally a lock was provided for the upper chamber of the outer gate with bars and hinges for the door. We may surmise that this chapel was for the king's use. It is identifiable as the chapel dedicated to St. John in a bastion of the keep, as distinct from that of St. Mary adjacent to the great hall. Altogether there seems to have been considerable emphasis on security but possibly somewhat late in the day.⁴⁰

That Edward was concealed at Corfe by the castellan 'Thomas' unbeknown to John Maltravers is questionable. Who was this Thomas? The then constable seems to have been Sir John Deveril, no friend of Edward of Caernarvon, who in 1330 was being sought for his part in deceiving the earl of Kent.⁴¹ Could this be a confusion with Thomas Gurney, whom the *Brut* claims was there with Maltravers as royal gaoler?⁴² John Maltravers, of Lychett in Dorset, was by his first wife Thomas de Berkeley's brother-in-law. The Berkeley accounts show that he had indeed been at Corfe and was paid £258 8s. 2d. for expenses on behalf of the king's father in Dorset. Further, payments of 3s. 1d. and 4s. were made to courtiers carrying letters to Maltravers in Dorset and in the latter case specifically to Corfe.⁴³ This does not, of course, suffice to refute the statement in the Fieschi letter, but it could be taken as one of several instances in which real happenings appear to have been adapted to 'authenticate' a fictional story.

There is ample chronicle testimony that Edward was murdered, but inevitably in the volatile political circumstances of the time – an insurgency led by Isabella and the ensuing replacement of the king, her husband, by her son – there was much partisan writing. The laconic Adam Murimuth says that by common report (*dictum tamen fuit vulgariter*) he was killed as a precaution on the order of John Maltravers and Thomas Gournay [Gurney].⁴⁴ The Lanercost chronicler left the matter open; it was either a natural death or one inflicted by the violence of others.⁴⁵ Geoffrey le Baker of Swinbrook in Oxfordshire, a near neighbour of Murimuth's at Fifield, was in the earlier portion of his chronicle often content merely to embroider the latter's text but at certain junctures he waxes expansive.⁴⁶ The abbreviated version of his *Chronicon* which covers the reign of Edward II was mistakenly assumed to be a Latin translation of a French work by one Thomas de la More, an Oxfordshire knight from Northmoor, who was neighbour to both Baker and Murimuth. It was published as such by Stubbs.⁴⁷ Maunde Thompson resolved the confusion in his edition of Baker's *Chronicon* and *Chroniculum*.⁴⁸ Also we now know that More's family name was Laurence and that not only was Thomas a squire in John Stratford's entourage at the time of the Kenilworth 'abdication', he was also a relative (*nepos*) of his.⁴⁹ Baker was not above getting involved in the unruliness of the time and with many others had been released from prison towards the end of Edward II's reign in the forlorn hope that he might help to stem the tide of the insurgents.⁵⁰ The whole tenor of his chronicle for Edward II's reign exhibits a blatant partisanship. For him the villains of the piece are the virago Queen Isabella and her evil genius the bishop of Hereford, Adam Orleton.⁵¹

It is Baker's account of the death of Edward of Caernarvon with all its circumstantial detail that has attracted the attention of historians and others. Naturally it is easy to pour doubt on his embellishments, as Professor Cuttino did. Baker's story that Orleton sent a cryptic message which could be read as an instruction to kill the king is a patent fabrication and not original at that!⁵² Indeed, it is arguable that the chronicle for Edward II's reign, which circulated separately, contains propaganda akin to the accusatory material bandied about at the time of Orleton's promotion to the see of Winchester in 1333.⁵³ The account of Edward's ill-treatment at the hands of his gaolers could well be described as the 'passion' of the king – a literary device in vogue at the time. He is a martyr, ill-treated, mockingly addressed as king, and crowned not with thorns but with hay.⁵⁴ However, the nub of the embellished account is that the king was

murdered and in a particularly brutal fashion intended to conceal the method used. Baker was no eyewitness; he tells us that he learned about the details after the Black Death from the captain of the guard placed over the king (*qui ductoribus Edwardi prefuit*), a repentant William Bishop.⁵⁵ Was he too a fiction? It has been thought so,⁵⁶ but he might be as real as the formerly elusive de la More. A William Bishop was pardoned in 1321 for acting against the Despensers and two years later was taking part in a riot at Warwick.⁵⁷ But it would be rash to assume that he is identifiable as the sergeant-at-arms of Edward III mentioned in the patent rolls from 1338 until after the Black Death, in some respects a not unlikely candidate for the role of Baker's informant, though possibly of another generation.⁵⁸

However that may be, the manner of the king's death, embellishments apart, is much the same as that related in a number of other chronicles, the *Brut* for instance, but whereas Baker says that the king was suffocated with heavy bolsters (*cum pulvinatoribus magnis*) while held down by a massive weight greater than that of fifteen strong men (*gravi mole amplius quam quindecim robustorum*) both the *Brut* and the Westminster chronicle specify that a table was used.⁵⁹ Moreover, the last is emphatic that the means of death were revealed by confession of those responsible.⁶⁰ When it became feasible to make some official statement the former king was said to have been suffocated, Roger Mortimer being held ultimately responsible.⁶¹

That Edward could have escaped from Berkeley (and eventually from Corfe) in the manner described is by no means impossible. In fact we know that several prisoners did likewise, including Sir Robert Wakefare, who is said by the chronicler Walsingham to have been a *consanguineus* of Thomas, earl of Lancaster. He broke out of Corfe Castle in 1326 and in doing so killed a porter, one William le Foulere.⁶² If the confession were a fabrication this incident might well have provided a model for the fabricator. It is far more difficult to accept the idea that a porter's body was substituted for that of the king. In the first place we know that the body was embalmed sometime between the date of death, 21 September, and 21 October, when it was delivered to Br. John Toky or Thoky, abbot of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester.⁶³ A bronze plaque now commemorates the spot at which this transfer allegedly took place. Murimuth, who believed that Edward had been killed at the instance of Maltravers and Gurney, says that many abbots, priors, knights and townsmen of Bristol and Gloucester were invited to see the undamaged corpse (*corpus suum integrum*), but that they viewed it only superficially (*tale superficialiter conspexissent*). This public viewing must have taken place at Berkeley prior to embalming; Murimuth's intention is merely to cast doubt on the fact that a robust king of 43 had died a natural death. As an annotator of the Peterborough chronicle (British Library MS. Cotton Claudius A.V) put it: *Edwardus vespere sanus in crastino mortuus est inventus*. There is no suggestion that those who came, men who would certainly have been able to recognise the king, were being hoodwinked as to his identity, merely that they could not inspect the corpse minutely for signs of injury. The king's face was well known in Gloucester and his body could scarcely have been mistaken for that of a common porter.

But before we proceed further it is necessary to question the statement over half a century later in the history of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, attributed to Walter Froucester, its abbot between 1381 and 1412, that Abbot Thoky braved the wrath of Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabella to give burial to the former king's body when the neighbouring monasteries of St. Augustine's Bristol, Kingswood and Malmesbury were too terrified to do so. He also claimed that the abbot had provided the funeral carriage at his own expense, which is possible, although Berkeley and Maltravers were paid for the period until the delivery of the body at Gloucester. Moreover, Smyth in his *Lives of the Berkeleys* cites the account (seemingly no longer extant) of the receiver of Thomas de Berkeley for the second year of Edward III to the effect that he paid for the trappings of the funeral carriage.⁶⁴ Once Edward was dead, those responsible for

government were anxious to give him honourable burial but in a place of their choosing remote from London. Gloucester Abbey was the wealthiest and most prestigious house in the area. The Westminster monk, Robert de Beby, had hastened to the court at Nottingham charged with the task of securing the royal body for burial in his monastery.⁶⁵ His request was not granted; Isabella and her paramour were unwilling to risk the popular sympathy that might have been aroused, even though in his lifetime Edward had been unpopular in the capital. The embarrassing scenes of devotion before the tablet erected in St. Paul's by the to be 'martyred' Thomas of Lancaster in commemoration of the Ordinances were not readily forgotten.⁶⁶

Exigencies of state caused the funeral to be delayed until 20 December. One of the expenses for the lying-in-state was 8s. 9d. paid for four great logs of oak and the wages of carpenters employed to fabricate a barrier around the corpse to protect it from the crush of people – not, I would contend, to prevent it from being seen clearly.⁶⁷ Could the body have been so exposed without risk of discovery had it been other than the king's? Such openness militates against sinister deductions from another circumstance. 'Significantly', argue Cuttino/Lyman in reference to the funeral procession, 'this was the first [recorded?] occasion in western European history when a wooden mannequin-effigy of the deceased was used instead of the body's being displayed'. This image carved in the likeness of the former king cost forty shillings, a further 7s. 3d. being paid for a copper-gilt crown, as we learn from the account of Thomas de Useflet, supervisor of Edward III's wardrobe.⁶⁸ It is a great disappointment that this mannequin has not survived, as has the death mask of Edward III, to indicate the former king's features. The impressive alabaster figure on a Purbeck marble slab surmounted by a freestone canopy was thought at one time to have preserved features, 'the exact form and model of those of Edward of Carnarvon himself',⁶⁹ but Gardner was emphatic that 'the face is of an ideal type rather than an accurate portrait' and subsequent experts have affirmed this view on the grounds that portraiture was a later development.⁷⁰ Even allowing for artistic licence, it would be difficult to controvert the argument that it was impossible in the circumstances described above to have passed off the facial characteristics of the gatekeeper for those of the king.

Some other astonishing echoes of reality in the Fieschi document remain to be mentioned. From the Berkeley muniments we learn that 37s. 8d. was paid for a silver 'vase' (a heart-shaped vessel?) in which to put the king's heart.⁷¹ According to the account of Hugh de Glanvill, 'the clerk appointed to have the body of the king's father brought from Berkeley Castle to St. Peter's Abbey Gloucester', the evisceration was performed by an unnamed woman. He claimed expenses for conducting this woman to the queen at Worcester, *precepto regis*, remaining there for one day, and then proceeding to York. Whether accidentally or by design – suspiciously some might say – these details were not provided in the 'particulars' of the account, which merely record a claim for seven days on a journey to York.⁷² That the young king gave the order in person is most unlikely, hence that portion of Moore's argument about Edward III's likely reactions is misdirected. What we have here is Isabella's mandate but in official guise. The question is, what was her purpose in consulting the woman? Was it to ascertain the means of death, to satisfy herself that the body was that of the king – or what? On the whole, the most likely reason is that she wished to know how her husband had died. There is a final twist to this evidence. Isabella was buried in 1358 amidst a belated aura of near sanctity in the church of the Franciscan friars in London. A description of her alabaster tomb in the middle of the choir was given by a friar of the place shortly before the Dissolution of the religious houses. Beneath the breast of her effigy, he wrote, lies the heart of King Edward her husband (*sub pectore imaginis eius jacet cor regis Edwardi, mariti sui*).⁷³ This is one of the defaced tombs later noted by Stow in his *Survey of London*, who also claimed that Roger Mortimer was buried in the same church.⁷⁴ Assuming that we are here concerned with the heart that Isabella had received over thirty years

earlier, possibly from the hand of the eviscerator, we can argue a degree of remorse and no doubt of penitence – after all her friar-confessor in 1327, Robert Lamborn, was buried beneath a plain slab a short distance away.⁷⁵ If the friar's story is true – and it would be a strange coincidence if it were not – clearly she did not believe it to be the heart of the gatekeeper! But could she have been deceived in this, as the Fieschi document suggests? Ostensibly substitution of the heart would have presented little difficulty, but the body is another matter; it is scarcely conceivable that Isabella could have been deluded about that. The subsequent fate of the heart must remain a stumbling block for the hypothesis that if her husband had really escaped, it would have suited her to acquiesce in the deception.⁷⁶

What, one might ask, had happened to the royal doctor in all this? The month before the ex-king was removed to Berkeley the physician who had treated both him and his wife, Isabella, and who was to be retained in the same capacity by Edward III, one Master Pancius de Controne, an Italian who may have come from Lombardy, was granted one hundred pounds a year from the royal revenues in Northampton as reward for his services.⁷⁷ The peculiarity, if such it is, lies in the timing. For whatever reason, the royal patient was removed from the doctor's list in the March of 1327. In the normal course we would expect Pancius to have been called in for consultation in the event of the captive's illness and maybe to have carried out a post-mortem examination, presuming death to have occurred naturally, and in any case to have supervised the evisceration. There is no hint of Master Pancius's involvement. Subsequently he was to enjoy further grants, which must have left him a wealthy man. Had he been deliberately kept out of the way?⁷⁸

With respect to the purported visit of Edward to Cologne we have another striking coincidence arising from two entries in a wardrobe book of Edward III's reign. The king, in pursuance of his policy of alliance with the emperor, Louis IV, travelled to Koblenz in 1338 for his ceremonial investiture as vicar of the Empire. Whilst he was there a certain William le Galeys – the 'Welshman', a suitable sobriquet for Edward – was arrested at nearby Cologne. A royal sergeant-at-arms, Francis Lumbard, escorted him to the king. What happened at their meeting is not disclosed, indeed we would scarcely expect to come by such information in a wardrobe book. What we do learn is that at Antwerp, the royal base on the continent, a Francekins Forcet claimed expenses for Galeys' custody for three weeks of December 1338. Apparently the prisoner had been taken there following his interview by the king. He then vanishes from history, one hopes not from life itself. The entries in the wardrobe book concerning this matter are separated. In the first Galeys is said to have claimed to be the king's father, in the second to have termed himself king of England, father of the present king.⁷⁹ Could the author of the Fieschi letter have got wind of this impersonation and once again used the fact to bolster fiction? Alternatively, are we to believe that this was no impersonator, but Edward of Caernarvon himself? Impersonations of kings were not that rare and in 1318 a man (of unsound mind?) had been put to death for claiming to be the 'real' king. Surely such an unkingly king as Edward must have been a changeling!⁸⁰

The latter part of the Cuttino/Lyman article is concerned with the Italian 'evidence'. The positive identification by Anna Benedetti of the two places in Lombardy in which the former king is supposed to have stayed as a hermit provides the starting point. The publication of the Fieschi letter gave rise to two plaques in the castle of Melazzo d'Aqui and another, which erroneously describes Isabella as the sister of King Philip IV of France, in the abbey of Sant'Alberto di Butrio.⁸¹ This last additionally claims – without any supporting evidence – that the bones of Edward were stolen and taken to England and placed in the tomb at Gloucester by Edward III.⁸² Thefts of such a kind were by no means so uncommon in the Middle Ages as the article's authors appear to suggest. There is a tradition, they continue, which goes back further

than the publication of the Fieschi document, to the effect that the abbey contains a tomb of an English king and they cite the testimony (in 1958) of a man of 88 who claimed that his grandfather 'had spoken of an English king who had taken refuge in the hermitage' [at Sant'Alberto].⁸³ Clearly it would be difficult to evaluate this piece of oral testimony; even more difficult to connect it with Edward II. The iconography of a lost historiated capital was in the 1920s imaginatively interpreted by Benedetti as symbolic of the political struggles in England during the Mortimer–Isabella period. As can be seen from the photographs in the article, one does not require an art historian to date the surviving historiated capital and the cloister gallery in which it is situated to a period some centuries before the 1320s. The tomb recess, the authors suggest, may be even earlier. In consequence, one can only be surprised that in the article so much expertise is devoted to what appears to be a foregone conclusion. In short, there is absolutely nothing here in the way of hard evidence, still less anything about the tomb recess as it now exists or any part of the ancient abbey, to point to Edward or any other English king having been buried there. Again, of course, this does not serve to invalidate the Fieschi document, but it does mean that there is no satisfactory corroborative evidence from the sites with which Edward was supposedly connected.

The tomb of Edward II in what is now Gloucester Cathedral, was 'opened' on 2 October 1855, apparently for the first time, and a memorandum of this has been preserved in the account of Marshall Allen, subsacrist of the former abbey church (1835–58). He was present together with Dr. Jeune, canon in residence, Mr. Waller the architect and a mason, Henry Clifford. This memorandum is not precise but it would seem that although by removing the floor on the south of the tomb the wooden coffin, found to be 'still very perfect', was exposed and a portion of it removed to reveal the leaden one 'containing the remains of the king', the latter was not actually prised open. The tomb was resealed two hours later.⁸⁴ The purpose of the excavation is not specified, but it may have been merely to establish the coffin's existence. Removal of the thick sheet of lead shaped to conform to the body beneath would have served to confirm or deny the reburial of the royal bones. But failing a more intensive examination of the tomb there is little reason to doubt that Edward of Caernarvon's corpse lies there undisturbed since December 1327.

Perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance of the whole affair and one which may well have provided the stimulus to the interpretation to be found in the Fieschi letter was that the government of Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer deliberately fostered the idea that the former king was alive – and at Corfe – in order to entrap those who might be tempted to organise political opposition with, it was suggested, assistance from the continent.⁸⁵ Baker gives a most interesting account of the affair.⁸⁶ According to him, though as we have seen he sometimes embroiders the truth, certain persons pretended that the former king, who had lately died, was living in the castle of Corfe. They illuminated the walls and towers with torches to give the locals the impression that some important king was being entertained there. Soon the rumour that Edward of Caernarvon was alive spread throughout England. Hearing this his half-brother Edmund, earl of Kent, sent a Dominican friar to investigate. This man bribed the gatekeeper, as he thought, to allow him to see Edward. He was warned to dress in secular clothes to escape detection and at night was allowed into the hall where he saw the king sitting at a great feast. He then informed the earl what he had seen, whereupon Edmund swore that he would work to release Edward. As a result, by the queen's connivance and that of Roger Mortimer the earl and other secular lords and religious were accused of an attempt to free the king and to reinstate him. The earl was beheaded and many others were imprisoned or exiled.⁸⁷ The story is related by other chroniclers, among them the Pauline annalist, Murimuth, the canon of Bridlington, and William Dene, archdeacon of Rochester.⁸⁸ Moreover, one of the

articles of accusation against Mortimer was that he was responsible for the fabrication.⁸⁹ The *Brut* chronicle goes further. It states that the earl was at Avignon urging the ‘translation’ of Thomas of Lancaster by reason of the many miracles performed on his account. When this proved fruitless, the earl is said to have broached the subject of freeing his brother, Edward of Caernarvon, ‘since that a common fame is throughout all England that he was alive and whole and safe’.⁹⁰ At this time manoeuvres were certainly under way to secure Lancaster’s canonisation. Moreover, John XXII was constrained subsequently to respond to the Isabella–Mortimer government by discrediting Kent’s story and claiming that he had believed no such thing. He would not have dealt with an individual noble in such a manner, he declared; the funeral had been public, so no deception would have been possible.⁹¹

We need not examine minutely the question of who was responsible indirectly or directly for the death of the sometime king. Some of the immediate circumstances are, however, relevant to the Fieschi document’s validity. Mortimer, Berkeley’s father-in-law, following his capture at Nottingham Castle in 1330, was accused as part of an all-embracing indictment of having consented to the king’s suffocation.⁹² Three years before when he and his paramour, Isabella, had been at the height of their power, the former king constituted a potential danger and would continue to do so while he remained alive. At that time William Shalford was Mortimer’s deputy as justice of North Wales. In 1330 Howel or Hywel ap Gruffydd appealed, that is levelled an accusation, against Shalford before Mortimer’s successor as justice, Sir John Wysham. The charge was no less than that of compassing the death of the former king. Shalford, the Welshman alleged, had sent a letter (dated 14 September 1327) from Rhosfair in Anglesey warning Mortimer, then at Abergavenny,⁹³ of the hatching of conspiracies in both North and South Wales in collusion with important persons in England. Their purpose, he declared, was to spring Edward from his prison at Berkeley. Were they to meet with success Mortimer and his associates would be destroyed. He counselled that no one in either England or Wales should have further occasion to consider Edward’s deliverance (*ne nul autre Dengleterre ne de Gales averoient matere de penser de sa delivraunce*). Mortimer, we are told, at once showed the letter to William Ockley (or Ogle), with instructions to carry it to Berkeley. There he was to allow Edward’s custodians to examine it and to charge them to respond appropriately. Ockley undertook the mission and in conjunction with the former king’s guardians traitorously slew him.⁹⁴ The validity of this allegation is obfuscated by Welsh–English rivalry, Hywel had hoped to have the case settled on his home ground.⁹⁵ In the event the proceedings were examined in Chancery, where in October 1331 the appeal was described as one that could not be finally decided in King’s Bench, judgement being given for the defendant.⁹⁶ There the case fizzled out.

The significance for our present purpose is that Ockley plays a prominent role. Together with Sir Thomas Gurney, a Somersetshire knight, William Ockley was deputed by Thomas de Berkeley to oversee Edward of Caernarvon. At the Westminster parliament of 1330 they were jointly condemned to death for ‘traitorously murdering the king’s father’. In the course of his own defence Berkeley admitted that he had appointed them but failed to say when, although if the Shalford letter is genuine it must have been just before Edward’s death.⁹⁷ Berkeley’s own alibi was demolished by the biographer of his house, Smyth.⁹⁸ Gurney, as we have seen, is mentioned with Simon de Bereford or Barford as having been sent to despatch Edward. Both Bereford and Sir John Deveril, the deceiver of the credulous earl of Kent, were put to death with Mortimer, but not specifically on account of complicity in the former king’s murder.

If we discount the Fieschi letter the evidence points to Ockley (rather than Bereford) and Gurney as having been the actual murderers. Ockley escaped abroad and is not heard of again. He may have died before pursuit could be organised. Berkeley, as Dugdale and Smyth affirm, protected Gurney until Mortimer’s fall, when flight became the only course for survival.⁹⁹ On 3

December 1330 writs were issued to prevent Gurney's passage abroad and on 15 July in the following year a commission of enquiry was launched on report that Cornishmen from Mousehole had assisted his escape and that of John Maltravers to the continent.¹⁰⁰

Thanks to a chance survival of documents we know much about Gurney's flight and can plot his route in detail (Fig. 2).¹⁰¹ It would seem to have been in May of 1331 that the presence in Spain of Gurney and Maltravers first came to the notice of English officialdom, apparently because of recognition by a pilgrim to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, Isolda widow of Sir John de Belhouse.¹⁰² Edward III wrote letters to Alfonso XI of Castile and asked that Gurney, who had been arrested and pilloried in Burgos, should be delivered to the seneschal of Gascony, John de Haustede. In the second letter he requested that the prisoner be examined on the charges against him in the presence of Bernard Pelegrym or Pilgrim, a royal sergeant-at-arms. No deposition of the kind requested is known to have survived. There was some hitch in the arrangements for Gurney's handover, as another of the king's emissaries, Giles of Spain, was to discover. Worse still, Gurney managed to escape.¹⁰³

Gurney, it was learned in England, had reached Naples and Sir William de Thweng or Tweng was sent to detain him. On his arrival he found the fugitive in the custody of a royal agent, William of Cornwall.¹⁰⁴ A ship was chartered to take Gurney to Aigues Mortes, the walled town from which St. Louis had set out on crusade. Arrived in Spain the party was detained by a local family and had to be released at the intervention of King Alfonso IV of Aragon. After crossing the Pyrenees they eventually reached Bayonne. The captive, possibly worn out by physical exertion and mental anxiety, fell ill and had to have medical attention. This proved of no avail for Gurney died shortly afterwards. His body was embalmed and taken by ship to Tynemouth, Edward III being nearby in anticipation of the surrender of the Scots.

The point about this narration of Gurney's journey is that his ship must have passed close to Genoa even if it did not make a landfall there, while at Aigues-Mortes it was close to Maguelonne. Can there be any doubt that in these areas the story of Edward II's death and knowledge of English affairs became widespread?

The idea has been mooted that Edward III did not pursue his father's murderers with vigour.¹⁰⁵ This was not the case. As we have seen, Mortimer, the man in political authority at the time, was hanged at Tyburn, the condemned Gurney and Ockley escaped, the former being hounded with great determination. Although some chroniclers assume his guilt, Maltravers was never formally accused of the murder but of another offence – contriving the death of Edmund of Woodstock.¹⁰⁶ Although his second wife Agnes presented an (unread) petition to the parliament of 1339 on the grounds that he had been condemned unheard, it was not until 1345 that the first step towards his rehabilitation was taken. That Fieschi had become bishop a mere two years before *pace* Cuttino/Lyman is no more than a convenient coincidence, convenient that is for the theory that the king was responding to the revelations of the Fieschi letter.¹⁰⁷ It is true that Thomas de Berkeley, despite the weakness of his alibi and the fact that he was Mortimer's son-in-law, was permitted to escape punishment for what at the very least must be accounted criminal negligence. Where his mother, Isabella, was concerned Edward did show mercy.¹⁰⁸ Whether she assented to her husband's death cannot be known with certainty, it is just possible that Mortimer acted on the spur of the moment and without consulting her, but Isabella's previous conduct coupled with mounting disaffection had made it inevitable. Without Edward there was no immediate focus for dissidents until the young Edward III was in a position to assert himself.

The argument so far has been directed towards assessing the validity of the Fieschi letter, the possibility that Edward of Caernarvon could have survived, and the credibility of the notion that the body of someone else was successfully substituted for his own and, moreover, that he was



Fig. 2 The Pursuit and capture of Sir Thomas Gurney (for key, see note on p. 79)

allowed to escape the long arm of his son, exemplified by the successful pursuit of Gurney. Faced with the unexpected phenomenon of the Fieschi letter Stubbs sought to account for it by advancing three 'theories'. It could have been a 'political trick' to discredit Edward III at the outbreak of war with France – particularly, one might add, in view of his accommodation with the German emperor – and perhaps to foster disaffection at home; the 'pretended confession' of someone who could have been implicated and 'wished to secure his own safety'; or 'the real confession of a madman'.¹⁰⁹ To my mind none of these carries conviction.

Is there another more credible suggestion? Surely there is, one compatible with the prevailing ethos and with the nature of the letter which the present writer, unlike Cuttino/Lyman but in agreement with James Cooke (cf. note 69), does not believe was ever delivered. 'Political canonisation' by popular demand was a not infrequent feature of England at the time, the cases of Winchelsey and Lancaster being particularly well known. However incompetent he may have been, the former king's pitiable end aroused sympathy; a sympathy which was to manifest itself in the generous offerings made by pilgrims to his tomb at Gloucester, which served to transform the eastern limb of the abbey church. The Fieschi letter, I would suggest, is an element in this process of developing a cult. Edward is made to adopt the holiest of guises, that of a hermit perpetually devoted to prayer. He can expiate his sins and make amends for the political disaster of his reign by assisting in that essential role of intercession for the world – a far better *dénouement* than the miserable death that he had in fact suffered. The breaking of the bond of the confessional would not be regarded as reprehensible were it for the purpose of disclosing the lineaments of sanctity. Trevisa in rendering a passage from Higden's *Polychronicon* was well aware of the tendency towards popular martyrdom. He couples the king's name with Lancaster's, pointing out the difference of opinion as to whether Edward should be accounted a martyr or not. As the anonymous writer of British Library MS. Harleian 2261 expressed it: 'Wherefore many men say that he died a martyr and did many miracles. Nevertheless keeping in prison, villainous and opprobrious death make not a martyr unless holiness of life before be correspondent'.¹¹⁰ Baker's 'passion of the king', the welcome flood of pilgrims to Gloucester, and the transformation of Edward's character, even his idealised face, are all manifestations of the dead king's cult. Moreover, it was possible to build upon the recent rumours spread by Mortimer as *agent provocateur* by continuing the story which had previously terminated at Corfe and denizing it in the Mediterranean region.

Although we may never know the precise local circumstances which gave rise to the Fieschi letter it was clearly informed by knowledge which could only have come from England; its attribution to Fieschi may be yet another carefully contrived circumstantial detail. There is no reason why such a cult could not have had an offshoot in Lombardy or elsewhere in the Mediterranean, where in the longer term its impact may have been less remarkable but nonetheless dimly retained in folk memory, as Cuttino/Lyman have suggested. After all Manuele di Fieschi himself, capitalising upon his intimate knowledge of English affairs, could have stimulated Genoese piety. It is more than probable that he felt sympathy for the murdered

Fig. 2 (on p. 78) The pursuit and capture of Sir Thomas Gurney.

Sir Thomas Gurney's escape route from Berkeley: → · → · → · →

Route taken by Sir William Thweng and the captive Gurney: ... > ... > ... >

(1) Gurney imprisoned at Burgos.

(2) Arrest of Gurney at Naples.

(3) Gurney dies at Bayonne after an illness unsuccessfully treated by doctors.

(4) His body embalmed prior to shipment from Bordeaux to Sandwich.

(5) Thweng after making landfall at Tynemouth reports to Edward III at Berwick.

monarch, but it is surely inconceivable that he sent a letter in the local patois to Edward III. Alternatively, and more likely, Fieschi's name may have been 'borrowed' to lend authenticity to the whole affair. Whether due to his connivance or not, the letter attributed to him is clearly a competent forgery; a forgery with a purpose, the 'sanctification' of a politically ineffective king who had been brutally done to death. Forgery was an art well-developed in the Middle Ages.¹¹¹

Notes

1. At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 20 February 1993, in response to Canon David Welander's paper 'The Architectural Development of the Choir of Glouc. Cath.', Dr. A.J. Taylor, citing Dr. Cuttino, raised the matter of Edward's supposed wanderings on the continent and the possibility that his bones do not lie in the cathedral. Cf. Welander, *History, Art and Architecture of Glouc. Cath.* (Stroud, 1991), esp. chap. 8, where little countenance is given to the story. I am grateful to D.J.H. Smith, county archivist of Gloucestershire and honorary archivist to Berkeley Castle, for permission to examine the Berkeley manuscripts.
2. 'Where is Edward II?', *Speculum* 53 (1978), 522–4.
3. e.g. R.M. Haines, *Church and Politics in Fourteenth Cent. England: The Career of Adam Orleton* (Cambridge, 1978), 161–80; idem, *Archbishop John Stratford* (Toronto, 1986), 161–94. For the period after Kenilworth, T.F. Tout, 'Captivity and Death of Edward of Carnarvon', *Bull. John Rylands Library* 6 (1921–2), 69–113, reprinted in *Collected Papers* (Manchester, 1934), iii, 145–89. The record evidence (chancellor's roll 1 Edward III) shows that Thomas de Berkeley and John Maltravers accounted for expenses of keeping the king while alive from 3 April 1327: S.A. Moore, 'Documents relating to the Death and Burial of King Edward II', *Archaeologia* 50 (1887), 215–26. Murimuth thought that Berkeley and Maltravers took responsibility for the king in alternate months: *Adae Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (Rolls Ser. 1889), 52. W.J. Smith, 'Rise of the Berkeleys', *TBGAS* 70 (1951), 76, comments on this (cf. below, note 26).
4. Cuttino/Lyman, 'Where is Edward II?', 526, 543, citing A. Germain, 'Lettre de Manual de Fiesque concernant les dernières années du roi d'Angleterre Édouard II', *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier* 7 (1881), 109–27 [cf. that society's publication 37 (1877), 118–20, Germain's transcription used by Stubbs]; C. Nigra, 'Uno degli Edoardi in Italia: Favola o Storia?', *Nuova Antologia; rivista di lettere, science ed arti* 4th ser. 92 (1901), 403–25. J. Theodore Bent, 'Where did Edward II die?', *Notes & Queries* 6th ser. 2 (1880), 381, suggests that Bishop Arnaud de Verdale (1339–52), who 'had a passion for collecting documents from all parts of the world' and for writing about his predecessors in the see, was responsible.
5. No. 330 at f. 286 (1337) is the latest dated entry that I observed while examining the MS.
6. Germain (cf. above, note 4) had brought his discovery to the notice of savants in Paris four years earlier. News of the document percolated to England where Theodore Bent published it in 1880 in *Macmillan's Mag.* (March) and, with a translation, *Notes & Queries* 6th ser. 2, 381–3, 410–3. Sir H. Ogle referred to it in his paper delivered in 1890 at the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne and later, having translated the article in *Nuova Antologia* (cf. above, note 4), provided a text: *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newcastle-on-Tyne* 9 (1899–1900), 48–9; 10 (1902), 171–3. Earlier Bishop Stubbs had made the document general knowledge among historians by including it with comments in the introduction (pp. cviii–cviii) to *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II* (Rolls Ser. 1883), ii.
7. 'Where is Edward II?', 537–8; for an English translation, *ibid.* 526–7.
8. The 'c' of the MS. is regularly rendered as 't' (e.g. *sentiens* in line 3 of the printed text), various words are separated (e.g. lines 7 *con domino* for *condomino*, 11–12 *de la Candelor* for *delaCandelor*), and capitals are often substituted where the MS. has lower case (e.g. line 4 *Gesosta* for *gesosta*). *Berchele* should be *Berchelee* (line 11); I suspect that the extension to *Baldoli* arises from the copyist's misreading of 'l' for 'k'. Should there be an 'n' in *Longa* (line 8)? It could be that *innocum* [*innotum*] was intended, except that *matris* would then have to be *matri* to make grammatical sense. *Metu* would make better sense than *monitu* but could hardly have been the copyist's intention.

9. 'Where is Edward II?', 529; Bent, 'Where did Edward II die?', 381. Cuttino/Lyman seem to have been unaware of Bent's extremely pertinent comments.
10. My English rendering of some of the Latin words differs from that in 'Where is Edward II?'.
11. The coronation took place on Sunday 1 February.
12. 'Where is Edward II?', 540, supposes that the former king reached Corfe in September 1328 and left there for Ireland in March/April 1330. There is no indicating of an extended interval between his leaving Berkeley, which could only have been on or about 21 September 1327, and his arrival at Corfe. The relevant text reads 'Et postquam exivit carceres castris antedicti fuit receptatus in castro de Corfe'. The 'postquam' does not mean 'after' the burial at Gloucester in December. Thus *pace* the Cuttino/Lyman article (p. 527) the bishop's [i.e. Stubbs's] dating is not 'a year off'.
13. 'Where is Edward II?', 541–2, conjectures Edward's arrival at Melazzo d'Acqui (*castrum Melasci* of the document) c. June/July 1331 and at the abbey of Sant' Alberto di Butrio near Cecima sopra Voghera (*castrum Cecime*) c. December 1334. This identification of place names is adopted by Cuttino/Lyman from Professor Anna Beneditti, *Edoardo II d'Inghilterra all'Abbazia di S. Alberto de Butrio* (Palermo, 1924).
14. F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra sive de Episcopis Italiae* (Venice, 1717–22), iv, col. 804, has 6 Kal. July (26 June); P.P.B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum* (Ratisbon, 1873), who *inter alia* cites *Italia Sacra*, gives 25 June (p. 826). 'Where is Edward II?', 542, citing Ughelli, iv: 803 (sic), has 6 July.
15. 'Where is Edward II?', 542, derived from *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1334–8, 116.
16. *Hemingby's Register*, ed. H.M. Chew (Devizes, 1963), 85–6 and, for biographical notes, 198–9.
17. *Grande Dizionario Enciclopedico*.
18. John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541*, xii (compiled J. Horn), index.
19. These and other details are to be found with references in Le Neve, *Fasti*, and *Hemingby's Reg.* (cf. above, notes 16, 18). 'Where is Edward II?', 544, gives a summary genealogical table of the 'Fieschi connection'.
20. Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), ii(2), 946–7; *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, 247, 321, 328–9; cf. *Annales Paulini in Chron. of Edward I & II*, i, 300; Haines, *Abp. Stratford*, 243–44.
21. 'Where is Edward II?', 544, citing *Foedera*, ii(1), 274; Bent, 'Where did Edward II die?', 381–2.
22. Soc. of Antiquaries MS. 122 (chamber account 20 Edward II), f. 45v. Bliton was to be implicated in the earl of Kent's 'conspiracy' in 1330: *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke* ed. E. Maunde Thompson (Oxford, 1889), 44.
23. *Chron. Baker*, 22–3, where the earl is named, erroneously 'of Gloucester' instead 'of Arundel', as one of the royal companions. Ironically the younger Despenser coveted that title.
24. Details of these events are given in Haines, *Church & Politics*, 111–12, 165–6. For Arundel, C. Given-Wilson, 'Wealth and Credit, Public and Private: the Earls of Arundel, 1306–1397', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* **106** (1991), 1–26. The Gervase continuator, a Canterbury-based chronicle (Trinity Coll. Cambridge, MS. R.5 41, f. 123), gives one of the longest descriptions of the barbarities inflicted on the captives, notably on Despenser – a story to be retold by Froissart.
25. *Murimuth*, 52; *Chron. Baker*, 30; Brut (Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge, MS. 174), f. 152: ed. W.D. Brie (Early English Text Soc. orig. ser. **131**, **136**, 1906–8), i, 253. The suggestion in this version of Brut that Edward died at Corfe is apparently an error as Berkeley is named later with a cross reference to the earlier passage (f. 159: i, 268); cf. Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford, MS. 78, f. 169, printed by V.H. Galbraith, 'Extracts from the *Historia Aurea* and a French *Brut*', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* **43** (1928), 216.
26. P.R.O., SC 1/35/207; F.J. Tanqueray, 'Conspiracy of Thomas Dunheved, 1327', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* **31** (1916), 119–24; N. Denholm Young, 'Authorship of *Vita Edwardi Secundi*', *Collected Works* (Cardiff, 1969), 268–89; Smith, 'Rise of the Berkeleys', 76–8. Tanqueray not only confuses the elder and younger Walwayns but also (p. 121 n. 5) concludes that Berkeley had been deprived of the former king's custody. This idea is to be found in the Brut, f. 152 (ed. Brie, i, 253), where Gurney (*Toiourneye*) and Maltravers were given custody and Maurice (sic) de Berkeley deprived of it. Maurice was the name of Thomas's father and of a younger brother. Smith, 'Rise of the Berkeleys', 76–7, points to Tout's error (following Tanqueray) in assuming Walwayn's responsibility for the king

- (‘Captivity and Death’, 160) and Tanquerey’s in representing Murimuth as stating that Berkeley was deprived of the king’s custody. What the chronicler does suggest (*Murimuth*, 52) is that Berkeley and Maltravers shared the responsibility by alternate months. Smith argues that on that basis Thomas could have exculpated himself, but there is no corroboration of Murimuth’s statement.
27. *Cal. Papal Letters*, 1305–42, 253, 479.
 28. Brut, f. 149v. (ed. Brie, i. 249) (orthography partly modernised here and in other quotations from the MS.): ‘The frere Preachouris to hym were goode friends evermore and caste and ordeyne bothe nyght and day hou they myght bringe him out of prisoun’. Gaveston had been buried at the royal foundation of King’s Langley, a Dominican house: *Vita Edwardi Secundi: The Life of Edward the Second*, ed. N. Denholm-Young (Edinburgh/London, 1957), 58–9. See also J.S. Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston* (Detroit/London, 1988), 99–100, 166 n. 79, for royal gifts to the Dominicans.
 29. P.R.O., SC 1/35/207; Tanquerey, ‘Conspiracy’, 119–20; *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 80, 156–7.
 30. Said to be parsons of *Dadynton* (? Deddington, Oxon.) and *Beadewell* (? Bedwell, Herts., or Bidwell, Beds.) respectively.
 31. *Foedera*, ii(2), 714 (20 August 1327). Aylemere was imprisoned at Oxford, hence the local sheriff’s involvement.
 32. *Cal. Papal Letters*, 1305–42, 474; Soc. of Antiquaries MS. 122, f. 17v.
 33. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839), 254, 260. This chronicle suggests that Dunheved’s mission was at the behest of the younger Despenser, includes it (at the first mention) among the events of 1325, and assumes it to have been a reason for the queen’s wish to journey to France that year. This is extremely doubtful in view of the anxiety expressed by those in power that she should go for diplomatic purposes. See also *Historia Roffensis* (British Library Cott. MS. Faust. B. v), f. 46v., where Edward II is said to have propounded to Bishop Hethe of Rochester a case in which a disobedient queen ‘a dignitate regali deposita fuit’.
 34. *Ann. Paulini*, 337. The Brut, f. 149v. (ed. Brie, i. 249), also states that Dunheved died in Pontefract Castle but gives no date.
 35. His depredations by way of Cirencester, Oxfordshire and Chester are noted in Tout, ‘Captivity & Death’, 157–8.
 36. This account is mainly from personal observation. See also, P.A. Faulkner, *Arch. Jnl.* 122 (1965), 197–200; G.T. Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture in England* (London, 1884), i. 228–39; A. Hamilton Thompson, *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1912), index, s.v. Berkeley; C. Oman, *Castles* (London, 1926), 84–8. The castle is illustrated in R.A. Brown, *Castles from the Air* (Cambridge, 1989) and in V. Sackville West, *Berkeley Castle* (Derby, 1985).
 37. *Chron. Baker*, 33; *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden . . . with the English Translations of John of Trevisa and of an unknown writer in the 15th Cent.* (Rolls Ser. 1865–86), viii. 324–7.
 38. The earliest mention of the street in A.H. Smith, *Place-names of Glos.* (English Place-Name Soc. 1964), ii, 212, is 1492. The name is derived from the lands of the Augustinian canons of Bristol in the town.
 39. Alkington is SE. of Berkeley.
 40. Berkeley Castle Muniments, select rolls 39–40: see below, note 43.
 41. *Foedera*, ii(2), 801.
 42. Brut, ed. Brie, i. 253, which states that Mortimer granted the wardship of the king to Gurney and Maltravers. This source also confuses Sir Thomas Berkeley with Sir Maurice Berkeley, his father or possibly his younger brother of the same name.
 43. Berkeley Cast. Mun., select rolls 39–40 [roll 39 is that of the steward of Berkeley, apparently William Aside, from 1 January 1326 to 30 September 1327, roll 40 a copy of 39 by W.F. Shrapnel, sometime steward of Berkeley]; for extracts, I.H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments . . . at Berkeley Castle* (Bristol, 1892), 274–5.
 44. *Murimuth*, 53–4.
 45. *Chron. Lanercost*, 260: ‘Mortuus est, vel morte propria naturali vel ab aliis violenter inflicta’.
 46. For discussions of Baker and other chroniclers, Haines, *Church & Politics*, chap. 4; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II* (London, 1982), chap. 1.
 47. *Chron. of Edward I & II*, ii, pp. lviii–lxxv, 297–319: hereafter *Vita et Mors* [from Camden’s edition

- collated with British Library Cott. MS. Vitell. E. 5; Harl. MS. 310; Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 761]. This last is the chief MS. used by Maunde Thompson for his edition of *Chron. Baker*.
48. *Chron. Baker*, pp. vi–ix.
 49. Haines, *Abp. Stratford*, index, s.v. Laurence.
 50. *Cal. Pat.* 1324–7, 331; Haines, *Church & Politics*, 105.
 51. See Haines, *Church & Politics*, chap. 4 ('Orleton and the Chroniclers'), esp. p. 104.
 52. *Ibid.* 109 and n. 36.
 53. *Ibid.* 106.
 54. At the commencement of this 'passion sequence' Baker addresses his patron More as 'miles reverende', explaining that because of Edward's enemies still living he cannot reveal the full facts, but he continues with the details learned, so he says, from Bishop after 1349. Clearly this suggests subsequent revision of the text.
 55. *Chron. Baker*, 31.
 56. 'Where is Edward II?', 523. Tout, 'Captivity & Death', 163, considered him 'indistinguishable' from his namesakes.
 57. *Cal. Pat.* 1321–4, 17, 377; 1338–40, and later vols. indices.
 58. It would seem, though, that this sergeant is identifiable as the William Bishop who paid 40s. for a horse for the king's use: British Library Cott. MS. Nero C. viii (wardrobe book 9 Edward III), f. 211. He in turn could well be the 'serviens regis ad arma' who gave a receipt, 12 July 1355, for expenses of £46 13s. 4d.: P.R.O., E 47/170. This document is sealed with a round heraldic seal in red wax, the arms surmounted by a mitre.
 59. Brut, f. 152; *Chron. Baker*, 33.
 60. Westminster chronicle (British Library Cott. MS. Cleop. A. xvi, f. 144) quoted in *Chronica Johannis de Reading and Anonymi Cantuariensis*, ed. J. Tait (Manchester, 1914), 78: 'quomodo vel quali morte fama confessioque carnificum manifestavit quod in lecto tabulis oppressus, cornu accepit violenter in ano per medium quoque veru ferreum in visceribus, sicque cruciatus expiravit'.
 61. For Mortimer's indictment, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ed. J. Strachey (London, 1767), ii. 52–3; *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed. J.R. Lumby (Rolls Ser. 1889, 1895), i. 454–8.
 62. *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 42, 125; *Ann. Paulini*, 311. For Walkefare, J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307–1322* (Oxford, 1970), 263–4; P.R.O., C 81/177/4121.
 63. Moore, 'Documents', 216–7, 233 (text of chancellor's roll 1 Edward III, the particulars for which are said to be no longer extant).
 64. *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Gloucestriae*, ed. W.H. Hart (Rolls Ser. 1863–7), i. 44–5; Moore, 'Documents', 233; John Smyth, *Berkeley Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys . . . with a Description of the Hundred of Berkeley*, ed. J. Maclean (Glouc. 1883–5), i. 292–3.
 65. Westminster Abbey Muniments no. 20344 (Beby's expense account).
 66. *Chroniques de London*, ed. J.G. Aungier (Camden Soc. 1st ser. 28, 1844), 46; *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard (Rolls Ser. 1890), iii. 213–4. *Flores* mentions a 'statuam in similitudinem ipsius [Lancaster] armata in brevi tabula lignea protractam, consimilia copiose miracula refulsere'.
 67. Moore, 'Documents', 226.
 68. 'Where is Edward II?', 525, citing R.E. Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960), 82; Moore, 'Documents', 222.
 69. J.H. Cooke in *Notes & Queries* 6th ser. 2 (1880), 489–90.
 70. A. Gardner, *Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1937), 357; *Age of Chivalry*, ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1937), 416–7 no. 497. An earlier detailed description is in I.M. Roper, *Monumental Effigies of Glos. and Bristol* (Glouc. 1931), 242–6.
 71. Smyth, *Berkeley MSS.* i. 293, citing the receiver's roll for 2 Edward III.
 72. Moore, 'Documents', 218–19, 226 and n. Clearly suspicion arises that the omission was deliberate.
 73. C.L. Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London* (British Soc. of Franciscan Studies 6, 1915), 74.
 74. John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1754), i. 630–1. *Murimuth*, 62, agrees that Mortimer was buried there but adds that his body was subsequently taken to Wigmore. The Wigmore chronicle, in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1817–30), vi(1), 532, after

- declaring that Edward III 'debite non remuneravit', makes no mention of the manner of his death but says that he was buried at the Greyfriars in Shrewsbury on 29 (vigil of St. Andrew) November 1331 [sic]. It was the Franciscans of Coventry who were licensed (7 November 1331) to deliver the body for burial at Wigmore: *Foedera*, ii(2), 829.
75. Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, 75, 198.
 76. For death and burial practices, E.A.R. Brown, 'Death and the Human Body in Later Middle Ages: the Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse', *Viator* 12 (1981), 221–70; C.A. Bradford, *Heart Burial* (London, 1933), 105–8; E.M. Hallam, 'Royal Burial and Cult of Kingship in France and England 1060–1330', *Jnl. Medieval Hist.* 8 (1982), 359–80. For Isabella's tomb, F.D. Blackley, 'Tomb of Isabella of France, wife of Edward of England', *Bull. International Soc. for Study of Church Monuments* 8 (1983), 161–4. It seems unsatisfactory to dismiss the friar's story of the heart as 'legend'.
 77. *Foedera*, ii(2), 697 (10 March 1327). He was granted protection to accompany the king abroad in 1325: *Cal. Pat.* 1324–7, 167.
 78. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1327–30, 485; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1327–41, 190, where he is described as the king's (Edward III's) leech.
 79. P.R.O., E 36/203, ff. 88v.–89. This reference I owe to Cuttino/Lyman, 'Where is Edward II?', 530 n. 43, who were themselves indebted for it to Pierre Chaplais. Should the 'December' of the MS. be 'September'?
 80. *Ann. Paulini*, 282–3; *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon . . . auctore canonico Bridlingtoniensi in Chron. of Edward I & II*, ii, 55; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, 86–7; *Chron. Lanercost*, 236–7; *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Cent.*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc. 2nd ser. 17, 1876), 74. For an earlier instance (1315–16), P.R.O., E 368/86, m. 93.
 81. The details are in Cuttino-Lyman, 'Where is Edward II?', 531 sqq. The article includes a plan of the abbey and photographs, including three of the empty tomb claimed as the resting place of the bones of Edward of Caernarvon.
 82. *Ibid.*: 'Qui fu sepolto finchè furono trasportate in Inghilterra e collocate nel mausoleo di Gloucester le sue Ossa da Edoardo III'.
 83. *Ibid.*; for an earlier period, P.J. Geary, *Furta Sacra; Thefts of Relics in Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990).
 84. I.M. Kirby, *Catalogue of Records of Dean and Chapter including the former St. Peter's Abbey* (Glouc. 1967), 163: Glos. R.O., D 936/A 17 (account book of Marshall Allen). H. Haines, rev. F.S. Waller, *Guide to Cath. Church of Glouc.* (Oxford/London, 1884), p. xxx, prints the memorandum, which is to be found in various guidebooks, e.g. G. Thurlow, *Glouc. and Berkeley and the Story of Edward II* (Norwich, 1977).
 85. e.g. the enigmatic mandate in *Foedera*, ii(2), 775.
 86. *Chron. Baker*, 43–4.
 87. Those named by Baker as being involved were the provincials of the Dominicans and of the Carmelites (John Baconthorpe), the Carmelite friar Richard de Bliton, Bishop Gravesend of London, and Robert de Taunton, Archbishop Melton's clerk. For others implicated, Archbishop Melton among them, Haines, *Abp. Stratford*, 212 n. 109; for their rehabilitation: *Rot. Parl.* ii, 31–3.
 88. *Ann. Paulini*, 349; *Murimuth*, 60; *Gesta Edwardi Tertii . . . auctore canonico Bridlingtoniensi in Chron. of Edward I & II*, ii, 100; *Hist. Roffensis*, f. 55v.
 89. *Rot. Parl.* ii, 52.
 90. *Brut*, ed. Brie, i, 263.
 91. *Cal. Papal Letters*, 1305–42, 499. See also *Foedera*, ii(2), 783, a 'royal letter' of 24 March 1330, complaining about the friar [Dunheved] who had conjured up a demon who told him that the former king was alive. The story is also in *Chron. Lanercost*, 265.
 92. *Rot. Parl.* ii, 57; *Murimuth*, 63.
 93. One would like confirmation of Mortimer's sojourn at Abergavenny. The court and the core of the bureaucracy appear to have been at Lincoln, where parliament was summoned to assemble on 15 September 1327. See below, note 98.
 94. Tout, 'Captivity & Death', 182–9. For Shalford, J.P. Jones, *The Medieval Mason* (Manchester, 1933),

- 21 n., 25, 147, 149, 190; below, note 95. Ockley's origins are obscure, but he had held lands in Ireland, which were restored in 1327. On occasion he is called 'Ogle', but so far as I am aware is not connected with the Northumberland family of that name, though Sir Henry Ogle (see above, note 6) possibly thought so.
95. In May 1331 Shalford was appointed a commissioner to examine the complaints of Englishmen in North Wales who claimed to be oppressed by Rhys ap Gruffyd, a loyal supporter of Edward II, so it may be that Shalford was deliberately targeted in view of his alleged misdeeds as Mortimer's lieutenant. A later commission suggests that he retained Edward III's confidence: *Cal. Pat.* 1330–4, 61, 143, 322–3. For the context, J. Beverley Smith, 'Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales', *Welsh Hist. Rev.* 8 (1976), 170–1.
 96. Tout, 'Captivity & Death', 189; *Cal. Pat.* 1330–4, 208. It is worth noting that one of Hywel's sureties was John de Eccleshale from Staffordshire, a particular friend of John Stratford and mentioned in his will: Haines, *Abp. Stratford*, index. For comments on his Welsh 'mainprises', Beverley Smith, 'Edward II & the Allegiance of Wales', 170 n.
 97. *Rot. Parl.* ii. 57. Gurney, like Maltravers, was a retainer of Thomas de Berkeley. For him and the family, D. Gurney, *Record of the House of Gurney* (London 1848, 1858); N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: the Glos. Gentry in the Fourteenth Cent.* (Oxford, 1981), 69–71, citing J. Batten, 'Stoke-sub-Hamden', *Proc. Somerset Archaeological & Nat. Hist. Soc.* new ser. 40 (1894), facing p. 270. The Berkeley connection is emphasised in Thomas de Berkeley's chantry foundations: *Cal. Register of Wolstan de Bransford*, ed. R.M. Haines (Worcs. Hist. Soc. 1966), pp. xxxv–xxxviii.
 98. Smyth, *Berkeley MSS.* i. 292. Berkeley Cast. Mun., select roll 39 (1 Jan. 1326–30 Sept. 1327), records a payment to Gurney for travelling to Nottingham to notify the king and Queen Isabella of Edward's death. The sum is not legible but Smyth (i. 292) gives it as 31s. 1d. He also makes the deduction that Gurney set out on 22 September. There is no date in the account. Hist. Roffensis, f. 51, states that Gurney delivered his message to the queen on 22 September at the Lincoln parliament, which ended the following day. According to Smyth (i. 287) Berkeley 'by a second direction [from Mortimer] brought back by Gurnay kept secret the king's death till All Saints [1 November] followinge', but I find no confirmation of this. See also Jeayes, *Cat. Charters at Berkeley Cast.* 274–5; Tout, 'Captivity & Death', 168–9.
 99. W. Dugdale, *Baronage of England* (London, 1675–6), i. 357; Smyth, *Berkeley MSS.* i. 297. Gurney was a wanted man only after Mortimer's arrest in October 1330. Releases from Thomas ap Adam, lord of Beverstone, dated 13 and 28 August 1329 were made to a Hugh de Gurney, the later one being cancelled: Berkeley Cast. Mun., general charters 2683, 2729. Thomas de Gurney's grant of lands in Beachley, 'Gorste' (Aust) and Tidenham to Thomas, Lord Berkeley, is undated (Berkeley Cast. Mun., general charter 2597) but is assigned to 'early Edward III'.
 100. *Foedera*, ii(2), 801; *Cal. Pat.* 1330–4, 144.
 101. J. Hunter, 'On the Measures taken for the Apprehension of Sir Thomas de Gournay, one of the Murderers of King Edward the Second . . . in a letter to Hudson Gurney Esq.', *Archaeologia* 27 (1838), 274–97, provides the basis of most of what follows.
 102. *Cal. Pat.* 1330–4, 70; Galbraith, 'Extracts', 203–17, esp. 216–17.
 103. *Foedera* ii(2), 819–20; Hunter, 'Measures taken for Apprehension', 279. The accounts of Giles of Spain are printed by Hunter (pp. 288–91).
 104. Hunter, 'Measures taken for Apprehension', 283–6. Hunter's articles includes (pp. 291–4) Thweng's accounts. For apprehending Gurney Cornwall was granted, on 13 August 1333, the bailiwick of the porter of Norwich Castle: *Cal. Pat.* 1330–4, 464.
 105. Tout, 'Captivity & Death', 178 (followed by M. McKisack, *Fourteenth Cent.* (Oxford, 1959), 95), argued the young king's complaisance. N. Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall of Edward II 1321–1326* (Cambridge, 1979), 206, states that 'Nobody was ever convicted of the king's murder' and claims that Gurney was 'murdered in or off the coast of Gascony'; cf. *Chron. Baker*, 34, 211–12. However, there is clear evidence that every effort was made by the king's emissaries to keep Gurney alive: *Acta Aragonensia*, ed. H. Finke (Berlin/Leipzig 1908–22), iii. 747–8; Hunter, 'Measures taken for Apprehension', 285. On the other hand, Galbraith ('Extracts', 217) was prepared to accept the

somewhat dubious claim in the French version of the Brut that Oliver Ingham found the 'traitor Gurney' at Bayonne, fiercely declared that he would never escape [?] or receive pardon and then, after the captive had confessed his assent to the king's death and described the manner of it, cut off his head and sent it to the king. One can only comment that this would have been in overt defiance of Edward III's manifest wish and ignores the fact that the body was embalmed for its journey.

106. Hunter, 'Measures taken for Apprehension', 275; *Chroniques de London*, 63-4 and n.; Tout, 'Captivity & Death', 98.
107. *Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie Hactenus Inediti*, ed. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles (Camden 3rd ser. 51, 1935), 285-6; 'Where is Edward II?', 530.
108. For her life settlement, *Foedera*, ii(2), 835 (29 March 1331).
109. *Chron. of Edward I & II*, ii, p. cviii.
110. Modernised. For the three parallel versions, *Polychron. Ranulphi Higden*, viii. 325-7.
111. e.g. *Fälschungen im Mittelalter* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 33, Hannover, 1988); for a particular instance from SW. England, R.M. Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana* (Toronto, 1989), chap. 12. The Book of Benefactors of St Albans Abbey, admittedly influenced by Edward's generosity, considered him worthy of sainthood (*inter sanctos merito numeretur*): *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, ed. H.T. Riley (Rolls Ser. 1863-76), iii. 433.